A sociological analysis of the experiences of Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa: The case of KwaZulu-Natal townships and township secondary schools

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to understand the social and cultural experiences of Zimbabwean teachers, as foreigners, in KwaZulu-Natal townships, and KwaZulu-Natal township secondary schools, in South Africa. It examines the ways in which Zimbabwean teachers negotiate the social, cultural, and institutional milieu of KwaZulu-Natal townships and secondary schools. In doing so, the thesis draws upon social interface theory, as this theory facilitates an examination and understanding of the ways in which the Zimbabwean teachers interpret the spaces (and lifeworld) of South Africans and, simultaneously, navigate their way in and through these spaces along social and cultural interfaces. While the focus is on the perspectives and practices of the Zimbabwean teachers, the thesis recognises and shows that their socio-cultural experiences are constituted and configured in significant ways by their daily encounters with South Africans.

The fieldwork for the thesis involved primarily in-depth interviews with thirty Zimbabwean teachers residing in six selected KwaZulu-Natal townships (and teaching at six different secondary schools), as well as fifteen South African teachers, five school administrators and thirty other South African citizens. The sample of Zimbabwean teachers was stratified in relation to the different townships, as well as gender and the number of years teaching in South Africa, so as to investigate whether and how these variables may configure the socio-cultural experiences of these teachers. A consideration of variation in the number of years of teaching in South Africa in particular allowed for an examination of possible shifts in socio-cultural experiences over time, as negotiation along interfaces is an ongoing and contingent process.

The findings demonstrate a range of experiences and challenges faced by Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal (with regard to both township and school life), some of which they share with South African teachers but many of which are unique to them. At the same time, there are important differences amongst Zimbabwean teachers in relation to how they interface with South African citizens and teachers. While some teachers negotiate local spaces through active socialising and assimilating into the lifeworld (township life of South Africans and the institutional culture of township schools), other teachers move through the space by way of isolation, withdrawal, and alienation. In general, in terms of adjusting to the lifeworld of South Africans in KwaZulu-Natal townships and schools, Zimbabwean teachers pursue different routes which, in the end, made sense to them and about which they express some degree of personal comfort.

Okusemqondweni

Lo mbhalo wobuhlakani uzama ukuqonda inhlalo kanye namasiko abahlangabezana nako othisha baseZimbabwe njengabantu bokufika emalokishini akwaZulu-Natal, kanye nasezikoleni zamabanga athe thuthu zasemalokishini akwaZulu-Natal eNingizimu-Afrika. Uhlolisisa izindlela labo thisha ababonisana ngazo ngamasiko kanye nenhlalakahle yasezikoleni zasemalokishini akwaZulu-Natal. Ngokwenzanjalo, lo mbhalo udonsa umhlahlandlela wenhlalakahle nokuhlangana ngoba ukungena kwabo endaweni yakwaZulu-Natal, labo thisha bahumusha indawo baphinde babonisane bachushisane ngenqubekela phambili yabo nangenhlalo namasiko abahlangabezana nawo. Ukuhlanganisa othisha baseNingizimu-Afrika nezakhamuzi kumele kusebenzisane ngokulingana. Abahlangabezana nakho kwakhiwa ngokubambisana phakathi kwabaseZimbabwe kanye nabaseNingizimu-Afrika ukuze izwi labaseNingizimu-Afrika lingagqibeki ngoba sekunakekelwa kakhulu abseZimbabwe.

Umsebenzi wasensimini walo mbhalo wobuhlakani uhlanganisa ucwaningo kothisha abangani-30 baseZimbabwe abahlala ezindaweni ezingu-6 ezikhethekile ezisemalokishini akwaZulu-Natal, nothisha abayi-15 baseNingizimu-Afrika kanye nabaphathi bezikole abayi-5. Kubuye kwenziwa ucwaningo kwizakhamuzi ezingama-30 zaseNingizimu-Afrika. Isampula lihlanganiswe ngokubuka indawo lapho aphuma khona umuntu, kanye neminyaka aseyifundisile eNingizimu-Afrika. Ucwaningo lubukisise kakhulu indlela ababuka ngayo inhlalakahle namasiko kube kubukisiswa nenani leminyaka aseyifundisile umuntu ngamunye ukuze kuhlolisiswe izinguquko zokuxoxisana ezidalwe yisikhathi asihlalile umuntu phakathi kothisha abasebancane nalabo asebekhulile.

Imiphumela yocwaningo iveza iznselele ezahlukene ababhekene nazo othisha baseZimbabwe njengoba bengabahlali baseNingizimu-Afrika. Ezinye zalezi nselele ziqhamuka ngokwehlukana kwemiphakathi kwabaseZimbabwe kanye nabaseNingizimu-Afrika. Ngokunjalo kunomehluko obalulekayo kothisha baseZimbabwe mayelana nendlela ukuxoxisana nokubonisana okuqhubeka ngayo. Kukhona labo ukungena bathi khaxa emiphakathini nasezimpilweni abakuzo eNingizimu-Afrika nasezikoleni abakuzo namasiko nenhlalakahle yakulezo zindawo ngakolunye uhlangothi abanye othisha bazithole bephila njengenhlwa bephila ngabodwana eNingizimu-Afrika. Kodwa ekugcineni kwakho konke, lolu cwaningo luthola ukuthi othisha baseZimbabwe ezikoleni zasemalokishini akwaZulu-Natal lapha eNingizimu-Afrika bazakhela impilo eyenza umuntu ngamunye azizwe ehlaliseke kahle eNingizimu-Afrika ngendlela ephelele nethokomalisa yena ngo kwakhe.

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times, allowing the discouragement from other people to occupy space in my mind; I endured through it all and I did it. I am proud of me. I am still my highest ambition. I am still my wildest dream. I am still an ideal that I hope to see realised.

Dedication

Dedicated to Mr. & Mrs. Daki

I dedicate this work to my grandparents Mr. and Mrs. Daki, who ran so we could walk. Mae and Tato, I am because you are. My dearest grandparents who sacrificed so much for us, who paved the way for us; I am eternally grateful for you. MaNkwali, you prioritised education and emphasised its importance to us. Your legacy inspires me to do better and continue to being a light in this dark world. I will love you both now and always.

Acronyms

APA: American Psychological Association

CBD: Central business district

KZN: KwaZulu-Natal

PTSD: Post-traumatic stress disorder

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

SA: South Africa

SAC: South African citizens

SAT: South African teachers

SES: Socioeconomic status

TSS: Township secondary schools

ZT: Zimbabwean teacher/Zimbabwean teachers

Contents

List of Tables

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis seeks to understand and analyse the social and cultural experiences of Zimbabwean teachers (ZT) living and working in South Africa (SA), with particular reference to townships and township secondary schools (TSS) in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). This includes identifying and reflecting upon how ZT manoeuvre through local spaces and negotiate their place in their new social and educational milieu in SA, in both the townships where they live and the TSS where they teach. Whether this entails some form of assimilation by ZT into township and school life, or marginalisation and isolation, is investigated in this thesis.

All teachers in TSS in KZN, both foreign nationals and South African teachers (SAT), experience events and face challenges in their profession. While the thesis does discuss these at times, this is for the central purpose of isolating and specifying the particular encounters, relationships and challenges of ZT. Crucial to this is the manner in which South Africans (including teachers and students) relate to ZT, and the extent to which they are accommodative of the latter's foreign-ness. In SA, foreign citizens are sometimes subject to negative perceptions and attitudes on the part of South Africans, which often border on xenophobia or Afrophobia. Zimbabweans are not immune to these happenings, and they have been 'othered' at times because of their foreign status, thereby being depicted and treated as strangers. This is not a necessary and inevitable development, as there are significant differences in the character and content of the interactions and relationships between South Africans and Zimbabweans (including ZT) in SA. Despite any possibility of this 'othering' occurring, ZT continue to move to SA in their quest for employment and, inevitably, for a better life for themselves and their families, who may remain in crisis-ridden Zimbabwe for an extended period.

In trying to fully examine the socio-cultural experiences and relationships of ZT in KZN townships, it is essential to consider not only the viewpoints of the ZT themselves, but also the perspectives of SAT and school administrators, as well as South African township residents more broadly. This is pursued through a case study of six townships and six TSS in KZN Province. The balance of this chapter sets out, in turn, the research context, the thesis objectives and the research methodology, before providing a brief outline of the thesis.

1.2 Research Context

In the context of an ongoing economic crisis in Zimbabwe, involving massive levels of unemployment and deepening poverty, Zimbabweans have moved beyond the country's border to the diaspora (including SA) to make a living. Between two and three million Zimbabweans live in the diaspora, with more than half of them resident in SA (Ndlovu, 2013; Dzingirai et al., 2015; Manik, 2014; Jacobs, 2016). Zimbabwean nationals in SA, both male and female, have diverse class backgrounds, skillsets, and social origins. Amongst the Zimbabweans in SA are professionals such as qualified teachers, with many ZT now employed within the South African educational system. There is a significant body of literature on Zimbabwean nationals in SA (Crush, 2011; Lee & Sehoole, 2015; Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012; Matsinhe, 2011; Gqola, 2008; Fritsch et al., 2010). This literature includes studies about Zimbabweans as undocumented workers, informal traders, unskilled and semi-skilled contract employees and professionals in the formal sector, unaccompanied refugee minors, farm labourers and domestic workers (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Cross-border trading, often by women, also features prominently in the literature (Muzvidziwa, 1998; Mutopo, 2010).

A general problem of xenophobia (specifically, Afrophobia) exists in SA and is encountered by black foreign Africans, including Zimbabweans. Beyond the overt and intermittent challenge of xenophobic attitudes and attacks faced by Zimbabweans as foreigners, there are other, more everyday challenges that are more subtle but no less troubling for foreign nationals. These may not be easily reducible to xenophobia, but they often indicate the presence of anti-foreigner perceptions and practices amongst South African nationals. For example, Zimbabweans are often subjected to work-based exploitation, corruption by state officials and the absence of police protection, language barriers, and cultural discrimination (Serumaga-Zake, 2017). In SA, the often unstable and distant relationship between locals and immigrants gives rise to and perpetuates such problems. Quite likely, the poverty and suffering of black working-class South African citizens (SAC) in urban townships, including competition for limited public resources, high unemployment rates, and deficiencies in service delivery, contributes to local conceptualisations of foreigners as a threatening presence within townships (Jearey-Graham & Bohmke, 2013).

Zimbabwean immigrants experience two – at times hidden – interrelated dimensions of social exclusion, namely: segregation and marginalisation (Dumba & Chirisa, 2010). These manifest themselves in different forms and often in insidious ways, about which South Africans seem

unaware. For example, in their study of the experiences of Zimbabweans in SA, Flockemann et al. (2010: 246) refer to a Zimbabwean, who notes that "xenophobia that happens, the attacks, I wasn't affected by those ones. But, every day in South Africa … I am affected verbally or physically". Additionally, in the case of Zimbabwean social workers, common experiences include unfair labour practices, problems with language adaptation, hostility from the local community, and safety concerns (Mangena & Warria, 2017). These Zimbabweans speak about being afraid of South Africans, including even their South African work colleagues or residential neighbours. They feel unsafe working in townships and, like other kinds of health professionals, are subjected to discriminatory practices simply because of their non-South African identity (Crush & Tawodzera, 2014). More broadly, most South African participants in the study by Crush and Tawodzera (2014: 656) argue that "undocumented migrants should not be given ART (Antiretroviral treatment) [for treatment of HIV] … [Further] …, 61% supported a policy of deporting foreign citizens who tested positive for HIV". At its core, xenophobia in SA is presented and experienced through multiple dimensions.

Hostility towards migrants and refugees makes SA one of the most migrant-unfriendly countries globally (Crush, 2009; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). Certainly, SA is one of the most violent places, including political, criminal, and domestic violence: and now Afrophobia prevails in many places (Long et al., 2015). Neocosmos (2010) claims that Afrophobic dispositions are prevalent amongst all classes and population groupings in SA. In this respect, violent attacks in black (working class) townships against black African foreigners are simply the most visible and vivid form of xenophobia. Irrespective of the category of SAC expressing xenophobic perceptions or undertaking xenophobic practices, the effect (if not the intent) is to dehumanise and deny the dignity of a significant grouping of people who are defined by characteristics of difference based on essentialised discursive constructions (Everatt, 2011). For this reason, there is a pronounced political (and not merely economic) dimension to Afrophobia. In the case of black townships, the difference posited through Afrophobia-based constructions represent differences within blackness. In the end, Mda (2010) argues that the relationship between South Africans and black foreign Africans is an heterogeneous and complex one, with the positionality of many SAC in relation to Africa tending to entail fluctuating features of misalignment, arrogance, dislocation, detachment, disinformation, and ignorance. The proposed research examines these points concerning ZT in KZN townships and KZN TSS, including recognising and understanding instances where Zimbabweans do not experience Afrophobia.

To contextualise the experiences of ZT, it is important to note the history and structure of South African education. Jansen and Taylor (2003: 5) argue that "the post-apartheid government of 1994 inherited one of the most unequal societies in the world. Decades of social and economic discrimination against black South Africans left a legacy of income inequality"; while this is true, inequalities in SA have in fact increased since 1994. Under Apartheid SA, the educational system was designed to privilege white pupils above pupils of colour. The Apartheid state thus intervened aggressively in the provision of education, and the "policy was that schools were to be racially segregated and highly unequal" (McKay et al. 2018: 1). Black schools were massively under-resourced, and black teachers were paid far less than white teachers. The black schools were merely another institution acting as a bulwark to the rule of the Apartheid government.

The new democratic government has tried to rectify these inequalities with reference to education, but with many challenges along the journey. Consequently, most of the previously disadvantaged (black) schools in urban townships and rural areas operate with inadequate learner-teacher support material, overcrowded classrooms, and un-qualified or under-qualified teachers (Sedibe, 2011). The relative dearth of basic learning material such as textbooks, notebooks, desks, and chairs continues to negatively impact the daily-lived experiences of both learners and teachers. There are considerable spatial and provincial shortfalls regarding the state's distribution of educational funds and resources, with urban township schools and provinces with large swathes of former Bantustans (including in KZN) continuing to lag. These schools remain exclusively for black learners, hence the continuation of the discrimination.

These schools, and their administrations, are burdened with deficiencies beyond their control. To illustrate this point, Masitsa (2011) argues that effective teaching and learning can only occur in safe and secure environments, but such an environment is often absent in township schools. As Xaba (2006: 566) claims, "South African township schools are especially vulnerable to unsafe conditions and threats of violence due to, among other things, their location, especially in and around informal settlements". Alongside school violence (Ngcobo & Tikly, 2010), a sense of hopelessness has led many young black learners to become part of local drug and gang cultures. Consequently, many learners living in townships require significant persistence in overcoming the many adversities they face daily (Mampane & Bouwer, 2011). Teachers, like pupils, live and work under these conditions. Masitsa (2011: 167) explains that "in fact, since the learner and the teacher operate in the same school

environment, what applies to the learner with regard to safety also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the teacher". In township schools, the safety of both the learner and teacher is not guaranteed. The ZT living and working in South Africa's townships, like the ones studied in this thesis, exist within this depraved and deprived environment.

Despite the challenges within the South African educational system (including township schools), in recent years, there has been a significant inflow of foreign teachers into the country, including from Zimbabwe, Zambia and Lesotho (Dzvuka, 2017). However, specific literature about the socio-cultural experiences of ZT in SA is scarce, even though Zimbabwe is a top sending country (Chireshe & Shumba, 2011; Manik, 2014). The first destination for migrant (including Zimbabwean) teachers is usually Johannesburg, the economic hub of SA: "consequently, some 2,070 (8%) of Johannesburg's 26,195 teachers are migrants" (McKay et al. 2018: 3). These migrant teachers are often compensated unfairly and work under conditions of insecure tenure, in part because of their tenuous status in the country (including the absence of legal documentation such as work permits and even valid passports).

Nevertheless, the teaching profession in SA is attractive to migrant teachers, mainly because of the economic instability in their home country and due, at times, to political persecution (de Villiers & Weda, 2018). Simultaneously, the critical shortage of Mathematics and Physical Science teachers in SA worked to the advantage of immigrant teachers, as the government had no choice but to employ foreign nationals (Makonye, 2017). Further, ZT are "highly valuable given that English is their first language and they are therefore proficient in it, a quality which is much needed in the rural areas where English is the medium of instruction" (Manik, 2015: 285). To reiterate, the shortfall resulted in a breakthrough for ZT, resulting in them being employable in the South African job market.

A study conducted by Manik (2013) on ZT in SA revealed that migrant teachers, because of their foreignness, encounter many challenges that negatively affect their ability to adapt to the local teaching community quickly. These challenges exist in both the townships and the township schools (Dzvuka, 2017: 4). The remuneration and employee benefits of ZT, compared to SAT, are often considerably less, and they find it difficult to openly confront the disadvantages and biases seemingly embedded in the system (Manik, 2015). As well, some ZT feel unsafe in SA, and are even susceptible to xenophobic attitudes by local teachers and/or learners in schools (Manik, 2013; Singh, 2013; Anganoo, 2014; Matsinhe, 2011).

In this context, through a case study in KZN province, this thesis examines the experiences, interactions, and challenges of ZT in SA. Theoretically, it does so by drawing upon micro-sociological approaches to the social world – in particular, by way of Social Interface Theory (Drucker, 2011). The Social Interface Theory examines the ways in which different cultural-social life-worlds come together along interface boundaries within specific societal spaces. As Long (2011: 9) indicates, an interface is "a critical point of interaction between life worlds", such that the interface between South Africans and foreign nationals is not a question of mere economic competition. An interface exists because of the existence of a multiplicity of cultural-social realities and experiences, which come together in a fluid and dynamic manner (Long, 1997). Hence, "in societies experiencing political conflict, notions of place and territory have considerable local, regional and national significance. Indeed, many disputes relating to national identity are based on competing claims to place and territory" (Leonard, 2006: 235).

In entering new spaces, and sometimes as 'strangers', actors negotiate initial access as well as their ongoing presence in these spaces. The ZT coming to SA and, more specifically, into KZN townships and TSS are entering a pre-existing tension-ridden and violence-prone site. They invariably interface with South Africans (at both school and township levels), as they seek to navigate their way through the different spaces in which they exist and act. Therefore, interfaces become subject to ongoing processes of negotiation that reconfigure and even disrupt the contested space (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009).

Social Interface theory is relevant to this study in understanding how ZT, as foreigners in SA, negotiate the school and township spaces at and along variegated interfaces. The extent of newness and/or 'strangeness' of the townships – as both an institutional and social space – may vary across ZT. It thus becomes vital to consider the diverse ways in which Zimbabweans negotiate townships and township schools in their various facets. Further, considering whether this entails massive shock and subsequent alienation, adjustment over time, or assimilation into the lifeworld(s) of SAC (Aikenhea & Jegede, 1999) is of significance to this thesis. While all interfaces are invariably co-constructed, the thesis focuses primarily on the agency of one category of people involved in the interface construction: namely, ZT. The key focus of the thesis is thus on the perspectives and practices of ZT and the ways in which they navigate spaces along interfaces with the locals. However, along these interfaces, there are often implicit and unspoken dialogues, with criss-crossing cues and signals across the interfaces between ZT and South Africans contributing to configuring the former's experiences. For this reason, the

thesis seeks to incorporate the views of SAC into the story of ZT. The study is significant in using Social Interface Theory as a basis for understanding the sheer complexities of social-cultural experiences of foreign teachers in SA more broadly.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

The main research question is: What are the socio-cultural experiences of Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and secondary schools in South Africa, and how are these to be understood sociologically? The secondary questions are:

a) Why do Zimbabwean teachers move to and remain in KZN?;
b) What are the range of socio-cultural encounters experienced by Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and schools?;
c) What are the various challenges faced by Zimbabwean teachers (as foreigners) in KZN townships and township secondary schools?
d) In what ways do South African citizens (including South African teachers) in KZN perceive and interact with Zimbabwean teachers?; and
e) How do Zimbabwean teachers negotiate and handle their encounters with South Africans in KZN over time?

In this context, the main objective of the thesis is to offer *a sociological analysis of the socio-cultural experiences* o*f Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and township secondary schools in South Africa.* The secondary objectives are:

a) To understand why Zimbabwean teachers seek employment as teachers in KZN province;
b) To identify the range of socio-cultural encounters experienced by Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and schools;
c) To investigate the various challenges faced by Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal township secondary schools and the township sites;
d) To understand the perceptions and practices of South African citizens in KZN as they interact with Zimbabwean teachers; and
e) To analyse the ways in which Zimbabwean teachers in KZN negotiate and handle these encounters over time.

1.4 Research Methodology

Since the study focuses on understanding the social and cultural experiences of ZT in KZN TSS, the methods and procedures that were used and followed were influenced by a constructivist methodology (both epistemologically and ontologically) – with a focus on understanding the perspectives, experiences, and practices of the ZT. This in turn entailed a qualitative research paradigm. Through the use of interviews, the research subjects articulated the social meanings that configure their world and their navigation through this world. The subjects consisted of a sample of ZT, SAC, SAT, and school administrators in the selected KZN townships and KZN TSS. The data collected through interviews were analysed according to reoccurring themes which were related to central themes in the interview schedule and in the existing pertinent scholarly literature.

A constructivist methodology (Agbedahin, 2012) is consistent with Social Interface Theory, as it is able to explicate the daily encounters and experiences of ZT in KZN TSS and KZN townships, where they interact with SAC along socio-cultural interfaces. Hence, research based on constructivism "returns to experience in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions. These descriptions then provide the basis for a reflective … analysis to portray the essences of the experience" (Moustakas, 1994: 1). The studied ZT described in detail their multi-faceted experiences in SA and specifically in KZN townships and TSS. Though the focus is on the meanings, experiences, and practices of ZT and their subjective interpretations of these experiences, there is no claim to the effect that social reality is in any way reducible to experiences as lived or interpreted (Patton, 2002; Patton & Cochrane, 2002), which would be an extreme idealist position. The experiences of the ZT arise and become configured in the context of their conditions of existence which, in turn, are structured by the social and material constitution of township life and schools. Hence, the constructivist methodology adopted for this thesis recognises the structured character of social meanings and meaning-based agency of the ZT as they go about their daily lives. The qualitative case-study design, entailing 'thick descriptions' of the lives of the ZT, follows from this constructivist methodology.

1.4.1 Research Design

The research design used for the thesis is a (qualitative) case-study design, with this design facilitating an exploration and understanding of complex daily-life issues (Zainal, 2007) such as how ZT make sense of (and navigate) the KZN township (and school) space, which cannot

be captured in numerical form. A quantitative design would not have been able to grasp the intricate and convoluted experiences of all the participants fully and thoroughly in this study. According to Yin (2003: 81), a qualitative case study design should be considered when:

> (a) the focus of the study is to answer 'how' and 'why' questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or (d) the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

The 'how' and 'why' of navigating the township space in specific and variegated ways (by ZT) is of great importance to this study, as are the 'contextual conditions' which configure these processes of navigation.

Though this qualitative case study does not allow for statistical generalisations, it facilitates the emergence of penetrating insights into the socio-economic experiences of ZT living and working in KZN townships in line with the main objective of this thesis. A qualitative case-study attempts "to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations for actions and establish how people interpret their experiences and the world around them" (MacDonald & Headlam, 2009: 8). This research design, with its emphasis on qualitative research methods, enabled the researcher to uncover and grasp (descriptively and analytically) the ways in which the ZT experienced KZN townships within the context of their broader social circumstances, including the reasons and motivations for certain decisions that they make every day, and how they must live with the consequences of these decisions. This leads to a discussion of sampling procedures.

1.4.2 Sampling

As stated by Kumar (2011: 42), "the underlying premise in sampling is that a relatively small number of units, if selected in a manner that they genuinely represent the study population, can provide with sufficiently high degree of probability a fairly true reflection of the sampling population that is being studied". This refers specifically to random sampling. However, the samples for this study, which consisted of ZT (as well as of SAC, SAT, and school administrators) do not represent – at least statistically – the entire population of these different groupings living and working in KZN townships. This is because non-random, purposeful sampling, including snowballing (Alvi, 2016), was used to identify the case study and research subjects for this study. Sampling took place in different stages and involved the following: the

selection of the township sites, the selection of the township schools, and the selection of the different categories of research subjects (ZT, SAC, SAT and school administrators). To emphasise: in all cases, the study involved non-random sampling. Though this implies that statistical generalisations to broader universes are not possible, there is a strong likelihood that the research results from this study resonate with the socio-cultural experiences of Zimbabweans elsewhere in KZN province and indeed beyond.

The six townships and six TSS were selected by considering multiple factors. For example, Umlazi and KwaMashu townships were selected on the basis that they are the two largest townships in KZN (both in the main urban sprawl of eThekwini region/municipality), with Umlazi in fact being the fourth largest township in SA. The other (smaller) townships (such as Gamalakhe and Madadeni) were selected because they are not within the eThekwini region/municipality. This was quite important in trying to ensure some form of diversity in the selection of the townships with the possibility that there may be differences across townships in terms of the socio-cultural experiences of ZT. I then randomly selected one secondary school in each township.

In this, I was guided by a long-term resident of urban KZN, namely, Mandy (pseudonym). Mandy is a resigned SAT who has lived her entire life in KZN townships, growing up in Gamalakhe, but living in Umlazi, KwaMashu and Inanda, and working in the Edendale area. She had significant experience living in KZN townships and working in TSS and was able to assist me in identifying TSS which she knew had ZT working there. She had extensive knowledge about the presence of foreigners (including ZT) within different KZN townships because of her wide-ranging contacts. She gave me information in terms of which schools might be useful for the study in terms of the presence of ZT.

Subsequent to the selection of the township and TSS samples, the researcher proceeded with the selection of research subjects. In selecting the research subjects, I started with the townships about which I most familiar and liaised with Mandy along the way. In terms of SAC, I first approached people who I knew personally, who would refer me to potential SAC interviewees, who then might refer me to others. Engaging with SAC in the townships (as well as SAT – see later) was the most difficult part of the fieldwork. For instance, there were many cases in the smaller townships (notably Gamalakhe and Madadeni) where locals were not interested in talking to me, in part because I was conceptualised as an ‘outsider’ to the township concerned. Other SAC were more welcoming and invited me into their circle of friends, whether they were

simply sitting under trees, or at the carwash or park, or even playing soccer on the roads. If they showed enthusiasm and interest, I arranged to interview them, and then asked them to refer me to their friends or others who they knew would be interested in being a part of the study's topic. Some participants went out of their way in this respect. For example, they would invite me into their private circles to speak to their associates who I would not have met if I was not invited.

In relation to the teachers (both ZT and SAT) and school administrators at the selected schools, there was always a pre-existing contact that I had – this contact was typically given to me by Mandy, such as a teacher, support staff (cleaner), parent, and/or principal. These people were approached out of school hours and not on school premises, and they would give me the names of teachers and administrators who I would approach and ask for an interview. Hence, there was no formal approach to the school head or department of Education, as I interviewed those linked to the schools in their personal capacity. They did not consider it necessary for me to request permission from the school head or department of Education.

The participants were chosen through purposeful sampling and the snowball sampling technique, also called chain sampling (Alvi, 2016). This nonprobability sampling technique allows initial interviewees to recruit other possible interviewees who would fit the description of the requirements of the sample. I followed a multiple snowballing sequence to prevent the study from being restricted to only one social circle of the different groups; I broke the circle at times to start a new circle. I made sure that only the specific subjects who fit the requirements of the study were part of the research (that, ZT, SAT, school administrators and SAC). Overall, of significance to the study were the variables location/township and occupation/position (secondary school teachers and administrators). All Zimbabweans interviewed were living and working in the townships currently. But I also considered gender as a possible additional factor in configuring the socio-cultural experiences of ZT, and thus sought a representation of both males and females in the study.

The total sample of research participants is eighty people. This includes thirty ZT, fifteen SAT, five school administrators and thirty SAC township residents. The interviewed SAT and school administrators all work at one of the six schools. The total of twenty SAT and school administrators are divided between the following schools: Umlazi/Teresa College (4), KwaMashu/Vuyani High School (4), Inanda/Baartman Secondary (3), Edendale/Tubman Secondary (3), Madadeni/Red Hills (3), and Gamalakhe/Oak Park (3). The thirty ZT are from:

Umlazi/Teresa College (8), KwaMashu/Vuyani High School (6), Inanda/Baartman Secondary (5), Edendale/Tubman Secondary (4), Madadeni/Red Hills (3), and Gamalakhe/Oak Park (4). The thirty SAC were selected from the following townships: Umlazi (9), KwaMashu (6), Inanda (4), Edendale (4), Madadeni (3), and Gamalakhe (4). Each of the six TSS mentioned is located in one of the six mentioned townships. The fieldwork for this study was undertaken from March 2020 to November 2020.

1.4.3 Research Methods

The thesis used semi-structured in-depth interviews as its main research method, along with informal observations. In-depth interviews fit into the constructivist and qualitative research tradition. According to Taylor and Bogdan (1998, cited in Kumar, 2011: 151), in-depth interviewing involves "repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words". Further, this research method "follows a framework [interview guide] in order to address key themes rather than specific questions. At the same time, it allows a certain degree of flexibility for the researcher to respond to the answers of the interviewee and therefore develop the themes and issues as they arise" (MacDonald & Headlam, 2009: 40). There were different interview schedules or guides for SAC, ZT and South African teachers/administrators (see Appendices A, B and C respectively).

The interviews were face to face and all undertaken by the researcher, and the research participants were asked thematic-based questions (see Appendices) that in some ways were linked to the socio-cultural experiences of ZT in townships and TSS in KZN. The interview schedules consisted of themes which were in part drawn from prevailing insights in the scholarly literature on the topic of migrant teacher experiences. Though the interview guides facilitated the construction of thematically-based discussions during the interviews, there was leeway for exploring themes emerging during the course of interviews. The informal interviews additionally allowed the researcher to go into greater detail at times by asking the participants to expand on interesting or intriguing issues, particularly around issues which seemed to go contrary to general trends emerging in the fieldwork. Only by unearthing and unpacking these 'contrary trends to the normal' is it possible to acquire an awareness of the sheer complexities of the topic under study (Beecham, 2005).

The interviews were not rigid and detached, as the participants felt a level of ease that facilitated their willingness to speak about matters they typically refrain from discussing otherwise. This was particularly important given the researcher's quest to understand the existence or otherwise of xenophobia/Afrophobia in relation to the lives of Zimbabwean teacher's in KZN. This is an almost unmentionable topic in the country, yet the interviewees were willing to speak their minds and hearts about this matter. Quite possibly, the ease might have been motivated by the fact that I am a South African, thus I am interpreted by the interviewees as: I 'understand' or I am in 'solidarity' with notions of rejecting black Africans in the country. Considering that the interviews were conducted in the townships (as familiar and comfortable settings for the interviewed SAC), this might have also allowed SAC to speak freely. The interviews with SAC were in different locations such as under the trees on a rock, in the living room in their houses, a table in the park or eating area, or outside in their driveway or pavement. The location was dependent on the participants' preferences.

The interviews were conducted mainly in English and isiZulu, with an interpreter for Shona speakers (in the case of ZT). Isizulu was used for both South Africans and those Zimbabweans who speak Ndebele. Interviewees who wanted to speak in isiZulu (whether they were fluent or not) were allowed to do so. I am fluent in both isiZulu and English. Before the interview, especially in the case of ZT, I would ask the interviewees what language they were most comfortable with speaking and the interviews would proceed on that basis. During the interviews with a ZT, an interpreter was present at the beginning. Before the interview started, the participant was informed that I do not speak or understand the Shona language and that the interpreter was there for that purpose. The ZT would then decide whether to have the interview in English, Shona or isiZulu. If they decided on Shona or a mixture of English and Shona, the interpreter stayed for the duration of the interview. The interpreter, John, was a Zimbabwean spaza shop owner to whom I was introduced in early 2020 by Mandy. There was no sign of discomfort amongst the ZT if John was present during interview and interpreting for us.

The length (of time) of the interviews varied between each participant but in general they ranged from an hour and a half to three hours. All the interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the interviewees, and this allowed the researcher to remain attentive as the research participants engaged with their experiences in a relatively unstructured, deep, and thoughtful manner. All interviews were later translated to English (if need be) and transcribed. The overall interview process directly and indirectly was likely influenced by my positionality

as a female isiZulu speaker. For example, SAC (including teachers and school administrators) were generally comfortable in speaking to me. They spoke freely in isiZulu, occasionally adding a word or two in English, but mainly using isiZulu to answer and unpack the questions. For the most part, the interviewees (both South Africans and Zimbabweans) opened up to me, though some at times opened up a little too much in terms of trying to change the setting from professional (i.e., research) to romantic.

With regard to the informal observations of the overall township and school sites, I observed general issues within the townships. For example, the cleanliness of the township, the lack of space between the houses, the (formal and informal) shops that were available and the transportation system of the township. Other observations I made of the township sites were the relations between the members of the community. For instance, the playing of children on the road together, the visiting of neighbours to each other's houses, the chilling at the car wash between friends, locals, and other people from outside of the township. Additionally, the helpfulness/ubuntu of members of the townships were noticeable, or not noticeable – but then, any conclusion on my part about particular townships is likely impressionistic. The availability of streetlights and fencing for houses, the overall security of the townships and government facilities such as police stations, clinics, and post boxes, were dissimilar across townships.

I made similar observations about the school sites, including examining visually the school resources such as the furniture, boards, windows, doors, and staffrooms. This also included the cleanliness of the school property including the painting of the school, graffiti and vandalism, gardening services and general littering that is on the school property. Old posters and advertisements still on notice boards from past events, and the presence of trophy stands in some staffrooms were of some interest as well. The school offices and administration departments as well as the 'sanitary rooms' (if available), were part of my unobtrusive observations as I walked through some of the sections of the schools.

1.4.4 Data Analysis

Since the data analysis process is about defining concepts, categorising, theorising, explaining, and mapping the range, nature, and dynamics of phenomena (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002), I needed to thematically arrange the substantial amount of data collected and analyse it without being overwhelmed and without losing the focus of the research question and objective, as well as subsidiary questions/objectives. Participants' comments, narratives and responses can at first

seem unnecessary or irrelevant to the study. Because of this, qualitative data analysis is central, with the empirical evidence gathering needing to be thematically arranged and analysed to present the meaning and understanding of the issue that was researched (Silverman, 1985). Effectively, qualitative data analysis consists of:

> [A] selection of the unit of analysis, subjective observation of the realities of the phenomenon, becoming an instrument for data analysis, looking for multiple realities behind the data, categorising and finding themes from categories and through analytical insights to present an overall story line of data (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019: 2).

Though qualitative data analysis may vary across case studies and might be specific to each context, thematically framing data is crucial for all qualitative research projects. Consequently, I categorised the data according to the specific themes pertaining to the study (Stuckey, 2015). The experiential-based themes were identified by way of reading and re-reading the taped and transcribed interviews in light of the interview schedule and drawing upon ideas at times from the secondary literature. This is consistent with qualitative thematic data analysis, which identifies the patterns or themes that are embedded in the data and must be teased out (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). The emerging themes thus configured and shaped the data, allowing the findings to align increasingly with the research question.

The thematic analysis, by categorising and coding the data in a structured manner, heightened the relevance and significance of the evidence collected for the main thesis question/objective. While the evidence was unpacked and analysed thematically through a process of induction, this was guided by the focus of the secondary objectives as an initial basis for constructing thematic categories, which were then refined by immersion by the researcher in the data. The data analysis process explored the common themes that kept on emerging and occurring across the interviews, but it also entailed the identification of differences of experiences within themes. In the end, these themes (and both similarities and differences) were used to form the foundation for interpreting and analysing the data.

1.4.5 Challenges and Limitations

There were many challenges during the data collection process for this study. A key challenge, and inevitably a limitation for the research, was the coronavirus pandemic and the various lockdowns in SA. Admittedly, the lockdown restrictions were implemented to safeguard the lives of people, including both the researcher as well as the research participants. At the time,

these restrictive measures felt like an inconvenience by causing delays in the fieldwork process, but I recognised that they were necessary to make sure that everyone stayed safe, and I abided by them. The pandemic lockdowns restricted and reduced the daily movements of people in the townships, which might seem conducive to reaching people in-place – however, the lockdowns also limited by physical movements, reducing opportunities to meet potential research subjects.

Other issues during the fieldwork include the following. It was difficult and at times complicated to identify SAT willing to engage in the research, and to then receive their cooperation. For reasons which remain unclear, SAT was the category of interviewees least interested in the research topic. Further, some research participants would disturb the interview by answering their personal messages or leaving to continue with their personal activities. This was even though we had agreed on a suitable time for them, and I was working around that time; they simply did not appear to respect the concept of time. Other participants were interviewed in the presence of their family members. These members did not necessarily consider that an interview was being conducted and, therefore, their conversations and activities tended as well to disrupt some of the interviews. Tape recordings are sensitive to any external noise, and the tape recorder used picked up extra noises which became an obstacle during the transcribing process.

The samples for the data collection process called for specific types of participants: namely, ZT, SAT (teaching in secondary township schools) and SAC living in the vicinity of ZT in KZN townships. The specifics of the samples added pressure, in the face of the lockdowns, in finding the correct interview candidates for the research project. At times, 'non-suitable' candidates outside of the relevant universes, such as primary school teachers in townships, expressed their interest and willingness to be interviewed. As well, the pandemic made it challenging to access the teachers because they were in and out of the school premises, depending on the different lockdown levels. Even once agreeing to be interviewed, it was hard to pinpoint an exact fixed location where they would be available for interviews. There was also significant miscommunication (intentional or not) with some research participants about when the actual interviews would take place. All these points resulted in a rather strenuous and frustrating data collection phase for the researcher. No doubt, a 'normal situation' (for instance, prior to the pandemic's emergence) would have provided for a more conducive environment for undertaking a structured data collection process.

For financial and other reasons, it was not possible to engage in a process of random sampling, even if relevant universes (for example, of ZT) were easily identifiable. Doing so would have led to a more extensive fieldwork process with larger samples. In turn, this would have provided a strong basis for generalising the findings of this thesis to the province of KZN and even to SA as a whole.

1.4.6 Ethics

Before the study commenced, the research proposal went through the ethics committee of Rhodes University successfully. After approval was granted, the research began. Throughout the fieldwork, I adhered to all of Rhodes University's ethical regulations and restrictions. Before the interviews, the participants were informed in detail about the purpose of the research and their participation was voluntary; hence, it was not forced or coerced in any way. To ensure this, the participants signed a consent form (Appendix D) which gave them the liberty to withdraw from the research at any stage of the interview, or if they felt uncomfortable in any way. The consent form additionally informed the participants of their rights, such as being given a pseudonym. The anonymity of the participants is a form of security because of the sensitivity of the label 'foreigner' in SA, and because the participants continued to live and work (after the interviews) in the spaces researched. The tape recordings were deleted after the data analysis process. With regards to the coronavirus pandemic lockdowns, the safety of the participants was prioritised and ensured throughout the interviewing stage. Interviews were not conducted in any closed environments or environments with limited ventilation. Social distancing was observed with the use of protective gear such as a face mask and hand sanitizer. Finally, during the higher levels of the lockdown in SA (levels five and four) of the lockdown, no interviews were conducted.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The following chapter (chapter two) is the analytical chapter which discusses Social Interface Theory. This theory guides the research in terms of trying to understand the socio-cultural experiences of ZT in the KZN townships and the TSS. Chapters three and four are both contextual chapters and draw primarily on pertinent scholarly literature about Zimbabweans (and not only teachers) in South Africa. Chapter three discusses the interfaces between SAC and ZT while sharing the township space in SA, as ZT go about seeking to construct a new live for themselves (and often their families) in SA. Chapter four focuses on the challenges facing

TSS and the particular problems experienced by ZT in SA (including their relations with South African teachers). The literature reviews in chapters three and four provide a strong basis for highlighting the significance of the thesis vis-à-vis the existing scholarly literature. Chapters five to eight are the empirical chapters. Chapter five provides an overview of the Zimbabwean teachers' lives in KZN, while chapter six turns to the Zimbabwean teacher's socio-cultural encounters in the KZN townships. Thereafter, chapter seven discusses the relationships that ZT have within their school environments, and chapter eight is a case study of two different ZT (to showcase variation in the socio-cultural experiences amongst the studied ZT). Finally, the concluding chapter (chapter nine) offers a coherent overview of the thesis by highlighting the ways in which the empirical evidence allows me to address the main and subsidiary objectives, and it also shows the value of social interface theory in interpreting the lives of ZT in SA.

Chapter Two: Theorising Interfaces between Life-Worlds

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the analytical framing for the thesis. It draws specifically on Social Interface theory, as first developed by Norman Long in relation to development studies. In trying to understand how ZT interact with the local South Africans in KZN province, it is essential to understand the interface between their live-worlds and the live-worlds of the South Africans, in particular the negotiation processes which take place along this interface. By virtue of being present in KZN, ZT live in and move around the spaces of KZN as foreigners, entering into negotiations on a day-to-day basis, both in the townships generally and in the township schools specifically. By negotiations, I do not mean formal negotiations – rather, I refer to the ways in which ZT navigate their way through the spaces of KZN, which typically entail interactions with SAC. By life-world, I simply mean the social-cultural arrangements of a broad grouping of people (for instance, ZT or SAC), including the perceptions, perspectives and practices intrinsic to their way of life. In understanding the lives of ZT in KZN, it is crucial to adopt an analytical approach which facilitates an identification and understanding of the intricate and complex negotiations along the interfaces of the two main life-worlds relevant to this study. After presented Long's general theory of social interfaces, the chapter turns to more specific themes, namely: knowledge, history, power and culture; the fluid, differentiated and processual character of interfaces; and, finally, interfaces and citizenship.

2.2 Understanding Interfaces

The general notion of an interface may conjure up the image of a simple two-sided articulation or interaction (Drucker, 2011). However, interfaces in the social world are certainly far more complex and convoluted in character, involving many different interests, relationships, and modes of power and rationality. For Norman Long (1989), a social interface is the 'critical point of intersection' between different life-worlds. Long (1989: 1) thus defines a social interface as follows:

> [A]s a critical point of intersection or linkage between different social systems, fields, or levels of social order where structural discontinuities, based upon differences of normative value and social interest, are most likely to be found. … The concept implies some kind of face-to-face

> encounter between individuals or units representing different interests and backed by different resources. The interacting parties will often be differentiated in terms of power.

Interface theory is said to provide "a theoretical alternative to the well-established paradigm of being 'caught-between two-worlds'" (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009: 116). Negotiations along an interface are meant to, ideally, connect those two life-worlds and create a singular world where everyone co-exists. However, space or "territory is constructed, negotiated, and contested at a variety of different levels" (Leonard, 2006: 233), which often results in an unstable, unpredictable and disrupted space. Thus, acts of negotiation with the coming together of two life-worlds along interfaces of interaction, as in the case of the life-worlds of Zimbabweans and South Africans, may not lead to mutual acknowledgement and co-existence. In fact, the end-result may be the exact opposite. The marginalisation of black foreigners in SA as 'not belonging' and being unwelcome at times, can be understood through social interface and the lack of or unsuccessful negotiation between the two life-worlds.

Interface theory thus offers a way to explore and understand questions around conflict, diversity, and inclusivity. It attempts to understand how two or more social groupings (embodying different life-worlds) interact in contingent and dynamic ways, with the likelihood of a multiplicity of alternative outcomes, ranging from mutual support to deep antagonism. The outcome is not pre-determined despite the existence of power differentials and the possibility of the more powerful imposing its will on the less powerful, as it entails some form of negotiated outcome with all groupings enacting some form and level of agency. In this way, social interface situations involve the coming together of complex and varied interests, experiences, perspectives, relationships, and power dynamics (Kontinen, 2004) that work themselves out (or, more apt, are worked out) in fluid ways. Just as an interface is not a static boundary between life-worlds because it becomes reconfigured over time, it may also be relatively porous and open to the exchange of ideas, norms and values. In this regard, ZT and SAC, in sharing township space, will constantly negotiate and renegotiate over time as they both seek to establish some sort of agreement about how to live their lives, either in harmony or in antagonism. Circumstances are constantly changing, and the relationships between ZT and SAC will unlikely move across time in a linear progression. There is fluidity and tentativeness in the 'agreements' reached and they may be subject to change.

In relation to this thesis, the key interface is between the ZT and South Africans broadly (including teachers, administrators, students, and ordinary citizens). The socio-cultural life-

worlds of ZT and South Africans, neither of which are homogeneous (as internal differentiation exists within both), meet along a multiplicity of everyday interfaces, in both the townships and the township schools. As outsiders (i.e., strangers), ZT exist, live, and navigate along the edges of these interfaces, perhaps initially on a tentative and exploratory basis. Over time, they might seek to move partially or completely across the interfaces and enter into the life-world of South Africans through ongoing processes of negotiation. Insofar as they enter into this other life-world, this may be for tactical purposes only, that is, in order to 'get on' with their lives the best they can in SA, rather than a wholesale and deliberate attempt at being accepted by South Africans in the 'strange' life-world they are now entering.

The argument about an interface as "a critical point of interaction between life worlds" (Long, 2011: 9) involves the recognition that there is a sharing of social spaces but that boundaries of separation exist within these spaces. In the case of this study, ZT exist *in* township and township school spaces – however, they are not *of* these spaces insofar as they have not assimilated themselves into the dominant and prevailing life-world in these spaces. Different kinds and degrees of face-to-face encounters are simply unavoidable (Long, 1989) but, at the same time, the social spaces are characterised by differentials regarding power and other resources. Hence, the interactions along interfaces do not normally embody a level playing field, as they tend to involve relations of subordination and domination and even attempts to undercut the very existence of another life-world (and its history and knowledges).

Despite this possibility, interface theory seeks to foreground agency (Long, 1984; Long & Long, 1992). As Long and Jinlong (2009: 71) argue: "[T]he main advantage of adopting an actor interface perspective for understanding social change and development is its recognition of the central significance of 'human agency'". This means that even those occupying the spaces of other life-worlds and subject to marginalisation have some capacity to navigate and negotiate the spaces in which they find themselves (Aikenhead & Jegede, 1999), leading perhaps to some form of accommodation or stalemate between the life-worlds. For groupings such as foreign nationals, specifically ZT, practices of negotiation (whether at township schools or in townships) allow them to develop a minimal degree of knowledge about the host country so as to construct a better understanding of the institutional and other cultures (and life-world generally) in which they find themselves surrounded by. This forms a basis for trying to 'fit into' the space hitherto occupied by South Africans, if indeed the ZT wish to do so. As outsiders, foreigners adopt a diverse array of negotiation-stances and strategies which are not

reducible to either assimilating into the cultural-social settings of the host country or being subject to outright rejection/expulsion from the society before they even set one foot firmly in it.

Long (1989) acknowledges that interface interactions, if they are to exist over time without major disturbances or disruptions, presuppose some kind of shared understandings or common interests (if only of a minimalist kind). But entering and sharing a new space on equal terms is not always feasible for foreigners, as the hosts may defend their life-world and act as gate-keepers vis-à-vis so-called alien intrusions. This seems to be the case in SA and for many other countries hostile to the presence of those labelled as strangers, with tensions and conflicts arising – this tends to solidify the boundary-setting between the different life-worlds. In SA, the Afrophobic-xenophobic discourses and practices pertaining to black African foreigners (including Zimbabweans) are tangible evidence of what unequal power relations and political conflict along social interfaces might look like and lead to; more specifically, trying to live within the spaces (let alone 'invade' the life-world) of South Africans, even slightly and slowly, might be at great cost to those trying to do so. The social construction of Zimbabweans by South Africans as unworthy of entry into the latter's life-world (and their rejection on this basis) does not imply, though, that the former are without agency as human actors – or are mere victims of the wishes and whims of South Africans. Zimbabweans may lack power as foreigners, and they may experience intimidation in sharing spaces with South Africans, but they still make choices within the limitations of their troubling conditions of existence.

The concept of interface helps the analyst to consider the production, maintenance and even transformation of different life-worlds, as processes and acts of engagement (or disengagement) along interfaces are quite important in configuring and reconfiguring life-worlds. Though interfaces might appear as mere boundaries between life-worlds, negotiations taking place along them have real effects on the internal composition of particular life-worlds. It is for this reason that investigating interface encounters, and the form these take, are of great significance in understanding the constitution and character of different life-worlds and their trajectories over time (Long, 1991). In turn, this allows for an examination of shared spaces (for example, township and township school spaces), as these spaces are structured by the extent to which different life-worlds enter into some kind of collaboration or remain intensely protective of their socio-cultural arrangements. Through negotiation and possibly coming to a compromise where necessary, in the case of Zimbabweans and South Africans, acts along the

interfaces may bridge the gap between these two groupings and ensure that Zimbabweans are not ostracised based on their citizenship.

2.3 Interfaces: Knowledge, History, Power and Culture

Knowledge, history, power and culture are all of significance for interfaces and interfacing. The image of the 'battlefields of knowledge' (Long & Jinlong, 2009) along interfaces conveys the idea of a contested arena where the understandings, interests and values of foreigners, in this case Zimbabwean teachers, are pitched against the locals. It is in this 'field' that intolerance, hatred and conflict prevail, with a certain portion of South Africans defining black African foreigners as strange misfits, or economic rivals competing unfairly for employment and limited public resources and services. This is a field where knowledge, ideas, values and social meanings are propagated and circulate, leading at times to struggles around these ideas and meanings, as Zimbabweans think otherwise about their presence in SA. Discursive-meanings, though, have consequences as they may activate or lead to practices, and practices of exclusion may come to the fore when discursive tensions about the presence of aliens in local spaces take place. This battlefield is not conducive to building bridges between life-worlds; rather, it builds walls which cut through and divide life-worlds (Atkinson & Clark, 2013). This, then, involves the reproduction and maintenance of social discontinuity and disjuncture along the interfaces of Zimbabwean and South African life-worlds, with South Africans protecting their cultural heritage from outside polluting effects. In the end, the most vulnerable and least powerful are the ones who feel the negative effects of this the most.

The idea of an interface is twofold: on the one hand, an interface is an intersection where strangers (or simply those who are different) meet; on the other hand, an interface is a site or place for negotiation between different life-worlds. One key issue here is that the coming together of life-worlds is a coming together not just of the present, but also of the past and future – the solidification of the past in the present, and the emergence of the future from the present. In the case of this study, both Zimbabweans and South Africans have their own peculiar past, but they both want to rise above the past into a better future.

At the same time, the past of Apartheid weighs heavily on South Africans today, in part because post-Apartheid society has not addressed the many wrongs of the past – more specifically, many Black working class people in townships continue to suffer depravity and deficiencies. The poverty they experience feeds into attempts to reinforce boundaries between them and

Zimbabweans. Because of this, there is no "acknowledgement of the shared histories of both parties and a commitment to ongoing relationships" (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009: 116) by all concerned. In this light, in reality, an interface may involve intimidating or confrontational interactions, particularly where misunderstandings lead to hostility and the inevitability of conflict (Kontinen, 2004).

Certainly, the black South African working class communities which occupy and share (township) space with black foreigners, and which are trying so desperately to make ends meet, are some of the same communities that display intolerance and the unacceptance of 'outsiders'. The tangible presence of ZT in local spaces makes them an easy target, with the South African government seemingly considered by SAC as less significant than the ZT in causing contemporary deprivations – in instances of Afrophobia, that is how SAC explain and rationalise their conditions of poverty. Zimbabweans and other black African foreigners in SA would consider this as quite irrational. Rationalising Afrophobia in this way inhibits and undercuts the possibility of these foreigners negotiating and constructing for themselves a presence in SA where different life-worlds accommodate each other. It prevents the realities and experiences of foreigners, specifically ZT, from being acknowledged and incorporated into the lived realities of township spaces. Such a possibility may lead ZT to avoid any process of interfacing or engaging directly with South Africans, with strangers retreating into their strangeness.

In line with Norman Long's thinking, Gerharz (2018: 1) argues that "what matters in these situations is not only if perspectives, experiences, and worldviews differ between the actors involved, but also how these encounters are shaped by unequal power relations". The role of power relations cannot be ignored when considering processes of interface-negotiation between life-worlds. Power involves complex struggles over authority, status, reputation and resources, and it typically necessitates enrolling the support of others (such as networks or constituencies) in performances of power (Latour, 1994; Callon & Law, 1995; Long, 1991; Villarreal, 1992). Where power relations are involved, discontinuities and walls – rather than continuities and bridges – are more likely to appear. This because power implies the capacity to configure the lives of others against their wish (i.e., on a non-consensual basis). Certainly, SAC have enacted power against Zimbabweans by restricting their access to local resources, by ensuring deportation of voluntary departure and, by the ultimate form of power – death.

Cultural norms and practices, as key aspects of the experiences and realities intrinsic to life-worlds, are at stake so to speak when it comes to interfaces and the outcome of interfacing (Long, 1997). If only unintentionally, two or more groupings 'bring' their cultural arrangements into contact along everyday interfaces, with the possibility of cultural clashes arising. To avoid this, give-and-take negotiations and accommodations are necessary. ZT bring their own cultural norms and values into township spaces constituted by their own set of historically-constructed norms and values. Along interfaces, it is often essential, especially for 'the guests' – before entering the new space – to know something about the host culture and what is culturally appropriate and inappropriate (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009), otherwise key stumbling blocks will arise from the very beginning.

2.4 Fluid, Differentiated and Processual Character of Interfaces

ZT in SA need to live in the space they have entered, simultaneously negotiating their way through this space, including by means of a multiplicity of interactions with SAC on a daily basis. The locals have their own life-world (including norms, values, and practices), as do the ZT, though it is problematic to argue that these life-worlds exist in some sort of homogeneous fashion. In other words, for the life-worlds of both SAC and ZT, there is internal differentiation and divergence. To give one example, not all black working class township residents are Afrophobic, just as not all ZT experience SAC as Afrophobic. These life-worlds are variegated, which means that the character and content of the interfaces between SAC and ZT are bound to vary.

At the same time, even if there is mutual interaction and support across life-worlds, this does not necessarily imply that the respective life-worlds are diluted – they remain as is, but in collaboration with each other (in other words, certain ZTs may engage productively with SAC, but they do so as Zimbabweans). Further, insofar as ZT do begin to adjust their lives according to the life-worlds of SAC, or even assimilate, they do this on their own violation (as active agents in a foreign space) and without any mediator to facilitate this process. Irrespective of the outcome of the negotiations along the interfaces of life-worlds (from rejection to assimilation), by virtue of being in SA and sharing the space with locals, ZT seek to find a place in SA that works for them. In doing so, they contribute to reconfiguring the township space and possibly reconfiguring both the life-world of SAC and their own life-world. Both SAC and ZT, as co-constructors, reproduce and reconstitute spaces and life-worlds albeit

unintentionally. Though a power differential does exist between SAC and ZT, the agency of Zimbabweans in SA cannot be ignored.

The social and cultural experiences of ZT in townships are differentiated and complex, complicated by the vast array of situations in which ZT find themselves in (for instance, in shopping malls, at the bus stops, in the churches). The social and cultural experiences of ZT in KZN townships and KZN TSS will differ in some way. In fact, as the empirical chapters show, each ZT has his or her own story to tell. The kinds of SAC encountered also vary – in this study, the focus is on SAC in townships, and South African teachers, administrators and students/pupils. But 'SAC in townships' does not, regrettably, capture the sheer diversity of groupings of people living in the KZN townships.

Negotiations along interfaces are ongoing, and should be understood as processes rather than as one-off events. Each interaction along the interface, particularly for outsiders (i.e., strangers), is a moment of possibility – a moment through which the stranger might be recognised not as an intruder but as a welcome visitor invited into the space of the host life-world. Each moment gives the outsider a signal or a sense of what their presence means for the host, with moments in sequence reinforcing each other or cancelling each other out. As indicated earlier, the negotiation process is simply not a linear process or progression, as it might involves significant confusion for the stranger because of mixed signals. Whether or not strangers like ZT in SA can remain strangers in KZN townships forever is a difficult question to answer, as the process is also indeterminate and subject to complete reversal. They might be inside the space, but remain as perpetual outsiders (i.e. in the space, but not of the space).

Nevertheless, such a space (for example, the townships space) is a profoundly inter-cultural space (or multi-life-world space), or "the in-between terrain where distinctive worldviews and knowledge bases enter into some form of engagement or relationship to potentially be expanded and innovated" (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009: 116). The negotiation process allows different life-worlds to interact and engage with each other to – potentially – produce new discourses and practices (even a fusion of life-worlds). However, this is merely a potential, the potential ingrained in each moment of the negotiation process. South Africans are often very protective of their space, with the presence of foreigners interpreted as an threatening invasion of their space (Chigeza et al., 2013).

This highlights the significance of place and space for people. There is an intimate link between people and their spaces due to "the way we understand ourselves, our place in the larger context, and the cultural meanings infused into gestures, objects, and sign systems. Spatial proximity and how we locate ourselves in space affects every aspect of the cultural objects we create and interact with" (Farman, 2012: 14). To enter into another space, when that space is claimed by another as 'our space', is bound to be a delicate and sensitive process, particularly when that space is riddled with its own tensions and conflicts (as are townships in post-Apartheid SA) – such a space does not necessarily allow for rational communication. South Africans, simply put, have not successfully negotiated their own space amongst themselves, given their histories of colonialism and Apartheid.

For Leonard (2006: 235), "in societies [such as contemporary South Africa] experiencing political conflict, notions of place and territory have considerable local, regional and national significance. Indeed, many disputes relating to national identity are based on competing claims to place and territory". Therefore, in coming to South African townships, black Zimbabweans are entering an already disputed space. For Zimbabweans to feel welcome and even to some degree safe, they need to interface and negotiate the space and avoid being 'othered'. This is of particular significance for teachers, if only because of the significant scale of teacher migration both nationally and globally (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). Their levels of adjustment, assimilation, disconnection and/or engagement with host new life-world needs to be examined, as this thesis seeks to do in relation to ZT in SA.

By being in a new social milieu such as SA, specifically KZN townships, ZT are faced with the challenge of navigating their environment and negotiating with locals both at schools (workplace) and in the townships (homes). The transition from Zimbabwe to KZN province townships might not be new for all teachers, as some may have come from other provinces in SA to KZN. As well, the transition to township schools might not be a new experience for all ZT, as some taught in similar schools back in Zimbabwe. Again, this raises the likely existence of variegated experiences amongst the ZT studied in this research. Nevertheless, this is still some sort of transition for all ZT coming to live and work in KZN TSS. Overall, the teachers are still foreigners, whether the transition is into a slightly familiar or alien territory. They all need to acquaint themselves with the life-world of KZN townships and, to some degree, with the social histories of the South Africans with whom they work and live, be it their colleagues,

learners, and/or township residents. Thus, differences between ZT do not erase certain similarities between them all as they go about interfacing in KZN townships and schools.

The face-to-face encounters between the different life-worlds become the ground for negotiating possible ways to co-exist while avoiding conflict. In relation to social interfaces, Long (1989: 69) argues that the "continued interaction [and negotiation] encourages the development of boundaries and shared expectations that shape the interaction of the participants so that over time the interface itself becomes an organised entity of interlocking relationships and intentionalities". The claim here is that, over time, some sort of stabilisation emerges along the interfaces between different life-worlds, with shared understandings across the boundary about the very character of the boundary. There may be 'interlocking relationships', but this does not necessarily imply mutually-supportive relationships – it might be a matter of simply agreeing to disagree, across the boundary (co-existence through a perpetual stalemate).

2.5 Interfaces and Citizenship

Sociology has a longstanding interest in the transformative potential of social encounters (such as reducing prejudices), including between locals and foreigners (Valentine & Sadgrove 2014; Wiesel & Bigby, 2016), though encounters also maintain and reproduce prevailing circumstances. Interfaces between actors, as noted, are characterised by discontinuities in interests, values and power, and their dynamic quality entails negotiation, accommodation and the struggle over definitions and boundaries (Long & Villarreal, 1993; Hebinck et al., 2001). What is at stake is territory, space, place and often citizenship (Axford, 2002: 37), with the language of citizenship-rights being a marker of both inclusion and exclusion (McConnell, 2013) – as it "delineates boundaries between 'us and others'" (Isin & Nielsen, 2008: 55). In SA, discourses around citizenship become embodied at times in the interfaces between SAC and black African foreigners in a deeply exclusionary manner. Even foreigners with legal residency in the country are rejected or victimised based on the fact that they are not 'citizens'.

To reiterate the definition of interfaces provided by Long (1989), interfaces typically occur at points where different, and often conflicting, life-worlds or social-cultural fields of life intersect. Power differentials and struggles appear along these interfaces, leading to diverse outcomes such as domination, collaboration, contestation, resistance, and/or negotiation (Parashar et al., 2021). The point here is that the question of citizenship (and all the formal

rights and obligations which come with it) complicates interfaces – it adds another dimension to interfaces and makes the stakes even higher when it comes to the interaction between locals and foreigners. In the case of this study, ZT are not merely in the township spaces of KZN; in addition, they have entered the space of South Africa. It is often the case that residency alone does not give a person the right to enter and remain within a particular national boundary: a rightful claim requires citizenship. This only adds to the intensity of the interfaces which ZT have to negotiate on a day-to-day basis in KZN townships and schools.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the analytical perspective (i.e., social interface theory) to be used for understanding the lives of ZT in KZN province in South Africa. As an actor-orientated perspective, it facilitates an understanding of the agency of ZT as they actively seek to negotiate or navigate their way through the spaces of KZN, along the general interface of their life-world and the life-world of SAC. Ultimately, there are a multiplicity of specific interfaces which ZT encounter on a daily basis, both in the townships broadly and the schools in particular. Important questions around power differentials arise with reference to these interfaces, including the possibility that 'hosts' may be hostile to 'aliens' as the latter are visualised as a threat. This possibility is heightened when citizenship enters into the equation. The outcome of interface negotiations are contingent on an array of factors, including the variegated character of the life-worlds themselves and the circumstances under which particular interfacing takes place. Hence, as an analyst, it is important to be sensitive to possible diversity in interface outcomes.

The following two chapters are contextual chapters, prior to the ensuing empirical chapters. The next chapter considers the lives of foreigners in post-Apartheid SA, particularly in relation to the sharing of township spaces.

Chapter Three: Zimbabweans in South Africa – Sharing Township Spaces

3.1 Introduction

This contextual chapter discusses the sharing of space in South African townships by South Africans and foreign nationals, specifically Zimbabweans. It considers the migration into SA post-1994 of Zimbabwean immigrants, with a focus on the 'Zimbabwean crisis' that resulted in thousands of Zimbabweans moving into the diaspora (including SA). It discusses the promise of post-Apartheid SA for SAC – a democratic dispensation which would supposedly address the development deficiencies of the country, particularly for the black population. The reality is far different, at least for the vast majority of low-income households in urban townships, where inequality and poverty prevail. This is the socio-economic context into which ZT are moving when they leave Zimbabwe and take up a teaching position in a KZN township. In this respect, the thoughts and perspectives of South Africans living in the townships are important in understanding the socio-cultural experiences of ZT in TSS in SA. Of particular significance in this regard is the presence or absence of Afro-phobic or xenophobic attitudes amongst SAC in the townships, and how these arise in the context of sharing township space with foreigners. Though the existence of Afro-phobia (and xenophobic attacks) appears uneven across townships in SA, there is no doubt that, for Zimbabweans and other foreigners, its presence or absence is central to their socio-cultural experiences and the manner in which they negotiate the township space. For this reason, there is an extended discussion in this chapter on township life and xenophobia.

3.2 Immigration into South Africa Post-1994, including Zimbabwean Migrants

Regardless of recent tendencies, including heightened cross-border migration under contemporary conditions of globalisation, people on the African continent have always migrated over long distances to trade, work or visit. In the past for example, under colonial conditions, "[m]en usually unaccompanied by their wives and children, move[d] long distances to work for a few months or a few years in factories, mines and farms in their own or neighbouring countries and then return home" (Ojong, 2002: 1). However, in the case of SA post-1994, there has been ever-increasing migration into the country. SA appears to have become a favourite or preferred destination for African immigrants in recent years, and this is part of the growing trend of South-to-South migration globally. African migration into SA has increased not only through the regular inward movement of skilled professionals and other

economic migrants from distressed economies in Africa, but also because of refugees fleeing conflict areas such as Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Zimbabwe (Isike & Isike, 2012). Migration of course has multiple causations, including both push and pull factors: "Some migrants are 'pulled' by the prospects of a better life elsewhere; others are 'pushed' by unbearable conditions in their home countries; and others move because of a mixture of 'push-pull' factors" (Louw & Mersham, 2001: 305).

There are concerns and fears in SA that the ongoing movement of people from less developed countries in Africa will add pressure on its own limited public resources (Fritsch et al., 2010), lead to increasing competition for employment, and bring about intolerance and conflict between locals and foreigners (Chagonda, 2010). Zimbabweans represent without doubt the most significant number of migrants in SA (McDonald et al., 2000; Bloch, 2006; Makina, 2012), and they have become an easy target for marginalisation, scapegoating, violent attacks, and other discriminatory practices. Overall, many Zimbabweans have been subjected to these inhumane injustices while in SA, with some choosing even to leave because of these ongoing vulnerabilities.

Thus, the Zimbabwean situation is central to the migration debate in South Africa and the region more broadly. Because of this, there is a significant body of literature on Zimbabwean nationals in SA (Crush, 2011; Lee & Sehoole, 2015; Mdepa & Tshiwula, 2012; Matsinhe, 2011; Gqola, 2008; Fritsch et al., 2010). The period between 2000 and 2008 in particular saw a massive exodus of Zimbabweans (Crush & Tevera, 2010) into the diaspora, particularly in SA, Botswana, Namibia, and Europe (Madebwe & Madebwe, 2017; Mazuru, 2014). In fact, "this was the era when Zimbabwe experienced the highest number of emigrants in its history" (Mazuru, 2014: 130). The available literature identifies several causes and dimensions of what is now commonly understood as the Zimbabwean crisis. The dimensions of this crisis are economic, political and social, but the turbulent and violent politics of Zimbabwe have been central: "Political causes and dimensions of the crisis have emerged as … important drivers of the mass exodus that had not been experienced before in the country's history" (Probyn, 2009: 259). At the same time, as Greene and Pick (2006) argue, economic conditions at the migrant's place of origin (and destination) are crucial to decisions about moving. The relationship between economic decline in Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2008 and outmigration is testimony to this. According to Idemudia et al. (2013: 19), "Zimbabweans are confronted with enormous challenges such as poverty, drought, famine, the lack of housing and other basic resources and

it may be the consequence of living with the totality of this deprivation that is driving immigration".

The sheer number of people crossing the borders throughout the Southern African region, and particularly between Zimbabwe and South Africa in a southward direction, has been astounding (Crush et al., 2005), and this has created serious dilemmas for the South African state. The South African state's policy regarding Zimbabwean migrants has fluctuated over the years. But, South Africa's control of Zimbabwean immigration has been more relaxed than any other destination country, and Zimbabwean migrants at times are able to stay for extended periods without work permits or other documentation required by other African migrants (Chagonda, 2010), much to the dismay at times of local black South Africans. However, they have also been subjected to significant rounds of deportation over the years.

SA as a destination country for many Zimbabweans is seen as a win-win situation, as least prior to moving southward: "[I]t is generally believed among the migrant community that when one migrates to South Africa for whatever reason, one is guaranteed of a job, success and better life" (Sibanda, 2010: 47). In a study by Sibanda (2010), a Zimbabwean participant expressed that "I grew up with a feeling that when I finish school, I will follow my uncle in Johannesburg to go and accumulate wealth like him. When the situation deteriorated at home, I did not hesitate to cross the border to South Africa in anticipation of a better future". This is a story told by many Zimbabwean migrants who left their country searching for a brighter future. Rugunanan and Smit (2011), in their study, found similar results as Sibanda (2010). In referring to SA, one Zimbabwean research participant highlighted that "in our home countries, life was very difficult and we struggled. Here there is hope for us" (Rugunanan & Smit 2011: 705). All things considered, though Zimbabwean migrants are in a double-edged sword situation. On the one hand, they are leaving behind dire conditions in Zimbabwe, politically and economically. On the other hand, coming to SA has the potential to salvage them from their traumatic economic and political circumstances – but, this also involves taking multiple risks, including failing to pursue a meaningful livelihood, and in the face of anti-foreigner sentiments.

Like many developing countries, Zimbabwe is a sending country with the exact number of Zimbabweans in the diaspora unknown. An estimation of between two and three million Zimbabweans are working and living all over the world. Importantly: "Of this total, 1 to 1.5 million Zimbabweans are conservatively estimated to be living in South Africa alone, with at least 20% estimated to be "irregular" or not legally residing in the country (Crush & Tevera

2010; Alich et al. 2014, cited in Dzingirai et al, 2015: 8). Ndlovu (2013, cited in Jacobs, 2016) agrees with these scholars in that, although the statistics are unreliable, there may be up to three million Zimbabwean nationals living across the globe, with SA having the bulk of Zimbabwe's diaspora community. Given the current condition of Zimbabwe, entailing a prolonged crisis (up until now), such migration has many possible benefits, including the ability to reduce poverty for both migrants and their families if they remain in their home country (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

Women are prominent amongst the Zimbabwean migrants. For Zimbabwean women coming to SA, a common and socially accepted form of work is cross-border trading, though this entails a transient presence in SA. Muzvidziwa (1998: 29) thus argues that "a number of female household heads in the high-density suburbs of Masvingo [in Zimbabwe] were able to break out of poverty through cross-border trading". Though providing a possible way out of poverty, these unaccompanied – cross-border trading – women become subject to considerable abuse when in SA. They have been dehumanised and labelled with negative stereotypes by the media and ordinary citizens (Muzvidziwa, 1998), including being identified as immoral beings (witches and prostitutes) who engage in spreading HIV and AIDS and killing people and then taking body parts to use as *muthi* (that is, medicine) (Mutopo, 2010). Further, cross-border women traders experience violations of their human rights by officials. Mutopo (2010: 473) details this:

> As we got to the border, women's faces saddened; as they all feared South African immigration officials. They were subjected to body searching and verbal abuse. In some instances, their produce was taken and thrown away, and at other times subjected to such long delays at the border that vegetables such as rape spoiled and could not be sold.

These women are violated in many ways and they cannot complain because they want to go and sell their products; they need to endure such experiences and only hope for the best.

Other Zimbabwean women are in SA on a less transitory basis, as domestic workers. Nyamnjoh (2005) explains that, like elsewhere in Africa and the world, maids in SA are notably migrant maids (in this case, from Zimbabwe) and "are subjected to the vicissitudes of ultra-exploitation. They, … are all concerned with the uncertainties that plague their lives" (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 181). Foreign domestic workers from Zimbabwe enjoy little legal protection, and even their fundamental human rights are undermined because of the inequalities generated through the

intersections of race, geography, class, gender, and citizenship. These individuals are inevitably powerless and highly vulnerable to manipulation: “They are often treated as if their humanity were deliberately frozen for zombification” (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 181).

Zimbabweans live in SA as undocumented workers, informal traders, unskilled and semi-skilled contract-employees, professionals in the formal sector, farm labourers and domestic workers (Muzvidziwa, 1998; Nyamnjoh, 2005). In this way, Zimbabwean migration to SA involves highly regulated contract employment (for example, in the mining industry) alongside informal, unregulated, and undocumented migration (Bloch, 2010). Contract employment is evident on farms throughout SA, including in Limpopo along the Zimbabwean border and as far afield as the Eastern Cape citrus estates. Highly educated Zimbabwean professionals work in SA as doctors, mine engineers and teachers, both in the corporate and public sectors. However, it is not only adult Zimbabweans who move to SA, with or without their families. Indeed, there is no typical Zimbabwean migrant and even unaccompanied refugee minors cross the Zimbabwean border into SA. These are individuals under the age of eighteen years, who have either crossed the border alone or with another child, but without an adult or a caregiver. Unaccompanied refugee minors come to SA searching for education, shelter, or jobs to support families back in Zimbabwe (Fritsch et al., 2010).

The possibility of finding necessary and even quality employment in SA is a significant reason for Zimbabweans to leave behind friends, family, community, and accompanying social support systems, which become particularly important when life presents its many challenges, as it has during the Zimbabwean crisis (Idemudia et al., 2013). In other words, Zimbabweans who have migrated to SA have not only left behind their loved ones, support systems and cherished memories, as they have also left behind the troublesome dimensions of life in Zimbabwe – such as the collapsed economy, lack of employment opportunities, hyper-inflation, human rights violations, and political persecution (Bloch, 2010). They do this all in the hope of a better future for themselves and their loved ones remaining in Zimbabwe.

But, as the following sections show, trouble also awaits them in SA, most overtly anti-foreigner attitudes and practices through which they need to navigate if these are not avoidable. As will be emphasised, the xenophobia prevailing in SA is directed in the main against black African foreign nationals, almost as if they are the only foreigners in the country. White foreigners (even those from Zimbabwe) are not seen as a threat amongst South Africans who suffer the deprivations of post-Apartheid South Africa. Much literature on white Zimbabweans speaks to

the issue of the fast-track land reform programme in 2000 and how white voices were increasingly marginalised. For example, "white narratives, in the form of fiction, memoirs and autobiographies, have … emerged as the most accessible avenue through which whites make their representations and restore their voices to mainstream dialogue about whiteness, land, citizenship and belonging, albeit marginalised" (Misi, 2016: 99). As the crisis deepened after 2000, the plight of white Zimbabweans became international news (Pilossof, 2009) and this created a space for them to tell their story – and to try to reassert their identity, belonging and presence in post-colonial Zimbabwe specifically (Hartnack, 2015) and post-colonial Africa more widely. In many countries in southern Africa, including Zambia and Mozambique, former white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe were welcomed as sources of investment and productivity.

To reiterate, in present-day SA, there are two kinds of foreigners, and this differentiation has moral connotations. White (European) foreigners are perceived and accepted as tourists and/or investors in SA able to contribute to the development of the country because of their 'Europeanness'. At the same time, black African foreigners are perceived and understood as '*makwerekweres*' who have nothing constructive to offer the country, other than depleting the limited public resources (Gqola, 2008; Matsinhe, 2011): "The 'smelly', 'hungry', 'poor', 'illiterate' and 'uncultured' Makwerekwere from 'poor' Africa is judged as guilty for 'crime, taking our jobs and our women', and as such should be resisted" (Naidu, 2012: 95). The criminalisation and demonisation of black foreigners from Africa and the depiction of them as smelly, hungry, poor, illiterate, and uncultured (as Gqola (2008) puts it) has allowed some South Africans to successfully differentiate on a moral basis between white/European foreigners who are accepted and 'the rejects' from Africa (Naidu, 2012) who should be punished for wanting a better life in the country. This distinction hosts and maintains many negative attitudes that become verbally and materially expressed at times in a troublesome manner.

3.3 The Promise of South Africa: But Inequality and Poverty Prevail in the Townships

Township sites have been spaces of poverty, inequalities, crime, and violence dating back to the time of Apartheid. Even today, in post-Apartheid SA, they are epicentres of injustice and marginalisation which go contrary to the existence of a constitutional democracy in the country. Scholars agree that township residential areas in SA originated as racially segregated low-cost housing developments for black labourers to remain relatively close to their places of

employment within the cities and towns (Harber, 2001; Leoschut, 2006; Prinsloo, 2007). In many ways, they remain as labour reserves for urban industrial and commercial enterprises. But they are primarily associated with chaos, poverty, crime, and violence, sometimes even equated with 'war zones' as the safety of residents is regularly compromised (Mampane & Bouwer, 2011).

For an extended period, SA has been (and possibly continues to be) one of the most unequal countries in the world. Over sixty per cent of South African children, for instance, live in poverty (Graven, 2014). In the new democratic dispensation of SA (post-1994), poverty levels may be lower compared to the time of Apartheid; however, socio-economic inequality has worsened (Graven, 2014). The urban townships (where mostly lower-class black people reside) and the rural areas of SA illustrate the severe deficiencies in development given their comparative lack of infrastructure, resources, and public services (Sedibe, 2011). The inequality between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' is easily identified in the differential access to decent schools, hospitals and other essential infrastructure and services. This is clear even in the case of shopping malls. For example, in the KZN province, there is a visible distinction based on setting, scenery, security and clientele between Umlazi Megacity and Gateway Theatre of Shopping. The latter is located in Umhlanga Ridge (an affluent residential, commercial and resort town north of Durban), catering for an elite market. Meanwhile, the former carries only the essentials for the residents of the low-income Umlazi township. The stores and often products in the shopping malls are different, with the prices of products sold catering for specific target markets.

Dire economic circumstances prevail in contemporary SA, though it has differentiated and uneven effects. Naidoo and Kongolo (2004: 124) state that "South Africa has unfortunately inherited a work environment based on an economic system characterised by deprivation, political instability, adversarial labour relations, cheap migrant labour, and massive income and wealth disparities". In large part, black working-class communities bear the brunt of South Africa's economic challenges. Even affirmative action, or black economic empowerment, has failed to redress the past imbalances of the Apartheid regime effectively. There are many new discriminations taking place with regards to employment, access to job opportunities, remuneration, career advancements, and inequalities in the post-Apartheid workplace (Naidoo & Kongolo, 2004). A large portion of the black working class is not formally employed and relies upon government grants. The situation for black foreigners in SA is often more desperate,

because of the serious difficulties in accessing formal employment and securing a livelihood (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014). Undoubtedly, large numbers of Zimbabwean migrants fail to enter the formal labour market because of their foreign status and anti-foreigner discriminatory practices. This failure to access the formal labour market has forced immigrants into the informal labour market, leaving them in even more vulnerable positions (Cox & Watt, 2002; Jinnah, 2013; Kihato, 2007; Ramirez & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014).

In addition, Harvey (2011) refers to the prevalence of underemployment, which is related to but not necessarily synonymous with precarious work. Underemployment occurs when an employee is employed in a job (with required skills-set) that is inferior relative to the labour capacities of the employee (Harvey, 2011), meaning that the employee is overqualified for the position and the employee's skills-set, education and experience are not fully utilised (Robinson & Abbasi, 1979). It may also include employees working on a part-time basis despite their preference for full-time employment. Underemployment often arises because of desperation on the part of work-seekers, including foreign migrants in SA. It is not rare in SA to find qualified/skilled immigrants such as lawyers in unskilled positions/jobs. For example, they may engage in car guarding or being vendors simply because there are no jobs for them. Simultaneously, much available literature (Mukeredzi, 2013; Bertram et al., 2006; McKay et al., 2018) speaks to the existence of underqualified or not qualified local teachers employed in schools, while foreign teachers are denied access to the school system. Having skilled foreign teachers for instance guarding cars, while having local underqualified teachers in classrooms, is undoubtedly perplexing. This imbalance speaks directly, at least in part, to the numerous unresolved social problems in SA relating to xenophobia (masked by discrimination), underemployment, and anti-foreigner exclusion.

Many townships in KZN, such as Mpumalanga township, a low-income urban community with a history of political violence, are affected by rising unemployment and high poverty levels (Mosoetsa, 2005). Poverty and black South Africans residing in townships are two sides of the same coin: "South African society is marked by a stark inequality in incomes. Despite efforts to transform the structure of the economy, the divide between those with little and those with plenty has retained a racial dimension" (van der Berg et al., 2017: 1). The eThekwini municipality hosts one of the biggest slums within the province with Umlazi (P section) being part of a major slum clearance location (Dhladhla, 2012). Multiple interconnecting factors contribute to the challenges faced by black South Africans in townships in KZN.

For instance, the demand for the provision of housing in SA has increased enormously in the past decade due to a continued significant influx of people from the countryside to the urban areas, causing township spaces to be increasingly crowded spaces. The right of access to adequate housing is a Constitutional right guaranteed to all in section 26 of the 1996 Constitution of SA, which obliges the government to take "reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the realisation of this right" (Section 26(2)). Hence, it is a conditional right, but with the government failing to make the resources available to ensure proper housing for all township residents, with slums and shack-dwellings prominent throughout KZN province. This is despite the existence of a comprehensive state housing programme that aims to redress the legacies of Apartheid and grant eligible beneficiaries housing options. The problem remains with the acute shortage of affordable houses available to black low-income households in urban SA, and KZN townships are not excluded from this conundrum.

Profound inequalities characterise township spaces in SA in terms of access to basic services which include water, sanitation, and electricity. These problems are particularly discerning with reference to the informal settlements (or slum areas) (Ndebele, 2007). Further, the townships are characterised by a lack of essential services, leading to pollution and poor waste management (Msimang, 2017) and the possibility of water-borne diseases emerging. As Msimang (2017: vii) notes with specific reference to informal settlements: "[P]eople residing in informal settlements face challenges of service delivery. This is mainly due to the fact that land was occupied illegally, thus impacting negatively on the environment. A lack of basic needs and services leads to informal settlements having impacts [as well] on the environment".

South African township life, overall, is marked by multiple interconnected trials and tribulations. A pronounced patriarchy dominates township spaces and women/feminine bodies bear the burdens of this phenomenon. Many township households are headed by women (Ndebele, 2007). Unfortunately, the social context within which women seek access to housing is informed by patriarchy, customary and religious laws and practices, domestic violence, and HIV and AIDS (Ndebele, 2007). There are still no concrete measures devised to ensure that women can participate fully in the planning and implementation of housing reform projects. Women tend to be considered as mainly domestic caregivers, without a significant presence in public spaces, yet they remain significant as household income-earners, even if only in the informal sector.

Numerous financial burdens are placed on specific household members, be it because they access a social grant (pension, child support and disability grant) or because they are the only income-earner (van Driel, 2009). Single parents may manage households in which no immediate family members are employed, or parents may be struggling to earn income in the informal sector. Consequently, the children coming from these homes are affected detrimentally by their circumstances. The situation at home influences the way the children interact socially with their peers at school, even impacting negatively their academic performance. Most of these children have no consistent adult guidance, and they create their own blueprint without any assistance as they navigate life alone.

Manzini (2001: 45) adds that, in KZN, "the absence of sexual negotiation in adolescent relationships is a serious issue as well". In other words, there is a lack of sexual understandings passed on to schoolchildren from adults including respect for the female body. This has repercussions for African girls and women who are vulnerable because of the cultural stereotypes about sex and the feminine body (Rutenberg et al., 2003) which leads at times to intimate partner violence. Healthy and safe sex amongst township youth is often not forthcoming, leading to the risk of continuing the cycle of spreading unwanted sexual diseases and infections. Most importantly, there is the serious chance of the formation of even more child-headed homes where household responsibilities are placed on children, who should be children and not adults. Other problems amongst township youth include underage substance abuse (Stone, 2012 cited in van Raemdonck et al., 2016). Certainly, substance use and abuse among learners is well-documented for KZN province (Terblanche & Venter, 1999; Dowdell, 2000; Masitsa, 2007).

In many South African townships, a large portion of the children are without a parent or both parents. A study by Moyo (2015) revealed that KZN is the South African province with the highest HIV and AIDS prevalence, and that most of the child- and/or youth-headed households exist due to the death of one or both parents from HIV/AIDS. Apart from the general lack of psycho-social support for these children, "their grief is coupled with anxiety as they suddenly confront the need to assume daunting, age-inappropriate responsibilities of running, co-managing and ensuring the functionality of homes, the need to make decisions and envision the consequences of their choices" (Moyo, 2015: 2).

These are the same children who need to assume the role of being a learner during the day and thereby try and focus on school (doing their homework and school-related activities) while,

simultaneously, taking care of a household. Those orphans who are 'fortunate' are under the care of a guardian, and many guardians are extended family members such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles. In SA, many of the grandmothers who are guardians are state old-age pensioners. These government remittances are an essential part of township income, and they help to sustain black working-class households. The practice of pension-sharing is very common in SA, including townships in the greater Durban area (such as Lamontville, Umlazi and Clermont) (Moller & Sotshongaye, 1966) whereby many households are under pressure to sustain up to three generations, including through the use of old-age pensions. At the same time, this government grant (like the child support grant) is insufficient for sustaining township households without a household member in full-time employment.

In KZN, the social problems are linked to the broader pattern of township violence, which is a long-standing issue in the province. The violence that engulfed KZN in the 1980s and early 1990s continued for several years after the 1994 elections (de Haas, 2016). The province is known for heightened violence, though this is not restricted to political violence, despite the many political killings common in the KwaMashu and Umlazi township hostels and the Midlands (Umtshezi) area (de Haas, 2016). The violence in KZN continues to happen outside of the political realm. Admittedly, in the KwaMashu township for example, it can be difficult to separate political killings from other criminally or socially motivated murders (de Haas, 2016). The types of widespread violence in the province include domestic, sexual, criminal, and xenophobic, and have made KZN infamous for these and many other socially unacceptable activities. As a province, KZN is notorious for many unacceptable social ills that have heightened the province's status as resistant to change and having difficulty in adapting to a more conducive society for all its members. KZN has attained a notorious name for itself, such that "the legacy of apartheid alongside the aftermath of political violence across much of KwaZulu-Natal [since 1994] meant that it was tainted as a politically difficult province" (Mosoetsa, 2005: 862).

The late Zulu King did not help the situation with his xenophobic remarks; instead, he fuelled the fire by enraging KZN residents. Masenya (2017: 83) explains that "in 2015, another nationwide spike in xenophobic attacks [arose] against immigrants in general after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said that 'foreigners should go back to their countries'". The repercussions of this statement saw locals looting foreigners' shops and attacking immigrants, forcing hundreds to be displaced and relocating to police stations across the country. Amongst many

other propelling factors, the campaign known as '*Buyelekhaya*' (go back home) – which blamed foreigners for crime, unemployment, and sexual attacks (Masenya, 2017) – perpetuated the illogical reasoning that took place during the xenophobic attacks in KZN.

3.4 Xenophobia/Afrophobia

In official terms, post-Apartheid SA was to be constructed and founded on a culture of inclusiveness, tolerance, and human rights, as embodied in the 1996 Constitution (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). The late Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the term 'Rainbow Nation', a metaphor denoting unity in SA based on its multicultural makeup (Habib, 1996). Conversely, though, this is not the reality. The idea of a Rainbow Nation continues to be a dream not yet realised in the Republic of SA. For example, as intimated earlier, many South Africans exhibit high levels of intolerance towards black African foreigners in the country, subjecting them to different forms of prejudice and discrimination. Foreign nationals are subjected to multiple types of bias in SA even by the police. Masuku (2006) discusses the abuse endured by two illegal foreign nationals from white police officials (with their illegal status certainly not justifying ill-treatment by police or anyone else). Because of their vulnerable status, "members of the SAPS [South African Police Service] of all races frequently target black legal and illegal immigrants, for harassment. The extent of this problem is such that South African citizens who appear to be foreign often experience harassment at the hands of the police" (Masuku, 2006: 19).

The overall culture of violence in SA likely conditions police and others to abuse black legal/illegal foreigners, which at times mistakenly includes certain South Africans who are regarded as having similar features as foreigners. The multiple types of violence against foreigners is labelled normally as xenophobia; but, because the victims are mainly black Africans, the term Afrophobia is also often used: "Afrophobia is said to be driven by the view among many South Africans that there are too many [black African] foreigners in the country" (Dube, 2017: 391). Indeed, in the last two decades, SA has received large numbers of both legal and illegal immigrants from African countries, leading – though not inevitably – to the troubling existence of Afrophobia (Long et al., 2015: 510).

Matsinhe (2011: 22) reflects on the relevance of the thoughts of Frantz Fanon for this:

> Half a century ago, Fanon wrote of the 'black man' as 'a phobogenic object, a stimulus to anxiety' among whites. Today it is a fair assessment to suggest that Africans are phobogenic unto

> themselves, that Africa is a stimulus to its own anxiety. Africa's fear of itself is exemplified by the loathing of black foreign nationals in SA - particularly by the nation's ex-victims of Apartheid - which is increasingly becoming a fundamental component of South Africa's collective identification and public culture.

Afrophobia or Negrophobia, and other labels which have been given to understand the hostile attitudes and actions of South Africans towards black African migrants, emerges as a deep-rooted social phenomenon (Everatt, 2010). Afrophobic violence is similar to hate crime because the underlying message behind the attacks communicates hatred and violence towards an entire group of people. The intentions (or at least effects) of Afrophobia are to dehumanise and deny the dignity of a large group of people who are defined in an essentialist way by their visible characteristics of difference. Like any form of racism such as anti-Gypsyism, Islamophobia, or anti-Semitism, these socially constructed ideologies imply deep historical roots that reflect the groundless belief that certain racial groups are biologically and/or culturally inferior to others (Momodou & Pascoet, 2014).

In the case of SA, this can also be understood as South African exceptionalism, whereby some South Africans see themselves as superior or above other Africans. Van der Westhuizen (2008: 48) argues that "the notion of exceptionalism constitutes a very powerful and important part of the narrative about being South African". South African exceptionalism is expressed in different ways, but the version relevant here refers to some South Africans, especially those from a lower-class status (Mda, 2010), who believe themselves as being distinctly superior to other Africans because of at times mediocre factors such as skin pigmentation, accents, and socio-economic background, while also denying or being ignorant of the fact that SA and its history is deeply intertwined with the rest of Africa and not exclusive from it (Mda, 2010).

The reasons for the broad culture of violence in SA are complex, as are the reasons for xenophobia/Afrophobia. No one theory exists explaining these social phenomena in full. A feminist perspective is of significance though in identifying the very character of Afrophobia. Thus, Gqola (2008) highlights the link between xenophobia and the commodification of women's bodies, as she articulates in the following way:

> Negrophobic xenophobic sentiment is often couched as a battle between two sets of men. This is very evident in the often heard retort [from black South African men], 'these guys come here and steal our women and jobs'. Only the sexual, intimate and romantic preferences of some 'foreigners' matter in this way. Specific masculine entitlement and 'threat' are clearly encoded

> in this resentful articulation: black South African women and jobs are the entitlement of black South African men. The ideological baggage of such assertions comes from assumptions about women's availability for sale. If 'foreign' Africans have all the 'money', then South African men cannot compete, and this becomes the historic rumour which is much touted (Gqola, 2008: 218).

The reference to South African men should ultimately include both white and black men because violence in SA is not a racial issue in and of itself; it is a South African issue (particularly when it comes to domestic violence). However, the extract from Gqola (2008) about the existence of fragile masculine images and behaviour in the face of threats of disempowerment relates to the many different kinds of violence (including sexual violence) spoken about in the scholarship on masculinities in SA (Crous, 2007; Gear, 2007). As Nkealah (2011: 132) puts it, "although the two [sex and violence] cannot be conflated, practices of violent sex point to power as the overriding driving force behind it – power as domineering, controlling and oppressive". The situation of South African men and their violence (domestic, sexual, criminal, racial, xenophobic) seems to be normalised in that violence is accepted as a 'manly' solution in resolving disputes (Bowman, 2002).

The character of violence, as displayed by South Africans, appears to have a significant common denominator: annihilation, although not necessarily by way of death. The perpetrator usually wants to destroy the victims (for example, foreigners) to a point where there is nothing left of them. This is evident in the examples of gender-based violence, police brutality and now xenophobia, in which humiliation, degradation and dehumanisation arise. The violence in SA does not typically spare anyone, as if clearing out a site or space: in the case of violence against foreigners, this means ensuring they flee and leave no traces behind.

There are many concealed traumas that foreigners go through once immigrating and entering a new social milieu such as SA. For instance, what happens when people leave their homes and the culture in which they have been born and raised, to a new and unfamiliar space and culture? Arguably, when people of different cultural backgrounds encounter each other, they may or may not adopt each other's behaviours, languages, beliefs, values, technologies, and social institutions through processes of acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2010). Often at times in SA, acculturation is highly successful. Yet, in a process which is not immune to class or race, the immediate presence of a (typically, black) stranger in the midst of lower-class black South Africans might override abstract reasoning. Hence, when confronted with the corporeality of a foreigner, Ibrahim (2005: 150) notes:

> The foreigner is the other, the guest, the immigrant…who 'turn up' at our front door and 'traumatise'. They traumatise, first, because we don't know what to do with them. Do we give them asylum, 'home' and welcome them? If so, how? Or do we…return them to the place from which they were expelled? Second, they traumatise us through their stories… Whenever the question of the foreigner is posed, it has to be inverted into ethics. How can we go on living after witnessing trauma?

It is from such narratives and understandings of foreigners that 'othering' becomes naturalised and accepted. This includes more specifically the labelling of black foreigners from other parts of Africa as '*makwerekwere*', a derogatory term referring to those who babble and are defined by their supposedly fundamental difference to the local population. This is an inflammatory label (Neocosmos, 2008; Steenkamp, 2009) that, in the words of certain scholars, refers to people who are not acquainted with a Nguni or Sotho language and who have darker skin pigmentation (Manik & Singh, 2013). Language and accents play a vital role in identifying and perpetuating such a label. The labelling and name-calling of foreigners with derogatory terms have other undesirable meanings apart from being "an African immigrant 'who lacks competency in the local South African languages' and being dark-skinned, as it also refers to (in line with South African exceptionalism) "one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward in relation to South Africa" (Azindow, 2007: 175).

These meanings configure and perpetuate the divisions between black South Africans and black foreigners, and it is within these meanings that violence in the country is nurtured. This difference identified in the bodies of foreigners is not welcomed; rather, it is condemned and rejected as an unwanted intrusion and presence. Afrophobic attacks seek to remove the 'difference' from South African society (to externalise it) and create a uniform space to be shared by the locals, who are apparently of one identity. The anti-foreigner attacks in SA are now a long-standing problem (Dodson, 2010) perpetuated by the hatred or fear of foreigners (Charman & Pipe, 2012).

Inevitably, widespread retaliatory protest action has arisen (against the xenophobia of South Africans) in countries such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Malawi, and Mozambique, which had hosted South African freedom fighters during the struggle against Apartheid (Jacobs, 2016). The frustration and disappointment from these countries are understandable, given that seemingly intolerant South Africans have demonstrated that they are not interested in 'returning the favour'. Indeed, the negative social representations and practices that

discriminate against migrants, immigrants, and refugees (Rydgren, 2004; Roemer & van der Straeten, 2007) have emerged as major contributing factors to urban violence in SA. Afrophobic-based intolerance generates moral justifications for the exclusion of foreigners from accessing essential public services (health, education, shelter, water, and sanitation) to which foreigners in fact are entitled (Tevera, 2013), as well as leading to moral panics about the invading presence of strangers within local spaces. In the end, the disregarding of migrants as people and ultimately ignoring their needs as humans, makes them vulnerable to exploitation (Taran, 2001) and presents an understanding of migrants as non-humans.

In South African townships, "the gap between constitutional mandate and social reality is, not surprisingly, still wide" (Asmal & James, 2001: 187). In this context, numerous inequalities exist and flourish in SA, such as between the rich and the poor, black and white, and men and women. Black working class South Africans (men and women) living in townships experience daily the gap between constitutional principles and lived reality. Foreign black Africans are now part of the township scene, and they also experience the gap (and ensuing inequalities) in their own peculiar ways. The fact that Afrophobia exists amongst lower-class South Africans residing in townships means that their frustrations around poverty and inequality are turned inward – to what is tangible and within reach (that is, towards the black foreigners they see walking around the townships).

Another subtle yet crucial factor that continues and even amplifies the problem is the media (Vasterman, 2005; Banda & Mawadza, 2015). The media may criminalise and even demonise people they present in their stories, in this case, black African foreign nationals; or they may give powerful politicians the public platform to voice their anti-foreigner views. Moral panics might set in for this and other reasons, as the public presenting of foreigners as illegal and mischievous immigrants amplifies the distinction between 'us' and 'them'. The othering of foreigners by this means gives birth to a heightened awareness of the outsider (the amakwerekwere): the undesirable ones who are here to disturb the status-quo by invading South African territory. Cohen (1972 cited in Hunt, 1967: 630), in his discussion of moral panic, offers the following definition of the term:

> Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people;

> socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself.

In the case of SA, the moral panics around strange foreigners disrupting local spaces tend to ebb and flow and they are quite uneven across township spaces – noticeably, though, they arise unexpectedly after simmering under the surface for an extended time, a tendency about which foreigners are often aware and express concern (as they may find themselves suddenly in the midst of a moral panic). In this light, it is not uncommon for foreigners to become scapegoats for the prevalence of poverty in society, and this has been the situation in SA throughout the post-Apartheid years. For example, in the 1990s, Morris (1998) argues that "African immigrants generally are being blamed for the shortcomings of post-apartheid society", and they are being used as "social scapegoats who take the blame for any social ills that happen in South Africa" (1998: 1124). Likewise, the 1998 Human Rights Watch report stated that

> South Africa has become increasingly xenophobic in recent years, with a large percentage of South Africans perceiving foreigners – especially, almost exclusively black foreigners - as a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as responsible for the troubling rise in violent crime in South Africa (Crush, 2000: 106).

This is despite the fact that SA remains a beacon of hope for many black African migrants, including Zimbabweans, who wish to construct and pursue a better future for themselves and their families.

Public resources are limited and the unemployment rate is high, with black South Africans living in townships bearing much of the brunt of these and other problems. Of course, these issues are not caused by foreigners. Strictly speaking, accountability from the government should be demanded, including calls around corruption, empty promises, and mismanagement of funds. However, every moral panic has its scapegoat or 'folk devil' as Cohen (1972) defined it. The scapegoat, onto whom public fears and fantasies are projected (Hunt, 1997), apparently needs to take responsibility for the wrongs that happen in society. Murray (2003) argues that "the unwanted newcomer is regarded not only as a tramontane intruder who disrupts the status quo, but also as one who figuratively pollutes, contaminates, and despoils the existing moral

order" (cited in Banda & Mawadza, 2015: 52). The widespread presentation of foreigners as lawbreakers supports the claims of them being criminals, job/women thieves, drug lords, and the overall reason why poor South Africans are suffering and losing their 'birth rights' to foreigners.

The events that took place in August/September 2019 are like those of May 2008, when the world reacted with dismay, outrage and disgust as SAC violently attacked foreign nationals in communities across the country. It has now become common knowledge that SA is a highly violent society and has been understood as one of the most xenophobic countries globally (Akande et al, 2018). Dodson (2010: 3) illustrates some of the scenes of the 2008 attacks against foreign nationals; "in May 2008, graphic images of violent attacks on foreign Africans living in South Africa—scenes of knife- and stick-wielding aggressors, wounded victims, burning houses, and even, in the most horrific photographs, a burning man—were seen around the world". The May 2008 xenophobic events emphasised how violent and intolerant SAC can be towards black African foreigners. The myth of an all-inclusive Rainbow Nation was shattered as violence spread rapidly throughout the country while all people suspected of being foreign nationals were targeted by black SAC (Els, 2013). Mob mentality can be indeed blind and alter subjective thinking and reasoning. This was illustrated when SAC victimised people (including the locals) who did not fit their definitions and were seen as foreigners.

Ngcamu and Mantzaris (2019: 1) explain that "the xenophobic violence in South Africa is topical, mostly concentrating on the economic competition between foreign nationals and local people as a root cause". As noted, the South African government's record of poor governance, including poor service delivery, corruption and inadequately implemented and enforced legislation, are typically overlooked, and not associated directly with xenophobia (Ngcamu & Mantzaris, 2019) when the topic arises. Rather, economic competition is constantly brought to the fore. This is a deeply economistic explanation for Afrophobia. Other research (Wolfe & Copeland, 1994; Neocosmos, 2010; Sheffield, 1995) shows that Afrophobia (and xenophobia more broadly) in fact has a strongly political dimension: that difference and strangeness become a threat to constructions of home, territory and belonging, and hence entry is denied and subject to significant surveillance and control. Overall, it may be that xenophobia is expressed and experienced through multiple constructions and constantly shaped and reshaped to suit the perpetrators. Having said that, it is essential to acknowledge that xenophobic attacks do not only happen to a particular class of foreigners. In other words, skilled/unskilled,

professional/unprofessional, educated/uneducated black foreign nationals can be (and are) victims of xenophobic attacks.

Language as well as accents have emerged in SA as boundary-marking resources that depict, represent, and marginalise specific categories of people. As Siziba (2000: 174) notes: "out of this profiling and exclusion emerge notions of amakwerekwere in South Africa". Languages which are not understood locally, and accents (for instance, when speaking English) which are different from local accents might create problems for the speaker, as these characteristics are a marker or difference and strangeness. Because of this, Zimbabweans who speak Nguni languages at home, particularly isiNdebele, find it easier to assimilate in KZN (where isiZulu predominates) compared to their Shona speaking counterparts who have an advantage among Venda speaking communities (Siziba, 2000). In the study by Siziba (2000), a Zimbabwean research subject also explained how, because of his lack of local language acquisition, he was isolated from the community as they could not understand why he was always communicating in English. The repercussions of such barriers result in further complications, including being identified and labelled as a foreigner not accepted in the local township space.

The issue of language also has implications with respect to interaction with local authorities, including the police. For instance, Zimbabweans who can speak a local SA language (such as Venda) may not be singled out and victimised by the SA police, unlike their counterparts who might not be able to communicate in the local language efficiently. A Zimbabwean participant in Rutherford's (2011) study testified to this after a confrontation with the police about the whereabouts of his identity documents. The participant stated that:

> I explained to the police that I had it back in my room [in the farm compound], so I travelled with them as they were going to the other rooms of some of the other workers they picked up, looking for their ID cards. After some time, they just let me go as they said I was 'talking well', as I was speaking in their language, Venda (Rutherford, 2011: 1310).

In this context, language is an essential element in identifying and constructing 'the other'. In SA, the two major Zimbabwean ethnic groups (Shona and isiNdebele) are 'othered' differently by black South Africans (Dube, 2017), and the main distinction is derived from the element of language.

3.5 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the present challenges that SA must address especially in the marginalised townships of the country. The little hope within township spaces continues to burden people trying to succeed in life. This is the context into which ZT move as they seek to establish themselves in the teaching profession in SA. Though Afrophobia is not a universal phenomenon, the feelings and perspectives of SAC are central in configuring the ways in which ZT seek to make sense of the township space and navigate their way through it. Though it may not be the case that ZT are in any way stealing resources from SAC, it is the latter's everyday conceptions of foreigners that shapes how they interface with ZT and other foreigners. The next chapter examines the South African educational system and the status of ZT in this system and, again, the question of xenophobia arises in this context as well.

Chapter Four: The Failing South African Education System – A Challenge for Zimbabwean Teachers

4.1 Introduction

This second contextual chapter provides an overview of the current South African education system, with some reference to KZN TSS, and the many challenges faced by foreign (including Zimbabwean) teachers in this system. It considers the roles and burdens of teachers in township schools, including their sometimes troubled relationships with students and the relative absence of parental involvement in students' schooling. Overall, for South African teachers, these and other issues have led to low levels of morale. Foreign teachers have filled some of the key gaps with respect to the unavailability of SAT for certain teaching positions. In this context, the chapter goes on to examine the migration of ZT to SA, their employment as teachers in South African schools, and their attempts to adjust to a new institutional and cultural milieu. This is by no means a smooth transition, such that the existence of xenophobia against ZT is brought to the fore as well.

4.2 The South African Education System

Although the educational policies implemented in SA have been extensively restructured – including deracialised – since 1994 (Kanyongo, 2005), the legacy of the past is still experienced by the present generation of young black South Africans. The South African education system is in a crisis. For instance, "[c]hildren attending South African schools fare poorly on almost every metric and are ill-prepared for the world after school" (Roodt, 2018: 1). More tragically, those who are suffering the most from poor schooling and overall educational inequalities are disproportionately black learners attending previously (and still) disadvantaged schools. The problems with the education system are complex and incorporate multiple dimensions that intersect. The historic legacy of Apartheid-structured education in SA weighs heavily on the current system, with many challenges around deficiencies pertaining to basic school infrastructure and resources as well as the quality of teachers and the learning process. The formal end of Apartheid was welcomed with optimism and there were great expectations such as social justice and a reduction in racial inequalities in and through education (Baine & Mwamweda, 1994). More than twenty years later, however, "formally desegregated yet class-based educational institutions, continuing disparities and inequities, and poor academic achievement are key features of the contemporary educational order" in SA (Badat & Sayed,

2014: 127). The experiences of many contemporary learners (i.e., students) within the education system are consistent with this sweeping descriptive overview of the system, such that the anticipated equality within the education system is still an ideal more than a reality.

Regrettably, the current education offered in public urban-township and rural schools, with the majority of its recipients being black and coloured learners, is somewhat comparable with Bantu education under Apartheid: "Bantu education meant an inferior type of education that was designed to maintain the subordinate and marginal status of the majority racial group of the country" (Thobejane, 2013: 2), which seems to resonate with post-Apartheid South African education. Apartheid education denied black learners advanced skills and critical engagement with the learning material, and it never facilitated or prepared black learners to move along a path of socio-economic upliftment that would allow them to compete for decent work in the South African labour market. The cycle of deprivation continues in post-Apartheid SA in that the quality of the learning process and the basic skills acquired from public-township and rural schools fall far short of schools attended by middle-class white and black students. Though this may not be by design, the post-Apartheid state's failure to reconstruct the school system to rectify the education problems faced by black working-class communities (in townships and elsewhere) is abundantly clear.

In the new SA, the deficient quality of education is one of the most important and intractable issues that the democratic government still needs to address fully (Lemon, 1995; Thobejane, 2013). In the South African education sector, significant emphasis is placed on matriculation and other major annual examinations (in June and December) to assess learners' ability to enter and compete at the university level. However, the secondary school level curriculum, particularly as taught at black working-class schools, does not prepare black learners sufficiently to meet the minimum academic standards for university. Further, secondary school education in South Africa's public schools remains authoritarian, disciplinarian, and teacher dominated. Often teachers rely on a single textbook, class notes are learned by heart, and learners prepare themselves for exams by cramming to meet the requirements to proceed to the next grade (Maddock & Maroun, 2018). This type of learning/studying does not sufficiently allow the learners to perform well against their peers in middle-class public (and private) schools, where learning is much more developed and strategic (Mouton et al., 2013).

There are many forces working against the success of black learners in South African public schools. Undeniably, this is a crisis beyond the schools' capabilities and requires ongoing

departmental and governmental intervention and assistance. In the meantime, Apartheid's racial hierarchies underline today's significant educational gap between KZN township schools and KwaZulu-Natal's Indian, coloured, and white primary and secondary schools (Hunter, 2015). Improving the quality of education in KZN township schools remains an ongoing challenge despite successive interventions by the government. These schools, including the secondary schools, continue to lag because of multiple factors, including the high rate of learner dropouts, poor matriculation performance, and low point scorings for matric learners (Dlamini, 2014) in the December final examinations. These disappointing results are demotivating for all the stakeholders such as learners and parents as well as teachers and the school administrators.

Contemporary educational needs pose fundamental challenges for educators and educational practice. Importantly: "The breakdown of a culture of teaching and learning in a significant number of South African schools is reflected in multifaceted socio-educational problems encountered in schools and communities" (Weeks, 2012: 2). For instance, the vandalism of school property, gangsterism, drug abuse, high dropout rate, poor academic performance, and demotivated learners (Masita, 2005) are observable features of a poor culture of learning. The vandalism of schools has resulted in many township school buildings and classrooms having no windowpanes, doors, and only a few desks, which are not in good condition (Mbokazi, 2015). Learners in the schools are drawn from the township-community in which the school is located.

Township secondary schools (TSS), which are the focus of this study, are characterised by irregular attendance of staff and learners, conflictual relationships within the schools, discontinuous learning, and poor academic performance (Christie & Lingard, 2001 cited in Mbokazi, 2015). Because of this, the schooling experience is difficult for both the learners and the teachers in the face of a lack of stability and consistency in teaching and learning. The problems characterising TSS are multidimensional and cover burdens from the (Apartheid) past as well as contemporary issues. KZN TSS face acute levels of socio-economic deprivation compounded by external factors that adversely affect their ability to function properly. These factors include HIV and AIDS, illiteracy, child-headed households, homelessness, and general poverty (Taylor, 2008; Mbokazi, 2015). Hence, the townships that the schools are located in play a role in the flawed educational system. The media routinely narrates stories of violent robbery, rape, and murder in schools. For example, *The Teacher,* a monthly newspaper for teachers devoted an issue on the topic entitled; "Schools are war-zones" and commented that:

"[S]chools stand empty while gangs slug it out across playing fields, where youths model themselves on ganglords and where teachers and students learn as they have their eyes warily on the door, half-expecting to be held up by a bunch of gun-wielding thugs" (Harber, 2001: 262) – teaching and learning become extremely difficult if not impossible in such intimidating circumstances. The uncertainty and instability in the township environment outside of the school premises are a subtle, yet ever-present, challenge with which TSS are faced. The crime and violence happening in the townships, including the prospects of xenophobia, inevitably affect the schools that are in their proximity, either directly or indirectly.

This leads to a toxic atmosphere in township schools, which affect teaching and learning and result in a dysfunctional relationship between teachers and learners (Mahlangu, 2014). Most TSS teachers face the following forms of misconduct daily: disruptive behaviour, obscene language, impertinence, untidy or incorrect attire, neglect of duty, the telling of lies and absence from school (Serame et al., 2013). At present, learner indiscipline and misconduct appear to be of great concern in the public education arena. The disorder and disruption that often results from learner misconduct currently have unfavourable effects on productive teaching and learning in TSS.

One final point, about the effects of township life on schools, relates to the question of human rights, including the expression of homophobic views and feelings towards others. A study in a Durban TSS by Msibi (2012: 515) revealed that queer youth have negative experiences of schooling which range from: "punitive actions expressed through derogatory language to vicious reactionary hate, often expressed through violence and often perpetrated by teachers". What is particularly concerning, and problematic is that this abuse comes from student peers and from the teachers who should be reprimanding such behaviour (Mncube & Harber 2013, cited in Makhasane & Chikoko, 2016). The violation of rights based on sexual orientation, like other problems in township schools, is more than just the reflection of township life, as it is a manifestation of the overall imbalances in SA and the ongoing legacies of past regimes. The impact of these injustices on educational outcomes is recognised as a challenge to the education system (van der Berg et al., 2017).

4.2.1 South African Teachers

Teaching in townships is more difficult than in middle-class urban schools because of the surrounding environment, including the quietness and orderliness provided by middle-class

suburbs as opposed to the overcrowding and confusion of noise experienced in the townships. It is not unusual to read reports or to hear stories about the problematic character of teaching in township schools. Township teachers are sometimes subjected to almost unbearable working conditions, chaotic learning spaces, and unsafe working environments. Stress among township teachers is easily detectable and is related to absenteeism and common illnesses. A large portion of South African township teachers report relatively high levels of occupational stress because their work environment is not conducive to focused teaching and learning. South African studies show that stress is common in many vocations and professions (including amongst police and health workers), with levels of teacher stress also linked to the high expectations placed on them because of the responsibility of guiding and caring for the education of South Africa's youth (Strumpfer, 1989; van Zyl & Pietersen, 1999; Guile et al., 1998; Strumpfer & Bands, 1996).

Mampane and Bouwer (2006: 443) reiterate that South African township schools "contain many risk factors with the potential of forming key barriers to learning". The townships are socio-economically deprived, and the schools within the townships inevitably crystallise the effects of that deprivation. For the most part, teachers in township schools take on more than just the role of being an educator. Usually, these teachers are confronted with the challenge of rendering and facilitating genuine support to numerous learners contending with grave issues in their personal lives which include unsafe residential areas, poor or non-existing parental involvement, lack of human resource development in schools and the profound ravages of HIV and AIDS on all aspects of family life (Mampane & Bouwer, 2006). Such experiences of teachers in TSS are part of the reasons why township schoolteachers are overworked and stressed.

The burden placed on TSS teachers can be understood as being multidimensional. For example, one of the main issues township secondary schools face is staffing issues. This is a universal issue: "Contemporary educational theory holds that one of the pivotal causes of inadequate school performance is the inability of schools to adequately staff classrooms with qualified teachers" (Ingersoll, 2001: 498). The TSS's staffing problems then are primarily due to shortages of qualified teachers. Teaching in secondary schools, specifically in township schools, has not been exemplary and attractive to many teachers, young and old. The systemic problems faced by these schools are part of the many reasons playing a role in the failure to successfully attract and keep qualified teachers. There is little that motivates teachers to want

to work in TSS. One point here is that there is little support (emotional, financial, or social) that the teachers receive, despite their dire working conditions in TSS.

Teaching in the contemporary world has dramatically increased in range and complexity over the years. Teachers find themselves in highly pressured and stressful environments, which they struggle to order and control in a manner conducive to their well-being. Measures beyond their control quite often create these stressful environments, including poor teaching material and uninterested learners. Teachers are struggling in South African TSS, and they are doing the best they can with the little that they have. As argued: "Faced with the reality of overcrowded classrooms, high stakes testing, and standards-based environments, using instructional practices that move students to higher levels of thinking through more "authentic" forms of learning are lost" (Campbell & Kmiecik, 2004: 2). This is not to claim that teachers are not working sufficiently, nor does it suggest that they are not doing the bare minimum that is required of them. Rather, it is to argue that teachers in TSS undertake their teaching in the face of overwhelming odds against them.

As the demand for educators and schools increases in SA, so does the prevalence of stress in the teaching profession. Although some stress is necessary and healthy for effective performance, excessive pressure may lead to distress, low job satisfaction, and poor teaching. In South African TSS, the teachers have multiple stress factors which are interconnected. For instance, Schulze and Steyn (2007: 691) argue that the "lack of discipline, unmotivated learners, redeployment and retrenchment of educators, large learner: educator ratios and new curriculum approaches" are part of the stress factors that teachers are burdened with in TSS. The government and the department of education have not been able to alleviate significantly the burden carried by teachers and to make their teaching journey as bearable as possible.

Furthermore, when compared to their counterparts in middle-class schools, teachers in township schools need to be deeply sensitive to the home-poverty of their learners, and to the social and emotional background of the learners which impact their schooling experiences. A heavy workload with limited time to achieve the standards of teaching that they would like to achieve is common amongst township teachers. Because the pressure is extreme and teachers barely cope with the workload, a backlog accumulates, and the system in its entirety begins to fray and show signs of collapse.

Moreover, the burden of 'going beyond duty', which many township teachers seek to pursue, adds to the stress of these individuals as they try, for example, to care for learners outside of the classroom, such as orphaned learners (Bhana et al., 2006; Hall et al., 2005; Theron, 2005; Schulze & Steyn, 2007). Consequently, there arise unavoidable interrelationships between the professional and personal identities of teachers and learners (Day et al., 2006). This is because the overwhelming evidence suggests that teaching demands significant personal investment, and those who show full dedication to their teaching vocation, as many township teachers do, are seldom able to avoid this interconnection. The interconnection can also be linked to the philosophy of Ubuntu which subconsciously almost compels these teachers to help the learners. Out of the goodness of their humanity, they try to alleviate the children's burden by helping them beyond the classroom. Providing for their needs at home where their parents cannot make provision (see below), is very common in TSS.

Considering the experiences of teachers in TSS, it is understandable why teacher morale is so low. This of course is not a strictly township school experience, nor a South African experience only. According to Kyriacou (2001), education is considered to be the fifth most stressful profession and teaching in secondary schools is regarded as one of the top ten toughest jobs (Hayward, 2009). Working with adolescents who are navigating the world, simultaneously trying to discover themselves and their changing bodies, is not easy. Much endurance is required from these teachers. A sizeable amount of literature (Kallaway, 2007; Kelehear, 2004; Roper, 2007) argues that teachers generally are dissatisfied with the teaching profession and, certainly, the decline in teacher morale has resulted in dedicated teachers quitting their jobs (Dehaloo, 2011) or continuing to act as teachers but without significant motivation and sense of worth. In a survey conducted by Maniram (2007) on KZN TSS teachers, it was revealed that, among other things, teachers are not happy about their remuneration packages, increased workloads, lack of tangible incentives, minimal opportunities for career advancements, no professional recognition for work done, unreasonable work policies and an insecure work environment.

4.2.2 Relationships Between Teachers and Learners

Despite the plethora of laws and acts protecting teachers and learners in South African schools to ensure that effective teaching and learning can occur in a safe and secure school environment, research overwhelmingly suggests that TSS are not conducive spaces for learning. For example, in KZN townships (Umlazi, KwaMashu as well as the Inanda area),

violence has jeopardised the educational process and has infringed on the learner's rights to education, freedom and security (Nqgela & Lewis, 2012). The violence in these schools does not only affect the learners as the teachers are inevitably affected. These TSS are not just dealing with common learner misdemeanours but, additionally, they deal with learners involved in criminal behaviours at schools.

Often, these student practices are beyond the school disciplinary code of conduct and require police intervention (Masitsa, 2011). The destabilising of the school because of these issues may need to await the arrival of police, though police presence at a crime scene in SA is not always guaranteed. At times, it appears that township schools that are engulfed in an extreme culture of violence have become battlefields rather than educational institutions. The students may learn more about crime and violence than what is set out in their yearly curriculum.

It is well-known that the disinterest displayed by some of the learners exists as they are only attending school because they have nowhere else to be during those hours, and not necessarily because they want to be in class to learn and participate (Oreshkina & Greenburg, 2010). In fact, some learners seem to attend school just to terrorise their peers and even their educators, with Hemphill et al. (2014) defining school-based bullying as "a systematic abuse of power in a relationship formed at school" (cited in Ngidi & Moletsane, 2018: 1). Again, such cultures of violence are a manifestation of the social problems existing in the townships more broadly and in the households of the learners (Mncube & Mdikizela-Madiya, 2014; Netshitangani, 2014).

With the official abolition of corporal punishment in South African schools, many TSS teachers soon began to feel that discipline could not be maintained, and that learners would not show them respect nor develop the discipline to work hard (unless they were beaten or threatened with being beaten) (Naong, 2007). The indiscipline has deteriorated to the point where some learners are severely injuring teachers and fellow students (Zulu et al., 2004). Thus, just as ill-discipline is problematic for parents, it is also problematic for teachers. Indeed, teachers have cited behavioural problems of students as their primary concern and most significant source of stress (Infantino & Little, 2005). In this respect, Lawrence et al. (1983: 83) define disruptive behaviour (or ill-discipline) in the classroom as "behaviour that seriously interferes with the teaching process, and/or seriously upsets the normal running of the classroom".

Low teacher morale and commitment results in part from student-induced stresses involving teachers' loss of control in the classrooms. This is recognised as one of the key reasons why many township teachers are leaving the profession and consequently finding alternate vocations outside of the South African education system. In a study (Peltzer et al., 2008) on the supply and demand of teachers in SA, the results show that low job satisfaction, including teaching conditions (such as working hours and load, job stress, and role intensification), form the basis for the loss of teachers, with teacher-student relationships deeply pertinent to this lack of work satisfaction. The lack of necessary and sufficient support from school management leaves the teachers to navigate the issues on their own, insofar as they remain within the educational system.

The overall relationship between teachers and learners in TSS has degenerated over the years and has taken a turn for the worse. The inadequate interventions in terms of disciplinary action and the low teacher morale combine with the deterioration of the quality of TSS. Yet, a functional relationship between teachers and learners is crucial to the learning process and to teachers' commitment to this process (Oreshkina & Greenburg, 2010). The problematic classroom dynamics in township schools means that learners are granted minimal time for questions, discussions, active participation, group work or hands-on activities, which require engaging with the content meaningfully via the active involvement of the teacher (Baine & Mwamwenda, 1994). Learner participation typically is not encouraged and facilitated by teachers in township schools. This is further complicated by the series of issues raised by Maarman and Lamont-Mbawuli (2017), namely 'learner behavioural deviations' in the classroom, including disruptive, stubborn and aggressive student actions in the classrooms. Other contributing factors include lack of financial support, low self-esteem, undisclosed abuse, and substance abuse prevailing in the learner's immediate home environment (Maarman & Lamont-Mbawuli, 2017).

In addition to having the responsibility of instilling discipline and knowledge in students, township teachers have a vital role to play in building emotional resilience in lower-class children who are vulnerable (Liebenberg et al., 2016). Most learners from township schools are deeply vulnerable learners and, therefore, should be prioritised with regards to resilience. There are health risk practices for learners such as problematic sexual practices, substance use, and violent and deviant behaviour alongside suicidal tendencies, all of which are of great concern in township schools (Govender et al, 2013) and need to be addressed in order to build

resilience among the learners. Young people living in the townships face daily adversities that could well sap their resilience and lead to poor academic performance or even dropping out of school. Thus, like teachers, students sometimes suffer from low morale and commitment, thereby compromising the entire integrity of the township schooling system.

4.2.3 Parental Involvement

A recurring debate has existed about whether better-educated (middle-class) parents are more involved in activities that supplement and improve their children's education (Stevenson & Baker, 1987), with less-educated (often working-class) parents less willing or able to become involved in their children's education (Brody et al., 1995; Fehrmann et al., 1987). No doubt, parental involvement or lack thereof does have some degree of influence on learners' school performance (Henderson & Berla, 1996; Kellaghan et al., 1993), though learning challenges are certainly not reducible to this (i.e., reducible to the supposed cultural deprivation of township households). Parents' relationship with the schools and schooling can affect learners' engagement and performance at school, either positively or negatively, depending on the character and extent of the involvement.

Socio-economic stress carries the potential of jeopardising children's growth and development and damaging their sense of trust, safety, and security. In a point relevant to the lives of children of black working-class households in South Africa's townships, there is no doubt that:

> Among the most at-risk children in society are those born under conditions of entrenched socioeconomic disadvantage, the effects of which can be far-reaching. Poverty strikes children at their very core by limiting their access to the basic needs of food, shelter and housing, and is strongly correlated with poorer academic performance (Dass-Brailsford, 2005: 575).

Many secondary schools in KZN townships reflect the broader systemic challenges of the townships, and they continue to make little difference in the lives of the learners. These schools are generally considered dysfunctional because of the myriad challenges they experience, including poor quality of teaching and learning, ineffective leadership and management, inadequate infrastructure, limited resources, violence, negative social attitudes, and, also of importance, low parental participation (Mafora, 2013). Generally, the involvement of parents in the schooling of their children is vital for the child and their schooling experience, and the limited parental involvement in TSS is not reducible to one factor; rather, it is multi-dimensional.

Though the situation for each township household is not exactly the same, there is a thread of similarities between South African township households. For example, Pattillo (2012, cited in Dlamini, 2014) argues that single parents are financially and emotionally supporting more than fifty per cent of learners in KZN TSS and those who were orphaned were cared for by their pensioned grandparents. What needs to be considered then is that:

> [T]he majority of learners attending township schools are from very poor homes and, at best, working class families. The majority of those [in townships] who have sufficient financial means choose to send their children to [middle-class] multiracial schools which have adequate resources and provide an effective learning environment (Rudwick, 2004: 161).

Learners attending these schools have much greater exposure to educational equipment, advanced technology, and an engaging curriculum. However, children growing up in KZN townships have become accustomed to the inequalities that happen around them. KZN townships continue to be characterised by deep-rooted socio-economic divides: poverty, high unemployment, and social deprivation. These characteristics affect the schooling of the learners in the townships.

Meanwhile, in TSS, parents are not involved significantly in their children's schooling, and this has proven to be burdensome on the learners and the teachers. One common but very controversial technique implemented to improve parental involvement and learner discipline in schools is the development of School Governing Bodies: "The South African Schools Act (SASA), Act 108 of 1996 accorded the parents in public schools a crucial role to play in school governance" (Msila, 2012: 303). Through these bodies, parents are expected to work together with their child's school to enhance the learning experience and capacities of the students. In addition, the participation of parents is designed to assist the schools, from home, through encouraging the learners (their children) and motivating them to be active agents in their own educational development (Mo & Singh, 2008).

In terms of its intention, this intervention sounds feasible but, in reality and practical terms, it is problematic in particular with specific reference to black working-class parents in the townships – especially considering the schooling history of parents in townships and their time-availability as working parents often involved in precarious employment. Their relative lack of involvement is not because they are inattentive parents and do not care about the educational attainment of their children. Parental involvement in township schools does not, therefore,

necessarily fall short because of negligent parents. Issues such as township parents finding it difficult to engage with the school curriculum (Lareau, 1996) need to be considered. Hill and Taylor (2004) highlight the point that parents' own school experiences as learners shape their involvement in their children's schooling. Parental involvement is thought to decrease as children move to secondary school, partly because parents may believe that they cannot assist with more challenging and advanced subjects and because the adolescent students are becoming more autonomous from their parental influence.

Some township parents are full-time working parents and hardly have time to be with their children. Asking their children about school-related issues may be the last item on the agenda when they do get the chance to see them (Mestry, 2004; Ratcliff & Hunt, 2009) after long hours away from home. Families from black working-class settings often work all the time, travel for long hours, get home late, and have no time or energy to participate in the children's homework (Ndebele, 2015). The main priorities when they arrive home are around food, utility expenses, and the general livelihood needs of the family. For these parents, the events that took place within the school grounds during the day should perhaps remain there and be dealt with by those responsible for school affairs (namely, teachers and administrators). The parents will rarely ask their children about school and their homework; instead, they are likely to ask about bread-and-butter matters.

As well, the demands placed on the many single parents (often women), or the need for township parents to work in the informal sector to eke out a living, makes it very difficult for township households as a general tendency to offer a nourishing and supportive environment conducive to enhancing the quality of the learning experience of township students. Further, just living in the townships with factors such as excessive noise, crime, violence, and even lack of motivation make schooling difficult for learners. Regarding township life as well, the learners are additionally expected to do many chores in the home and these easily side-track them from their schoolwork (Singh et al., 2004).

Parental involvement in township schooling has not been successfully implemented in part because the very concept of 'parent' in SA is increasingly complex and differentiated. In the South African context, the term 'parent' might include guardians, multi-generational families (with grandparents), extended family members, child-headed homes, single-parent homes, or anyone responsible legally or informally for the learner (Ndebele, 2015). The rather outdated notion of a 'mother and father' is certainly not the case for many of the learners in KZN TSS.

Consequently, the potential for parental involvement becomes complicated if not flawed. For instance, in situations where the parent is not the child's biological parent, it can be difficult or at least awkward for that parent to be over-involved in terms of participating in the child's schooling experience. At times, the dynamic of the relationship does not allow for the learner to receive more than the basic material items (such as food, shelter, and clothing) – the more emotional and nurturing role may not be forthcoming, including amongst stepparents.

Further, Msila (2012: 305) found that some parents have "a tendency of moving back [or retreating] when it comes to school governance because they maintain that teachers have the necessary skills to lead schools without their support". Since the implementation of the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, the question that still evokes many concerns is whether black parents are fulfilling their expected roles in taking part in their children's education (Mbokodi & Singh, 2011). This is important because, as Gonzalez (2002) argues, the lack of parental involvement in schools leads to excessive peer influence on the learners, creating adverse educational outcomes, including truancy, drug abuse, depression, and low grades. Poor attendance and disciplinary problems resulting in violence are also adverse outcomes that can be expected if parents do not participate as partners in governing their children's schooling (Bender & Emslie, 2010). Historically disadvantaged schools in SA are less likely to succeed in their efforts to improve education without receiving all the help they need from external stakeholders. The question remains as to whether the lack of black parental involvement in education is attributable to lower expectations of educational success and, consequently, poor results in township schools (Mbokodi & Singh, 2011). Whatever the causes, there is no doubt that this impacts on the responsibilities and workloads of teachers in TSS.

4.3 Teacher Migration and Zimbabwean Teachers

The preceding discussion about teachers in TSS in contemporary SA speaks to the multiple challenges faced by these teachers. Undoubtedly, all teachers in these schools (irrespective of their national origins, SA or otherwise) have common experiences and challenges, but this thesis seeks to identify and understand the specific challenges of ZT in the KZN TSS.

It is the case that SA has prioritised education as a key to national development, with large percentages of government budgets being allocated to the education sector since 1994. However, given the scale of the ongoing problems faced by SAT, many of these teachers have either left the profession or migrated out of the country to re-enter the teaching profession

elsewhere. Out-migration of teachers is a common tendency worldwide but, at times, SA has been a net sender of educators (Appleton et al., 2006). The teacher migration phenomenon, which gained momentum particularly from the early 2000s, highlights one of the further issues that confronts the education system in SA. In places, teacher migration has resulted in a teacher shortage in secondary schools, leading to a shortage of staff as well as overworked teachers, fatigued teachers, overcrowded classrooms, lack of discipline and many subjects with no qualified teachers available (Anganoo, 2014). The strain on over-worked teachers affects negatively the teaching and learning process in schools. This is especially the case because long-term government plans to alleviate the situation have never been fully executed.

The out-migration of qualified teachers from developing nations (including from SA) is a double loss for the source countries. The outward movement of teachers:

> [C]annot be clubbed together as such with the other streams of highly skilled migration as with emigration of the highly skilled teachers, on one hand the source country is deprived of its human capital and on the other hand the possibility of erosion of the base for further development cannot be neglected (Sharma, 2012: 263).

Teachers play an essential role in the education sector in any country. However, in developing countries, the role of teachers is even more critical because the overall educational system is marked by significant deficiencies and drawbacks, as discussed with specific reference to TSS in SA (learning resources are limited, old, unusable, and sometimes non-existent). The loss of teachers to other countries, or the departure of teachers from the profession, places further burdens on an already-failing schooling system.

Teachers from developing nations often migrate to developed nations – these latter nations are also in need of teachers, and they have the resource-based advantage of filling this gap by attracting and recruiting teachers from developing nations (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2006). For Manik (2010), the responsibility of maintaining and keeping teachers within the educational system falls on schools and national education departments in developing countries (including SA) to "create an attractive, healthy and supportive environment for local teachers or run the risk of losing them to international recruitment agencies offering rewarding work and travel packages overseas" (2010: 109), which are more attractive because they present an overall better lifestyle. Neoliberal restructuring of the global economy over the past few

decades has opened up territorial borders to allow for this and other significant movements of people.

At the same time, there is considerable South-to-South migration (i.e., between developing nations) of teachers. Thus, a vast number of immigrant (black) teachers who are employed in South African schools come from the African continent (Vandeyar, 2014). In trying, for example, to address and resolve the problem of the shortage of Mathematics and Science teachers in South African schools, the Council of Education Ministers recruited teachers from African countries such as Zimbabwe and Uganda. This window opened up opportunities for African migrant teachers to come to SA and enter the educational profession outside their country of origin. Thus, while teacher out-migration (from SA) may have negatively impacted the South African system, it paved the way for migrant teachers from Zambia, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe to be employed within the South African system. The South African Council for Educators (Crush, 2011: 5) reiterated this point when it stated that:

> [I]nterestingly, the same international patterns appear to be playing out on the African continent itself where, an increasing number of teachers from other African countries (e.g., Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia, etc) are immigrating into South Africa due to the country's economic prosperity, political stability and promise of better working conditions and income.

A better life could mean escaping war, poverty, famine, drought, unemployment, and low wages. The possibility of an improvement in quality of life is an opportunity that is seldomly overlooked.

However, prior to 2008, very few ZT in SA were employed in the civil service, including as teachers. According to Statistics South Africa (2008), for many years, the ZT in the country who had left their homes were mainly employed in the private sector (Makonye, 2017), including the informal sector. Since then, the number of ZT in South African schools has increased significantly.

4.3.1 Zimbabwean Teachers in South Africa – Family Back Home

Considering the economic and political events (include sheer turmoil) that has occurred in Zimbabwe over an extended period, it is easily understood why "in South Africa's education system, Zimbabwean teachers [now] constitute the largest group of migrant teachers" (de Villiers & Weda, 2018: 299). While ZT have been 'pushed' away from their country (including

because of political persecution), these migrant teachers also have been 'pulled' into SA by a vision of economic and social prosperity. Of course, this has had serious negative implications for the availability of teacher skills-sets and for the entire educational system in Zimbabwe. More broadly, this phenomenon is often labelled as 'brain drain' (Bertram et al., 2006).

Chireshe and Shumba (2011) estimate that Zimbabwe lost more than twenty thousand teachers to its neighbours (including SA) over a two-year period in the late 2000s, in part because of the hyperinflation in Zimbabwe and the steep decline in the real value of teachers' wages there. Manik (2014: 174) adds that "with regard to Zimbabwean teachers, the interim chairperson of The Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe in South Africa stated in 2006, that an average of 4000 teachers left Zimbabwe per annum since 2000 and that the majority are in South Africa". This is understandable given the sheer depth of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe at the time.

The exodus of ZT seeking more favourable teaching conditions by leaving their homes arose because of many factors, including low wages, poor working conditions, and unreasonable working hours (Chireshe & Shumba, 2011). Certainly, ZT are very poorly paid, which is one of the main reasons they leave Zimbabwe to teach elsewhere. These teachers have left the teaching profession in Zimbabwe with the hope that coming to SA would lead to earning a better salary and, altogether, a better lifestyle, ideally through entering the teaching profession in SA. As one Zimbabwean labouring on a farm in South Africa lamented: "[I]t is like you are in jail in Zimbabwe; the government is the new jail. Individually you can't do anything but jumping the border to save your life and family" (quoted in Rutherford & Addison, 2007: 622). In moving to SA, it was not in fact unusual for ZT to take on any sort of work (including farm work) before being given the opportunity to become a teacher in a South African school.

There are many negative repercussions for the Zimbabwean teacher migrants accompanying their decision to leave Zimbabwe. Typically, they remain deeply attached to their Zimbabwean families, with one foot in SA and one foot in Zimbabwe. Their departure may entail parental absence, as the teacher leaves children (and other family members) behind in Zimbabwe. At the same time, this will allow for the possibility of remittances from earnings in SA – in turn, this will alleviate the family's socio-economic situation back home and "augment the family's spending power, resulting in increased educational outlay, a decrease in child labour and improved living conditions" (Filippa et al., 2013: 30). One of the disadvantages of this is that children who are left behind may be forced to take on age-inappropriate responsibilities such

as “fulfilling roles previously held by the migrant parent, feelings of anxiety, loneliness and other psychological problems which may result in compromised academic achievement and a spectrum of other behavioural and developmental issues” (Filippa et al, 2013: 38). Despite the probability of this, many Zimbabwean migrant parents continue to move to SA (leaving their homes and children) for a better life for their families.

Part of the expected effects of migration is to uplift and sustainably develop the lives of the migrants and their dependents (with the latter often remaining in the country of origin). The social, economic, and political breakdown which characterises the Zimbabwean crisis, with the tens of thousands of migrants seeking a better life in SA, created likewise tens of thousands of Zimbabwean households dependent on the remittances of the migrants. Zimbabwean migrants in SA remit goods and cash largely to their next of kin who are still in Zimbabwe, and at times, in other locations. The effects of the remittance flows, on those who stay behind, are often of great significance given the survivalist mode of living experienced by those continuing to reside in Zimbabwe. In this respect, ZT in SA recognise the importance of sending remittances, despite the ways in which it configures (detrimentally) their own living conditions in SA (because of the financial sacrifices made) and the many stresses it places upon them. It is difficult for the migrant ZT because there can be emotional and financial expectations that they need to fulfil. Overall, this means that there is a collective quest to survive amongst migrant teachers (in SA) and their family (in Zimbabwe).

ZT in SA who do remit goods to their families back home are often troubled by the problem of having multiple responsibilities that might be in tension with each other. These responsibilities can then affect how and when they do send goods to their families, as the sending of remittances may be erratic. The household status of ZT is not all the same, with some teachers being single without children, while others are married with children; some have few if any dependents back in Zimbabwe, while others have numerous dependents. To gain insights into the relationship between remittance senders and recipients, more attention is needed then (as this thesis will show) on the household composition, the reasons why migrants maintain ties with their households of origin, the strength of such ties, and how and if migrants can respond to the specific needs of each family member (Makina, 2012). The practicality of responding to each need places considerable strain on the Zimbabwean migrant, considering that the cost of living in SA is high. But, the number of dependents left in Zimbabwe, the strength and nature of their

relationship with the migrant-sender ultimately plays a vital role in the decision making of the migrant ZT teacher regarding remittances.

Though not a central focus of this thesis, remittances have many implications evidently in relation to traditional gender roles and what men and women can or cannot do. In other words, remittances have changed in some instances the roles attributable to people based on gender. For example: "In some literature relating to Southern Africa, it has been observed that migration has the potential to empower women within the decision-making structures of the family by enabling them to meet the needs of their families through remittances" (Lefko-Everett, 2007, cited in Makina, 2012: 150). Of course, it is not always the case that the migrant, including the Zimbabwean teacher-migrant, is male. In fact, it is not unusual to find female ZT (married or not) in SA, including in KZN province, which also speaks to the growing significance of women for household-based livelihoods. Women are senders of remittances to families back home in Zimbabwe, and this has elevated their social standing if not emancipated them in part from the boundaries of patriarchy.

4.3.2 Adjusting in South Africa

There are many difficulties and challenges confronting Zimbabwean immigrant teachers as they attempt to adjust to life and perhaps even forge new identities in SA. Scholars such as Mawhinney and Xu (1997) and Phillion (2003) reveal that this is part of the transition process for all immigrants, and that many unexpected problems arise for immigrants in an unfamiliar territory, as is the case for Zimbabweans in SA. Being a stranger in a new environment can be difficult as there are many uncertainties and negative feelings associated with newness. For instance, Michael (2006) argues that professional marginalisation, including for teachers, occurs when immigrant teachers are given fewer opportunities in decision-making forums compared to their local counterparts. This might also entail giving immigrant teachers fewer classes or employing them as substitute teachers (Remennick, 2002), and this becomes a constant reminder that they do not belong – thereby marginalising foreign teachers.

Migration is a major life transition, often accompanied by a myriad of stressors that require significant adjustment to new surroundings and can lead to psychological and social challenges, including anxiety, frustration, and hopelessness (Thela et al., 2017). This is compounded and aggravated by the financial demands often placed on migrants, as detailed earlier. Intimidation, rejection, and isolation are often the experiences of migrants, and this is the likely space within

which ZT in SA must navigate their strangeness, especially given the presence of Afrophobia in the country.

Before leaving their home countries, Zimbabwean teacher-migrants were already exposed to traumatic life events, which regularly provided the basis of their decisions to leave their home country in the first instance. Indeed, thousands of migrants and refugee families seek mental health treatment on a yearly basis (Wiese, 2010). Many of these individuals who find themselves as foreigners in countries outside of their homes are war victims or victims of economic disasters, and they seek a better future outside of their homes. The historical, political, and social contexts within which migration (including that of the ZT in this study) takes place cannot be ignored because of how they interconnect. Their interconnection varies across each individual and across each circumstance that forces an individual to migrate.

In this context, ZT in SA and KZN townships might suffer from psycho-social distress from both their past situations and their current situations. In general, when an individual leaves their home country, they might face economic, linguistic, administrative, legal and/or social exclusion. These exclusions cannot be ignored in the long-term process of adjustment for the migrant. The struggle to make sense of the space is left with the migrant, who now needs to adjust and 'fit in' or try not to stand out. This is a process rather than an event: "After migration, the person's psychological adjustment to environmental and cultural changes has the tendency to take place progressively" (Wiese, 2010: 144). This progression is not easy, and there are factors that can either make the process more endurable or more unbearable.

The social challenges for people like ZT living in the townships of SA might exist in part because black working-class people are not happy with their conditions of existence, given the deprivations of township life. Thus: "Within the townships, Ubuntu co-exists with the concept of Umona, which is best translated as envy or jealousy" (Koens & Thomas, 2016: 1643). Black working-class South Africans might be jealous or envious of ZT as the latter are employed in sites of extreme poverty and inequality, and the former might blame the latter for their condition of deprivation. From the start, this leads to significant levels of tensions and conflict, particularly if and when social interactions take place in township life between the South Africans and Zimbabweans. Insofar as this entails discrimination, racism, and xenophobia-based problems (Fernández et al., 2017), ZT might experience not only psychological stress but also trauma – leading to departing the country and returning to Zimbabwe. Xenophobia and

related attitudes are detrimental to feelings of being welcomed and accepted and to constructing a sense of belonging (Torres et al., 2011; Vogel et al., 2013).

4.3.3 Xenophobia in South African Schools

Crush (2014: 4) argues that "the plague of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa has been variously labelled the 'dark side of democracy', a 'new pathology', 'apartheid vertigo' and evidence of the 'demonic' nature of South African society". The observations made by some ZT while in SA is that South Africans mix almost exclusively with people of their own ethnic background or race, and that they felt isolated because of this (Mda, 2010). There is also some evidence that Zimbabwean migrant teachers have been subjected to xenophobic attacks by their South African (teacher) colleagues and learners (Manik, 2012). Zimbabwean migrant teachers encounter several challenges that negatively affect their ability to adapt easily to the local teaching community and township community, emanating from their foreign status/citizenship. These overt and sometimes insidious challenges exist within and beyond the classroom and schooling system more broadly. For example, some of the frustrations faced by migrant teachers are "the legal processes required entering the country through the acquisition of work permits from the Department of Home Affairs and the necessary accreditation evaluations by the South African Qualifications Authority and the South African Council for Educators" (Dzvuka, 2017: 4). The legislation and procedures of the country create all sorts of barriers to entering the teaching profession in SA.

Manik (2012) further argues that ZT additionally encounter a lack of job security in public and independent schools due to their migrant status. Their remuneration as ZT compared to SAT was much lower, and they could not challenge this effectively because of their precarious status in the country. If the law is against ZT, indeed, any legal matters are already disqualified. The management culture in some township schools is also said to be characterised by prejudiced attitudes and preferences based on ethnicity. The SAT are usually given preferences, and favour is shown to them while the ZT are distinctly mistreated. These problems are in and of themselves exclusionary dimensions of xenophobia.

Both Manik (2013) and Singh (2013) found that the susceptibility of ZT to xenophobic attitudes by SAT and learners in schools leads them to feeling disgruntled in the schools where they teach (Anganoo, 2014), with local teachers and learners almost lording it over the ZT as unworthy of respect. The unfriendly work environment becomes taxing for ZT because their

socio-economic aspirations are largely related to their desire to obtain economic stability by getting permanent employment as teachers in SA. Manik (2015) notes that signs of disrespect (and indeed injustices) experienced by Zimbabwean migrant teachers working in South African TSS include having meetings in a local South African language rather than having it in English which is a universal language for all teachers. This exclusion is seemingly applied so the ZT cannot participate and contribute fully their viewpoints and ideas in meetings. Further, the allocation of heavier workloads to ZT compared to local teachers and the denial of promotions to foreign teachers are quite common in township schools.

Singh (2013: 51) argues that the marginalisation of ZT at TSS has reached the status of a crisis, with xenophobic attacks against ZT ranging from "verbal abuse, indirect insulting, to the chasing of foreign teachers from villages". It is therefore not surprising that ZT do not feel safe in SA, for reasons articulated by Singh (2012) in the following way:

> The [township] community does not protect them as teachers of their children, easily taking sides against them when there are xenophobic attacks; foreign teachers are always looked down upon despite the services they offer; there is a lack of job security; they do not know the feelings of those around them and therefore find it difficult to feel safe; at any onset of violence, foreigners are targeted (Singh, 2013: 62).

The instability and sporadic nature of the xenophobic attacks require ZT to always be on alert and even live their lives in fear.

Experiencing some kind of culture shock can also be expected to be part of any transition undergone by ZT in the face of Afrophobia. Culture shock has been widely accepted as a severe, acute, and sometimes chronic affective reaction to a new social milieu (Furham, 2012): "New experiences such as these often result in a loss of culture and personal identity. Increased stress, frustration, anger, fear, or depression can be a common experience for the sojourner" (Church, 1982, cited in Westwood & Barker, 1990: 252). Certainly, the isolation and 'othering' created within the xenophobic atmosphere of SA can awaken feelings of unease amongst Zimbabwean teacher-migrants, as the unfamiliar environment is not merely strange but also unwelcoming. Culture shock does not have to be encountered alone, as it may be experienced collectively insofar as ZT have social support systems within the townships (not just among other Zimbabweans, but with sympathetic South Africans) (Zhou et al., 2008). This is not, however, the case for most ZT it appears. Overall, these teachers leave their own familiar

settings, norms, and cultures behind and enter new settings with their own norms and cultures, and the onus of adapting (and even defending themselves) is left to the ZT.

4.3.4 The Relevance of Accents

One related issue in this regard is the question of accents. In the case of ZT working in KZN TSS, accents may become a controversial issue. Foreign accents of course are a regular and expected part of second language acquisition. However, non-Native speakers (for example, when a Shona-speaking Zimbabwean begins to learn isiZulu) sometimes experience negative social evaluation and even discrimination because of their speech patterns (Munro et al., 2006). Due to pronunciation difficulties, these second-language speakers sometimes have problems making themselves understood, and the mispronunciation of individual vowels and consonants can cause listeners to hear the wrong word and misconstrue the meaning. While accented speech, in and of itself, is not necessarily an obstacle to successful communication, a ZT with an accent in SA may be perceived negatively because of the stereotypes or prejudices that accents can evoke in a listener. It is not unusual for white foreign nationals with a European accent to evoke feelings of interest and amusement in places like SA. In contrast, black African foreigners with accents might bring about negative feelings amongst South Africans, with such negative perceptions adversely influencing how speakers are treated in a speech community (Matsuda, 1991; Lippi-Green, 1997) in that they become treated first and foremost by way of their foreign-ness.

In SA, many people are often judged on how well they can speak English, and consequently, unintelligence (or stupidity) is one attribute that is often assigned to those who speak the language with a heavy accent (Ingram, 2009). Black African migrants in SA (including Zimbabweans, whether Shona or Ndebele speakers) have their own accents and can be mislabelled as unintelligent based on those accents. Negative evaluations of accents result in foreigners being marginalised based on their accents, and lead to unfounded judgements about personality, income, and education (Labov, 2006). Hence, accents become central to ‘othering’ processes, with black Zimbabweans being disrespected and easily excluded because of their accents (Kinzler et al., 2012). The assumption is that they are unintelligent and can be undermined, exploited, ignored, and/or ridiculed because of this.

ZT have been subjected to unfair treatment in the classroom and the workplace based on their accents. In a study by Vandeyar (2014), it was found that accents are a factor in the experiences

of ZT in SA. Amongst many other things, the study found that accents isolated the ZT and easily identified their immigrant status. In this context, the following extracts are quotations from two South Africans who were part of Vandeyar's (2014) study, and who reflected upon the experiences of ZT:

> Sometimes the accent counts ... like it is different from the way South Africans talk. He [Zimbabwean teacher] is fluent in English but he pronounces some things differently from the way we pronounce it (Vandeyar, 2014: 160).

> Like if you go into her [Zimbabwean teacher] class and you interrupt, she just says 'go out, get out of my class', even though you don't, she just ignores you, and concentrates on those who are paying attention (Vandeyar, 2014: 160).

The respect given to ZT is more limited than the respect given to SAT because the learners are not scared of, or concerned about the views of, the ZT. If students do not fear them, they do not recognise their status as teachers; thus, they do not need to respect them. It is likely that the values and meanings of what and who constitutes a Zimbabwean is passed on from the adults to the children, and even SAT to South African learners. This process of secondary socialisation that the children (learners) take on consciously or subconsciously, affects how ZT experience working in KZN TSS.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the many problematic issues in the education system of the country and how, to some degree, these issues resemble the issues of the past Apartheid regime. Additionally, the chapter discussed the secondary schools in townships (including KZN townships) and how the inequalities in these schools have the potential to affect the performance of the learners, and the relationship between the teachers and the learners. Regarding the difficulties township schools face, an important issue is the lack of parental participation in the schooling experience of township youth. Moreover, the experiences of SAT as figures of authority in classrooms and as teachers of marginalised learners was brought to the fore. As well, it appears that SAT working in TSS have been undermined and marginalised by the system and the government, leading to a loss of morale. Meanwhile, ZT have come to SA in hopes of a brighter future. Although their future is not without some ray of hope, they confront many obstacles such as xenophobia, rejection because of accents and psychosocial distress. Simultaneously, these migrant teachers must nurture the ongoing emotional and

financial relationships with family back home. The following chapter is the first of four empirical chapters focusing on the lives of the ZT studied for this thesis.

Chapter Five: Overview of Zimbabwean Teachers' Lives in KwaZulu-Natal Townships

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the study sites and a profile of the ZT studied. It identifies and discusses the study sites – namely, the six selected townships in KZN and each of the six TSS selected. The chapter offers a detailed profile of the ZT by highlighting certain key variables, including gender, age, marital status, number of dependents (in SA and Zimbabwe), number of years in SA and years of teaching in SA, and places of shelter. This shows considerable diversity amongst the ZT. Because the following empirical chapters in the main focus on the lives of the ZT in the spaces of KZN (townships and schools), this chapter ends by discussing the linkages between the ZT in SA and family back home (and in SA), including remittances. Family is central to the ZT, and how they live their lives in the spaces of SA always seems to relate, if only indirectly, to family life and the future of their families. Again, though, variation across ZT also exists in this respect.

5.2 Study Sites

The study was conducted in six townships of the KZN province. The selected townships were Umlazi, KwaMashu, Gamalakhe, Inanda, Edendale and Madadeni. The six selected schools were Teresa College in Umlazi, Vuyani High School in KwaMashu, Oak Park in Gamalakhe, Baartman Secondary in Inanda, Tubman Secondary School in Edendale, and Red Hills in Madadeni. Umlazi and KwaMashu, as the two largest townships in this study, are divided into sections. All the townships are populated primarily by Zulu-speaking black Africans, with a racial makeup averaging 99.4% for black Africans, followed by Coloured, Indian, and other (Lehohla, 2011). As of the 2011 census, all the townships, with the exception of Edendale and Madadeni, have their first languages in the following order: isiZulu, isiXhosa and other.

In providing an overview of the study sites, I refer at times to official statistical data to provide the reader with a quantitative-based profile. However, I draw more fully upon my fieldnotes (based on my time undertaking research in the townships) to give the reader a stronger sense of the lived experiences of township residents, and thereby a more nuanced understanding of the lives of ZT as detailed in later chapters. However, it should be emphasised that my visits to the school sites (and townships) took place during the Covid-19 lockdown.

All six townships are marked by high levels of unemployment, and the average socio-economic status of households is extremely low. This is not to deny the presence of socio-economic differentiation within each of the six townships. The townships' housing stock consists of a mixture of formal (i.e., state) structures and informal structures of various sizes (Dube-Ncube, 2021). There are recently-built state houses in certain instances, while other public houses were built years ago (dating back to the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the 1990s). Informal houses and shacks, some - made from corrugated iron, are also present in the townships – either in informal settlements or constructed in the backyards of official housing stands. The *Abahlali BaseMjondolo* shack-dwellers' movement is very prominent in informal settlements, with camps in the KwaMashu and Umlazi areas. The socio-economic and housing conditions in the six townships are in large part reflective of the wider situation in urban KZN and SA more broadly.

For these township residents, the urban built environment is deeply problematic because of the inadequacies of decent housing and nearby employment opportunities, as well as levels of deprivation regarding basic services. The deficient service delivery in the urban townships of contemporary SA is replicated in the case of six townships. Access to electricity, clean water and sanitation is a challenge in these KZN townships, though the extent of the problem caries across and within townships (Johnson, 2017). In regard to the issue of electricity, households without electricity are still using 'traditional' methods such as cooking with firewood outside or using gas stoves. In the case of access to water, some households have running water systems within their houses, while others rely on a community tap system (Johnson, 2017). Water cuts are also a common occurrence in some areas, as is the presence of dirty and likely contaminated water in the municipal water system. Almost all the townships studied were overcrowded; the houses are literally on top of each other. Hence, there is very little space and privacy between neighbouring residents. The selected townships have at least a clinic or health care centre, with Umlazi having at least one clinic in all its sections. In addition, Madadeni houses a government hospital.

Generally, though the public services in the townships, such as schools, clinics, and the police stations, are burdened by poor infrastructure, insufficient resources, and mismanagement of funds. The townships have post offices, which are mostly not in use. Overall, the public infrastructure is poorly maintained, and consequently, there is considerable visual evidence of buildings in different stages of deteriorating. The lack of maintenance of public services and

the general provision of resources, remains a serious problem for these township communities. There are private establishments in the townships, mainly retail outlets. For example, local entertainment pubs and franchise restaurants such as Kentucky Fried Chicken and Debonairs Pizza are present in the townships. The townships also have shopping centres/complexes with stores such as Shoprite, Checkout, and JET Stores.

Visual images of the townships' youth bring the township deficiencies starkly to the fore. In all the townships, the youth can be seen smoking under the limited tree cover, playing soccer in the streets, lounging around near the taverns, hanging around the taxi ranks or washing cars, amongst other things. Meanwhile, outside school hours, the younger children play on the roads, unaware of the cars that need to avoid them. Unemployment in KZN is very crippling, particularly amongst the youth (Statistics South Africa, 2021). Education is articulated in SA as the road out of poverty, and hence, many of the youth in the province have an education, whether a senior certificate or post-secondary diploma, or degree (Statistics South Africa, 2021). The youth remain unemployed, and a sense of hopelessness circulates amongst the youth population of the townships studied. In one way or another, their current state of living defeats any fighting spirit or willpower to continue to improve their lives. This is depicted in some of the graffiti vandalism on public buildings with quotes and images that reflect their situations of despair.

As with township life generally in present-day SA, the six townships in KZN are bustling, making the schools exposed to noise pollution. The schools are typically surrounded by residential homes, which have minimal space separating them. People are walking around near the schools, sitting in the shade by the schools and continuing with their business as usual, and this happens even when the learners are present. These bystanders often do not live in the area of the school, as they come from other parts of the township or other townships to hang out with their friends in the area.

The general observations of all the schools studied are consistent with the broader township challenges. Most of the school property is old, and it is covered with graffiti or characterised by some form of vandalism as well as litter. All the schools had some form of vandalism or graffiti with respect to the furniture or the walls especially in the areas around the toilets. Vuyani High School (KwaMashu) and Teressa College (Umlazi) had the most explicit graffiti drawings in visible areas of the classrooms such as the walls, doors, windowpanes, desks, and chairs. Most of the graffiti turned into vandalism because it is engraved into the property. The

school buildings and property have not been maintained or replaced despite the dire need for this due to wear and tear. Vuyani High School, Baartman Secondary (Inanda) and Teressa College in particular are older schools and there is no evidence of any recent maintenance and replacement. This can be seen by the multiple cases of broken furniture, rusted taps, and broken doors. None of the six schools have multiple working fire extinguishers or detailed fire evacuation strategies visible the property. All the schools have something that represents a staffroom, but less than half of the selected schools have a functioning staffroom with well-kept accessories such as chairs, a table, and equipment such as cutlery, microwave and/or television set. Despite the schools having many setbacks that could contribute to the poor performance of both teachers and learners, the schools remain as institutions of learning that help mould their learners.

In the balance of this section, I provide brief overviews of each township and the school studied within it, starting with Umlazi township. Umlazi is located south-west of Durban, with a population of over 400,000 people (Lehohla, 2011); it is, in fact, the fourth largest township in SA and the only with its own vehicle registration plate. Of the Zimbabwean teachers studied, seven were selected from Umlazi township, namely, Ndabe, Theo, King, Pearl, Jay, Shaz and Zipho.

As with most long-established townships, Umlazi inherited the dismal effects of Apartheid planning policies characterised by spatial and economic isolation (Baxter, 2008). It experiences typical township problems; however, these are magnified due to its sheer size. These problems are mainly: severe housing shortages; major informal settlements; high levels of unemployment; minimal economic development; high rates of unemployment; and high crime rates (Baxter, 2008). Despite numerous efforts to improve the spatial and economic connectivity of the township to the surrounding areas (including major sites of employment), there is still a need for greater physical integration of Umlazi into the greater Durban district (Ntombela, 2011).

In terms of the urban environment, Umlazi comprises mainly of mono-functional/high-density development. Umlazi's development takes little account of the specific requirements of its predominantly low-income population and provides little assistance for the residents to escape the cycles of poverty. The residents of the Umlazi area are categorised as a low-income population, which makes it difficult for them to alleviate or leave the poverty-dominated circumstances of their environment. However, there are various housing types in the area,

which is indicative of the varying income levels of the people residing in Umlazi. The 'newer' or modernised areas (with more affluent households and larger houses) exist in specific sections of the township, and the owners are treated by the broader township population as being exclusive of township activity. This means that people living in these areas are treated as almost separate from the rest of the township. In general, the township of Umlazi (like the other townships studied) is very dirty and unhygienic, and there is significant waste and litter in the streets, as though no municipal services were ever provided to the township. Littering was a normalised act undertaken by all (young and old), and many stray animals roamed the streets looking for food. Most of the youth of Umlazi are unemployed or underemployed (involved in temporary or contractual jobs).

Teresa College is located in a section of Umlazi well known for all forms of crime and violence. In this area, there is a high police presence with police vans moving up and down the streets, and, occasionally, police officials can be seen talking to residents and then continuing with their patrol. Teresa College is marked by vandalism and inappropriate graffiti, including drawings of signs or logos of the different gangs operating in the area. The school has broken furniture in the classrooms, and some of the writing- boards are covered over and not in use. The classrooms still use the traditional black or green boards rather than whiteboards and, in some classrooms, there is no boards at all. Considering the number of desks and chairs present in each of the classes, it seems clear that the classes are large, hosting more than forty learners per lesson. What appears to be a staffroom is a basic room with old office chairs, a small table in the middle, and an old microwave. The school buildings are old and not properly maintained, and they all require repainting. The fence around the school has holes in it, and the learners use those holes to unofficially leave and bunk classes during school hours. The school has a kitchen which is used for functions as well as providing the learners with lunch.

Gamalakhe is a township between Margate and Port Shepstone on the south coast, with a population of 14,000 people according to the 2011 census. Currently, there are about 6,000 inhabitants who are considered to be very poor, while 9,000 people are part of the growing black middle-class SA (Khan, 2018). Three ZT (Lea, Anashe, and Blue) were selected from Gamalakhe township for this study. Under Apartheid, the township was under Zulu government jurisdiction, and it was named Gamalakhe after a former Mavundla chief. The formation of Gamalakhe township in the late 1960s entailed the forced removals to Gamalakhe of many different groups of people living in many places along the coast, including Masinenge,

Komiti, Umbango, Marburg, and Albersville. At the time of initial removals in mid-1968. At the time, there was no electricity, water, toilets, services, schools or even streets in the township. The oldest area in Gamalakhe had a number of tin houses and came to be known as Tin Town.

In Gamalakhe, the government offices are surrounded by litter and waste. The township residents burn their litter as a way to dispose of it or, alternatively, they add to the self-made waste dump that is within the residential areas. The community health centre in Gamalakhe township was recently renovated and extended, becoming a community centre serving people in the township and surrounding areas within the district. The development of the township is evident in the new shopping complex. The complex has provided an opportunity for employment for Gamalakhe township residents and, perhaps, more importantly, the complex fills a long-standing gap in which there were local retail stores. In the past, Gamalakhe residents needed to go to the central business districts of the nearest towns (Port Shepstone/Margate) to purchase essential goods. Now, they can take a taxi or even walk to the shopping complex and purchase basic commodities, since there are shops such as Boxer and PEP stores as well as Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Oak Park is a beautiful school with visibly fresh paint on the outside, and the general infrastructure of the school is kept well. The desks and chairs are placed neatly in columns and rows in the classrooms, and no litter is seen in and around the main entrance. The school grounds are in good condition and the gardening services are continued even in the absence of the learners and school activity. Additionally, Oak Park school has a kitchen/catering section as the school provides food for the learners (though not on a daily basis); as well, the school hall is used for external events that are not school related, thus having a kitchen is important. The catering at the school is outsourced, but the industrial cooking appliances belong to the school. In the staffroom, the school has a transparent cabinet filled over the years with trophies from choir competitions. Like some of the other schools studied, Oak Park is surrounded by residential homes, and this affects the schooling experience. For instance, rubbish from the residents (such as discarded alcohol bottles) are thrown into the school area. Furthermore, less than two kilometres from the school, there is a tavern which also has a spaza shop (i.e. tuckshop) from which the learners purchase goods before school, during lunch break and after school. The school learners are at times exposed to unsavoury social encounters because of this.

Madadeni township is in Newcastle and forms part of the Amajuba District municipality. In the study, three ZT (Demi, Bonga and Amy) were selected from Madadeni township. The name Madadeni is the Zulu translation for Duck Ponds and before the establishment of the township, the area was known as Duck Ponds (the farm in the area was inhabited by wild ducks) (Mahabeer, 2021). Madadeni was established as a black residential area in terms of the Group Areas Act in 1950, with African people in the area forcefully resettled in the township.

Most of the houses in the area is public housing stock built with bricks with only minimal evidence of housing constructed informally with sheets of corrugated iron. However, as with the other townships, the unemployment rate is high in Madadeni, with many youth lurking around publicly during the day. The township has a well-established hospital (Madadeni Hospital) originally founded as a mental hospital in August 1967 (Xaba, 2011), and, to this day, some Madadeni residents refer to the hospital as a 'mental' institution. What stands out throughout Madadeni is that many community members can be observed being involved in community upliftment projects such as planting of fruits and vegetables, that are sold in and around the township. In addition, some residents of Madadeni attend Night School to upgrade their final scores or to attain a certain qualification such as a Matric (grade 12) certificate.

Despite the school not being in an ideal location for conducive teaching and learning, overall, Red Hills is clean, and the school grounds are well kept (with gardening services likely active). In one particular classroom, some whiteboard pens are laying around, suggesting that the school uses whiteboards and not chalk boards. In some of the classes, it seems that the boards have been upgraded as there is a green board at the back of the class (which is old, broken, and unused) and a new white board in the front of the classroom. The teacher's desk is a large table covered with a cloth, with some textbooks placed on it. The students' desks and chairs are well packed in the corners of the class. Since there is no official assembly building, the school quad is used as an assembly or auditorium and there is sound equipment (such as a microphone and a mega speaker) that is kept in the principal's office for this purpose. The management of the school is clearly trying to improve the schooling experience for the learners, but without significant support from the government.

Edendale started as a mission station, initially inhabited by early African Christian converts called *amakholwa* (Gwala, 1989). Four ZT (Zuko, CC, Rose, and June) were selected from Edendale township. Edendale has historically been a 'multi-ethnic' community (Khumalo, 2019). Although it has always been overwhelmingly African, there have been numerous

Indians and Coloureds staying and owning land in the area in the past. However, with the tightening of the application of Group Areas Act in the late 1960s, pressure began building for non-Africans to move out of Edendale into new Indian and Coloured townships to the east of Pietermaritzburg (Gwala, 1989). The Greater Edendale Area was established as a Section 30 Town, as per the Black Administration Act of 1927, and now forms part of the present Msunduzi Municipality. The Greater Edendale township, with a population estimated to be approximately 300,000 people (Lehohla, 2011). The township is situated twelve kilometres south-west of Pietermaritzburg's central business district. Edendale has suffered from long years of neglect, characterised by high levels of poverty and unemployment, inadequate services, and infrastructural provision, as well as rapid advancing rate of informal settlement development. Of the five African townships surrounding Pietermaritzburg, Edendale is likely the most deprived in socio-economic terms.

Tubman Secondary School, with about 800 learners, is located on an ample space of land which could be developed into proper sporting facilities or used to extend the school premises. Unlike some of the other schools, Tubman Secondary School is surrounded by nature and not houses. This is a constant problem for teachers because some of the learners go to the bushes to smoke during lunch time or they bring in alcohol and other unknown substances and hide it (for use later). Before the pandemic, the learners would enjoy soccer and netball tournaments with other schools, with the school's sporting equipment safely kept in a storeroom. The staffroom is very spacious and clean with equipment such as a microwave and a television set. But, in general, the school depends on limited and poor infrastructure, and old and even missing classroom furniture. Outside of the school, there are shelters for street vendors who sell goods to the learners. Since the school is temporarily closed due to the pandemic, the vendors are nowhere to be seen. There is also a taxi/bus stop next to the vendors' shelters where some of the learners and staff access their transportation from the school gates.

Inanda and KwaMashu are twenty kilometres north-west of eThekwini (Durban) city centre (Smit, 2013). According to the 2011 census, KwaMashu had a population of over 170,000 people, while the Inanda township was populated by more than 150,000 people. The two townships are in close proximity to each other, with an average distance of ten kilometres between them, making it at times difficult to establish 'separation lines' between them since the physical boundaries are blurred. Five ZT (Zee, Portia, Mpumi, Sara and KB) were selected from Inanda township while six ZT (Judy, Lebo, Eric, Sam, Sbu and Tom) come from

KwaMashu township. Inanda and KwaMashu lie close to Durban's CBD as well as the growing suburban commercial and industrial areas of Springfield, Umhlanga, and La Lucia. Inanda and KwaMashu's main transport hub (rail station and taxi rank) is in KwaMashu, and KwaMashu is viewed as an economic hub because of its proximity to Durban and its major transportation corridors. Some 70% of Inanda and KwaMashu residents commute to the city using rail transport, while the rest travel by minibus taxi and buses (Smit, 2013). While Inanda and KwaMashu are both well connected to the city via rail and the KwaMashu highway, travel within the townships themselves remain constrained and costly.

The Inanda and KwaMashu townships are viewed as the second largest agglomeration of poor communities in SA (Ntombela, 2013). The economies of Inanda and KwaMashu are intrinsically linked to that of eThekwini (Durban), and economic growth within the townships is thus dependent in large part on external rather than internal stimuli (Ntombela, 2013). Economic activity that would allow for large-scale employment-generation is non-existent in the two townships, while the majority of consumer spending leaks out of the township areas in eThekwini's central business district (Mngadi, 2013). There is high unemployment within Inanda and KwaMashu townships, and low household-based incomes and poverty prevail.

Many areas in Inanda and KwaMashu experience high levels of social dislocation, poverty, and crime, exacerbated by inadequate physical infrastructure and severe degradation. In a country with one of the highest rates of HIV infections in the world, KZN is the most infected province, and Inanda and KwaMashu are one of the most affected areas within the province (Smit, 2013). In Inanda and KwaMashu, access to basic services such as clinics and police stations is good, while water provision lags (Smit, 2013). Complicated by land tenure issues, adequate housing provision remains a major challenge for Inanda and KwaMashu, and there are several crowded informal settlements with extremely poor living conditions.

Baartman Secondary school in Inanda township, was officially closed during the data collection process due to the lockdown in SA despite this, the school premises were disorganised and obviously in use. Through speaking with bystanders, it was discovered that the school was being used by grade 11 and 12 learners. At the time, the school had monkeys digging in the dustbins and collecting scraps from the ground. Some grade 11 and 12 learners attending were not wearing full school uniform, the uniform was mixed with casual clothes. The administration department of the school had papers all over the tables and on the floor. What used to be the sanitorium is now a room with an old stretcher and a large amount of cutlery and random

objects – a storeroom of some kind. The windows are dusty and dirty, making it difficult to look inside to see the classrooms without removing the dust. At first glance, Baartman Secondary is deteriorating, and the school requires significant maintenance and reconstruction. It does not have an assembly/auditorium and the morning assembly meetings are held in the quad unless there is undesirable weather. The school does not have an intercom system, though the implementation of intercoms was underway, until the process abruptly ended due to the lack of funds. I am told that, to the contrary, the issue was a mismanagement of funds and corruption, and not an issue of a shortfall of funds.

In KwaMashu, Vuyani High School is painted in a dark grey colour and is very dull and depressing. There is little to no colour to buildings nor any pamphlets, announcements, posters, or creative pieces around the school premises (these could have been removed because the school is closed due to the lockdown). There seems to be no maintenance of school property done on a regular basis. The chalkboards inside some of the classrooms are unusable, as are the few chairs inside these particular classrooms. Some classrooms have rusted curtain rails but no curtains, and what should be the teacher's desk is a learner desk placed in the front of the class. What seems to be a science lab/classroom has missing apparatus and/or broken apparatus. I am told that new equipment has been ordered and should be arriving in the near future. It would be an understatement to say that the situation of the toilets at Vuyani High School is traumatic. The female toilets are a disgrace and do not promote healthy and safe hygiene; there is a pungent stench in the area (even though the learners are not present) surrounding the toilets. The taps in the toilets do not turn when attempting to open them; consequently, there is a 2,400 litre JoJo water tank outside of the toilets.

5.3 Overview of Teacher Profiles

The sample of interviewed ZT is twenty-eight. The variables discussed below include gender, age, marital status, accommodation, and number of dependents. Table 5.1 provides an overview of these variables. Gender is of some significance because of the patriarchal character of South African (and Zimbabwean) society. Of the twenty-eight ZT, seventeen are female (61%) and eleven are male (39%).

Marital status is also important, as this affects township life outside of school-time, and there may be spousal or partner relationships between Zimbabwean teachers and South Africans. Regarding the variable of 'marital status', six ZT identified as married and living with their

spouses here in SA (22%). The spouse was Zimbabwean, South African, or other. Eleven (39%) identified as 'single' – either dating or not attached to anyone. The ZT who were romantically dating in SA were, in a long-term relationship, but not married – they either lived together, lived in proximity to each other, lived in the same township or lived in a separate township altogether. Two (7%) ZT were separated from their partner; they had separated while still in Zimbabwe and their estranged partners are living in Zimbabwe. There were five divorced (18%) ZT, all of whom divorced, their former partners in Zimbabwe before coming to SA. finally, four (14%) ZT were widows or widowers, and they all are still in contact with their in-laws who live in Zimbabwe. These contacts consist of socio-emotional and financial exchanges.

With regards to 'age', seven (25%) ZT are between the ages 20 of 29, while eight (29%) teachers are between the ages of 30 and 39. Another eight (29%) ZT are in the 40-age category four (14%) ZT from the ages of 50 to 59, and one ZT (3%) was in the 60 to 69 age category. All the (five) teachers aged between 50 and 69 were single, divorced, widowed; in other words, none were married. For the seven teachers in the 20 to 29 age group, five identified as 'single', one was married, and one divorced. The two separated teachers come from the 30 to 39 bracket.

The number of dependents for the ZT varied considerably. Dependents, including where they are located, is significant in conditioning the lives of the ZT, including when it comes to financial and other obligations. The dependents were living in SA, Zimbabwe and elsewhere, and this incorporated immediate dependents that benefited from the Zimbabwean teacher's salary. Therefore, anyone who was financially dependent and received any money on a regular basis from the ZT was considered a dependent. The dependent uses the money from the ZT to support him or herself or, probably more often, to buy essentials and pay any bills/expenses for an entire family of dependents.

The dependents include biological or stepchildren as well as, family members such as cousins, nieces/nephews, brothers/sisters, children, and elderly parents. There are a large number of dependents remaining in Zimbabwe, as detailed below. Five (18%) ZT, had zero dependants in Zimbabwe (or other), that is, outside of, and (thirteen ZT) had 1 to 6 dependents in Zimbabwe/other (making up 46% of the total ZT). Other ZT could not give exact numbers with absolute certainty. In this regard, four ZT (14%) said they were 'unsure' (this implies that there are dependents but the ZT is simply unable to give even a rough number). In addition, six (21%) indicated 'unidentified: 5+' – this means that they did not know the exact number of

dependents in Zimbabwe/other but knew that it was more than five. 'Unidentified' might apply in a situation where the ZT will send money home to an individual who will then support an unknown number of family members. As a group, the 40 to 49-year-old ZT tended to have more dependents in ZT, compared to other age categories. With the exception of one teacher who only had one dependent, the rest had five or more dependents.

Unlike with the case of dependents in Zimbabwe, the ZT could give exact figures of dependents in SA: the number of dependents ranged from zero to eight. In terms of the spread, 39% of ZT had no dependents in SA, 36% had one to three dependents and the remaining 25% of ZT had at least four dependents in the country. These include Zimbabwean family living in SA, or dependents emerging from relationships established subsequent to arriving in the country. Simultaneously, it is important to note that some ZT had no dependents at all (neither in SA nor Zimbabwe/other), while some had dependents in both places (as many as eleven).

The residential status of ZT living in the KZN townships consisted of three categories, namely, 'renting, sharing, or hostel'. Nearly half of the thirteen ZT (47%) were renting, which meant they lived alone (or possibly with family members) in a private space, and they paid a monthly fee to a landlord who did not interfere or come into their space. The relationship was strictly transactional where the ZT would send money but did not meet up face-to-face with the landlord. Nine ZT were sharing, comprising of 32% of the group. These ZT either lived in a backroom (possibly with family members) which was attached to the landlord's house, or they lived on their own in a shelter separate from the main house but located in the same property of the landlord. These ZT identify as 'Sharing: live in yard' (LIY). Alternatively, sharing entails a ZT literally sharing the space with a stranger, or acquaintance, which I label as 'Sharing: living with strangers' (LWS). As well, others shared one single space/room with their entire family (the setup will have a bed, kitchen and lounge compressed into one room). These ZT who shared the space I call 'Sharing: single room' (SR). The single room is within the property/yard, but it is not attached to the main house. The single room is a one room space with the kitchen, bedroom and bathroom all compressed in the same room. The six (21%) ZT living in 'hostels' were only men, possibly because the hostels accommodated mainly males. The hostels were two-room spaces with a bedroom, kitchen/lounge area and a communal toilet/bathroom separate from the hostel bedrooms and living space.

There is significant variation in the length of time the ZT have been working and living in SA. Length of stay in the country, including within a teaching environment, may have effects on

the current experiences of the ZT. Table 5.2 shows that twenty-two ZT have been working in SA for less than ten years (1-9 years). These ZT constitute the largest number, amounting to 79% of the sample. From within this group, just less than half (that is ten ZT) have been working in the country for five years or less. Six ZT have worked in SA for ten years or more. Most of the teachers (20, or 71%) have lived and worked in the country for the same number of years, i.e. they have worked as teachers throughout their entire stay in the country, the remaining eight ZT (29%) lived in SA for a longer period than they have taught, in large part because they did not immediately access formal/permanent employment in the country. The shortest stay amongst the teachers has been one year, and the longest 19 years.

Table 5.1: Zimbabwean Teacher Profiles

Name	Gender	Marital Status	Age	No. of Dependents in South Africa	No. of Dependents in Zimbabwe/other	Type of Accommodation
Lea	F	Married	33	7	0	Renting
Ndabe	M	Widower	53	0	4	Hostel
Theo	M	Widower	43	6	Unidentified: 5+	Sharing: (LIY)
Mpumi	F	Married	37	3	1	Renting
King	M	Divorced	48	3	5	Sharing: (SR)
Sbu	M	Single	24	2	1	Hostel
KB	F	Separated	39	0	6	Renting
Sara	F	Married	26	2	0	Renting
June	F	Divorced	31	2	Unsure	Sharing: (LWS)
Pearl	F	Separated	38	0	3	Sharing: (SR)
Portia	F	Single	25	0	Unsure	Sharing: (SR)
Jay	M	Single	24	0	0	Hostel
Sam	F	Divorced	49	0	Unsure	Renting
Demi	F	Married	38	3	Unidentified: 5+	Renting
Bonga	M	Married	45	3	Unidentified: 5+	Renting
Eric	M	Single	36	1	Unidentified: 5+	Hostel
Zuko	M	Married	33	0	4	Hostel
Shaz	F	Divorced	24	4	1	Sharing: (LIY)
Anashe	F	Single	40	0	Unsure	Renting
Judy	F	Widow	58	6	Unidentified: 5+	Sharing: (LIY)
Blue	F	Single	49	3	1	Renting
CC	F	Divorced	59	8	0	Renting
Tom	M	Single	41	4	Unidentified: 5+	Sharing: (LIY)
Lebo	M	Single	54	0	5	Renting
Zipho	M	Single	27	0	0	Hostel
Zee	F	Single	48	2	5	Renting
Rose	F	Single	25	0	2	Sharing: (LWS)
Amy	F	Widow	63	4	3	Renting

Source: Fieldwork.

Table 5.2: Zimbabwean Teacher's Profile of Living and Working in South Africa

Name	No. of years living in South Africa	No. of years teaching in South Africa
Lea	8	8
Ndabe	6	6
Theo	15	15
Mpumi	7	7
King	6	2
Sbu	1	1
KB	11	11
Sara	5	4
June	7	7
Pearl	5	5
Portia	5	3
Jay	1	1
Sam	19	19
Demi	8	8
Bonga	9	8
Eric	11	11
Zuko	10	10
Shaz	3	2
Anashe	10	10
Judy	7	7
Blue	13	13
CC	9	9
Tom	2	2
Lebo	11	11
Zipho	3	1
Zee	8	8
Rose	5	2
Amy	8	7

Source: Fieldwork.

In narrating certain experiences of the teachers in the following sections (and in later chapters), I refer to ZT who either illustrate general trends or capture any diverse trends amongst the

sample of teachers. At times, the complexities and convoluted character of the lives of ZT in SA prevent a clear delineation between particular trends. Because they are simply trends or tendencies, and not law-like trajectories, I make no effort to quantity the prevalence of particular trends.

5.4 Zimbabwean Teachers' Lives: Maintaining Relations with Zimbabweans

The period in Zimbabwean history, beginning in the mid-1990s and culminating in the current conjuncture, looms large as a decisive phase in Zimbabwe's political economy (Raftopoulos, 2004). During these years, the political and economic terrain was substantively restructured, setting out the contours of the current crisis (or crises) in Zimbabwe. With the massive downsizing of the formal economy and the pervasive unemployment existing over an extended period, particularly from the year 2000, migration has become an important way for Zimbabwean families to diversify their livelihood (often survivalist) strategies. Adding to the migration impetus, teachers have been targeted by the ruling party in Zimbabwe as supporters of the political opposition, and hence they have felt threatened by continuing to teach in such a hostile environment. Large numbers of teachers have left the country over the past twenty years and continue to do so, given the range in the number of years in SA amongst the sampled ZT. Typically, Zimbabwean migrant teachers in SA have families back home. These may not be immediate family members or members of the nuclear family; rather, they might be extended family members with whom ZT remain in contact.

Not all ZT came directly to SA from Zimbabwe. For instance, before coming to SA, Blue was in Europe with her partner and, after the birth of their second son, they decided to return to Africa. Coming back to Africa (13 years ago) was motivated mainly by financial and cultural reasons. Though SA was not their home country, their decision to somehow be 'one with their roots' and expose their children to an African culture stimulated their move to SA. As well, the fact that SA is the economic hub of the African continent, influenced their move, rather than going to crisis-ridden Zimbabwe.

Like most other sampled teachers, Portia came to SA straight from Zimbabwe. Before coming to SA, Portia lived with her family in Zimbabwe including her parents, and siblings as well as nieces and nephews. Whilst in Zimbabwe, Portia was unemployed. Her life there consisted of temporary jobs that did not generate consistent income. Nevertheless, with that income, she was able to contribute to the upkeep of the house. Living at home with her parents meant that

Portia had to abide by their rules and could not do as she wanted to. This lack of freedom for Portia, as someone who had just finished her teaching qualification and was supposed to 'start her life', was difficult. Thus, the prospect of permanent employment as a teacher in SA almost compelled her to leave Zimbabwe five years ago (though it took her two years to find employment as a teacher in SA). Likewise, Sam's decision to come to SA nineteen years ago was influenced by the instability in Zimbabwe and the opportunities she saw in SA. Coming to SA was the hope and salvation she needed for herself and her family.

In terms of family back home, there is considerable diversity. Lebo (who is single) for example has been living and working in SA for eleven years. He left behind his ailing mother, who lives with his niece and nephews (he speaks about having five dependents back in Zimbabwe). Lebo has no direct or immediate dependents (spouse or children), which he attributes to the unpredictability of his life due to the crisis in Zimbabwe. He sends money home every month and, at times, he is compelled to send money more than once a month to his dependents. Because of his mother's poor health, there are instances when his family may need extra money for her needs. The relationship he has with his family back home is very intimate since he provides for them financially and emotionally. Since Lebo is currently the only working member of his biological family, his nieces and nephews regard him as a father and head of the household. Though he is physically absent, his command is still final, and he still contributes to his family's upbringing and emotional support. Lebo came to SA because it was closer to Zimbabwe and it allows him to at least visit home once a school term, depending on his financial situation. Like most of the interviewed ZT, Lebo needs to strategically plan his visits because he monthly remits money even if he has physically visited his family. His family back home is entirely dependent on his salary.

Sam has her whole family in Zimbabwe, including her mother, siblings, nieces, nephews, and cousins, and she is 'unsure' about the number of dependents she looks after there. While she has not visited Zimbabwe since 2012, she sends money home and communicates with her family over the phone or through video calling. She in fact blames her seldom visits to her home country on the innovation of technology and social media platforms in particular, as both a cheap and convenient form of communication. Her established family in SA is another reason for not visiting Zimbabwe as often. Coming to SA was the hope and salvation she needed for herself and her family. Sam has her whole family in Zimbabwe, including her mother, siblings, nieces and nephews, and cousins.

Relationships with families back home or elsewhere in the world are very important to most of the ZT and keeping in touch with them is through frequent or seldom visits to Zimbabwe or connecting with them through technology. For many Zimbabwean migrant teachers in this study, the relationships with family members are not merely about monetary transactions (sending financial remittances or goods to family) or even mainly about this. Rather, emotional connections are the core of their identity as Zimbabweans living in a foreign country. Coming to SA and leaving behind family and friends, as well as culture, language and a particular way of life is potentially a traumatic experience. Remaining in touch with family back in Zimbabwe 'grounds' the displaced Zimbabweans by minimising the disruption of their displacement. For most of the ZT, and despite their extended stay in SA, Zimbabwe will always be home. For this reason, the Zimbabwean migrant teachers tend "to send money 'home' to their households for mainly consumption purposes" (Bracking, 2003: 637), and this may act as the basis for possibly transitioning back to Zimbabwe later in life.

Some ZT came to SA with their families, while others initially came to SA and lived with family or friends who were already staying in SA. The Zimbabwean teachers' family dynamics in SA, like the dynamics of many South African families, are not necessarily made up of a nuclear family only; there are often extended family members (or friends) living in the house who are dependent on the ZT as head of the household.

Bonga and Demi, both of whom are ZT, are married, and they moved to SA with their three children. Their children are preteenagers, and they attend the schools in the township; and once they come of age, they will attend school where their parents teach. They teach at the same school, and they have saved and managed their finances wisely, a financial management practice they learnt because of their experience of the economic crisis (including hyperinflation) in Zimbabwe. Coming to work in SA was a painful but necessary decision for the couple, primarily because at the time of departure, their children were still young and would have to grow up without their extended family. As Bonga put it:

> *I love Zimbabwe, it is my home. But as a man, you have to make decisions that are good for you and leaving Zimbabwe was good for me… and my family. There are better opportunities here for our kids. We can always go back home when we miss it, but we cannot stay there, Zimbabwe is not the same anymore.*

Demi added that:

> *We had to leave Zim* [Zimbabwe] *to support our family... The situation was bad, some months we did not get paid, our family was not managing. It was hard leaving family and friends behind but at least South Africa is close to Zim*[babwe].

For many of the ZT, coming to SA was a more suitable option than another destination because of the geographical proximity between the two countries. The closeness to Zimbabwe is some kind of consolation for being away, and it makes the ZT feel closer to home. Bonga and Demi also both emphasise the significance of a regular and stable income for living and working in SA. The importance of having a stable income resulted in Demi and Bonga leaving their home country. Without a stable income, it can be challenging to plan and sustain a big household. With two stable incomes, Demi and Bonga send money to their families in Zimbabwe (at least five dependents) and take care of their own family in SA, including sending their children to school, and afford extra accessories for their lifestyle. Because they have a stable monthly income, they would like to assist as much as possible their families back home. Thus, Bonga wants to bring his sister to come and study in SA. If she does come, she will be an additional member of their family, and she will be wholly dependent on Demi and Bonga, an expense they can now afford.

Compared to Demi and Bonga, coming to SA was a less complicated decision to make for Zee, Shaz and Theo. All three ZT came to SA with the help of a friend who told them about job opportunities in the KZN province. Zee is the only one out of the three who failed the interview for a teaching position the first time around and thus stayed a year in SA unemployed. Initially, Zee, Shaz and Theo could not find their own accommodation, and had to share for several months with friends or strangers. Zee lived with her friend for eighteen months because of the lack of safe and reliable accommodation in the area, as well as her lack of employment for the first year. Shaz and Theo stayed with strangers. These strangers are other migrants who were also seeking a suitable place to stay in SA. Shaz highlighted the following:

> *I was excited to come to South Africa because I would be working, but what we do not think about is where will I stay when I arrive in South Africa? All my family was in Zimbabwe, and I could not live in a guest house forever, that is too expensive. Having to live with other migrants was not easy because we were often a target for crimes and housebreak-ins, it was a difficult time in my life.*

Theo brought to the fore that:

For Zimbabweans, we need to find good accommodation that is affordable and safe because we are foreigners here. I do not think there is a safe place for us here in South Africa, so we work with what we have. I just need to get a bigger place for us to be comfortable.

Both Shaz and Theo are currently 'sharing' the type of accommodation they live in. Like Zee, they are not currently married, and they have multiple dependents in both SA and Zimbabwe. Coming to SA has opened many doors for ZT, but they typically did not anticipate the problems they would face with regard to locating suitable accommodation. The problem with not having any family or people you know in SA, as with Shaz, can be daunting when the circumstances force you to navigate the space alone. The question of the safety of ZT as foreigners in KZN will be discussed more fully later.

One ZT (Tom) shares his space with both his sister and her children. While it might appear to be advantageous for Tom to share space with fellow Zimbabweans (and specifically family members from Zimbabwe), sharing accommodation in this way places some strain on Tom. This is mainly because of the absence of freedom and privacy which arises under such circumstances. Tom finds it difficult to experience the township space more broadly, as his current living arrangement inhibits his ability to mingle with the local people and to see and experience other places beyond his immediate proximity. Additionally, the pressure on Tom to please his sister and to help her is taxing on him. Tom tells his story in the following way:

I moved from Zimbabwe on my own but after a lot of the changes and general decline in Zimbabwe, my sister decided to follow and come to South Africa with the hope of a brighter future, like everyone who leaves Zim [Zimbabwe]. *I am now living with my sister and her three children. We are already cramped and there are a lot of sacrifices that I have to make. If I want to see my partner, I cannot invite her to my house because there is no privacy.*

Tom's living arrangements with his sister and her children affects his efforts in trying to explore the space because he has extra responsibilities in caring for them. The supposedly simple act of spending time with his girlfriend is also affected by of this living setup. Living with his family members means that the accommodation space is limited, and they (Tom and his girlfriend) cannot be comfortable together and free to do as they wish.

5.5 Zimbabwean Teachers' Families in Zimbabwe and South Africa

In this section, I now turn to the Zimbabwean teacher's household structure in SA and how they relate to any family remaining in Zimbabwe.

Lea is a ZT who has lived and worked in SA for eight years. She now lives with her dependents who have moved from Zimbabwe to SA because of the Covid-19 pandemic and its consequences for livelihoods in Zimbabwe. Lea has two cousins and their children who are living with her, after the cousins were retrenched. Since both of her cousins are not working, the whole household is dependent on her. Lea needs to provide for all their needs and wants, and they ask her for anything and everything. She also needs to provide for her personal needs and wants. There is immense pressure to maintain this large household with only one income. As result, Lea rarely gives her relatives back home money when they randomly ask her, and she only inconsistently gives them money when she can. For this reason, she speaks about having no dependents in Zimbabwe. Amongst Zimbabweans, there are negative connotations attached to migrant individuals who do not send money back home or who seldomly send money. Lea indicates that:

> *There is a misconception that we are living a glamourous life once we leave Zimbabwe, but we are not. I would love to send money or help my family when they need something, but the reality is I cannot… it is not possible for me because right now, we are living from hand to mouth.*

There is a perception that leaving Zimbabwe for employment elsewhere equates to a problem-free life, a life that is incomparable to the life of those still in Zimbabwe. This fallacy can be challenging, as noted by other ZT (Sara, Sbu and KB) who speak about the immense pressure placed on them, to alleviate the lives of those still in Zimbabwe. As with Lea, their desire to assist is there, but the means are just not available or at least not on a consistent basis. This complication can affect their relationships with family back home. There is an assumption that the migrant in SA is no longer interested in helping because they are now 'accomplished' and 'successful' in life – for the ZT, this is a misinterpretation and is deeply unsettling. Lea thus carries the burden of being labelled as someone who does not want to help or is no longer interested in the livelihoods of her family members back home.

June (a ZT) and her brother send money to their relatives back in Zimbabwe. June is 'unsure' as to the exact number of dependents in Zimbabwe reliant upon her financially, but she does

send monthly remittances. In the same light, Anashe and King (both ZT) also work with their respective siblings in SA in trying to alleviate their home situations. Like June, Anashe is unsure of the number of family dependents in Zimbabwe, while King speaks about five such dependents. Anashe notes in this regard:

> *…At least I have my sister who also sends money home. If she was not sending money, I do not think I would be able to cope because it is a big financial strain.*

King, a divorcee who also has three dependents in SA, speaks about a similar situation:

> *I have my siblings who are also helping with sending money home; so, when I cannot, I know that they will help. Sending money every month is hard because I still have a life that I need to live, but they are my family… so I cannot abandon them.*

June, Anashe and King share common experiences similar in that; sending money home can be taxing for ZT, and the assistance of another working family member can go a long way in reducing the stress. Having two families (as June and King and many other ZT do), one here in SA and one in Zimbabwe, is proving to be financially challenging. Having no dependents in Zimbabwe does not imply that the ZT has no family there: rather, it may mean that the ZT simply cannot financially assist his or her family as dependents.

Financial planning and financial management have become crucial skills the ZT migrants in SA. The fact that they tend to rent or share accommodation indicates that they are not able to be extravagant when it comes to their expenses. Rose, for example, lives with her brother and his family. The household composition is somewhat challenging for Rose though. Living with her brother and his family has pros and cons. Since Rose has not found a suitable place to stay, it is an advantage for her to live with her brother. But because she lives with her brother, she must live under his authority and the rules that he makes. In as much as she contributes financially to household expenses, she is not able to contribute in any significant way to household decisions. Her older brother has the final say in the house. Of course, living with extended family members is not unusual; it is quite prevalent in SA generally and in KZN townships in particular.

The cramped character of the townships and the cost of bringing family members from Zimbabwe raises challenges regarding the Zimbabwean teacher's ability to live with these members in SA. Family structures are fractured across borders, and household and childcare

arrangements are subject to fluidity (and not linear in progression). As heads of households, ZT must make difficult decisions in this context. Zuko is supporting his immediate family also still in Zimbabwe. Fortunately for him, in his household, there is more than one monthly income. Zuko also gives extra teaching lessons, which means he has an extra income that benefits his family and his lifestyle. As he declared:

> *As a man, I have to make a plan and I must make sure that my family is well taken care of. I need to provide for them, it is my responsibility, that is why I have more than one job… I need all the money I can get to make sure everybody is happy.*

The pressure of gender roles ('as a man') and the expected performance of these roles means that, for Zuko, he needs to care for his family as a masculine duty. With his primary job as a teacher and his additional work of tutoring learners for money, he is able to support his child in Zimbabwe and possibly afford to bring the rest of his family to SA in the future. While household structures in South African townships are quite diverse, including nuclear and extended structures as well as de jure and de facto female-headed households, the identity of the main breadwinner remains strongly gendered - the man or male figure in the household is typically equated with the position of head. This patriarchal arrangement is very pervasive throughout SA (Parry & Segao, 2017; Madhavan et al., 2008). At times, this arrangement is subject to stresses and strains, and becomes readjusted.

Therefore, substantial diversity of family forms exists in townships, and they are fluid and dynamic, more so than in the past. The case of King (a ZT) is instructive in this regard. King is divorced but is currently dating a South African woman. Their household consists of King, his partner, and her children. Since they are in a steady relationship and have decided to live together, the children also had to move in because they had always lived with their mother. The major problem is that King is the sole provider for this household, and, since there is only one income, there are some changes that he has had to make. King reflects on this in the following way:

> *The cost of living is expensive and since we are a big family, I can no longer drink every weekend or send money home every month… sometimes it is just not possible. If there was another salary, then things would be easier for me, but right now, I am still on my own.*

King has five dependents in Zimbabwe. The strain of having one person working and providing for an entire family locally, as well as for dependents elsewhere, can have consequences for

household practices and the practices of the head. With his current family, King must reset his budget to accommodate the heightened expenses, thereby limiting his involvement in outside pleasures (namely, drinking). Living with stepchildren, as King does, is very common in SA and providing for these children is one way of showing commitment to the partner.

ZT who are breadwinners that contribute to a household in SA and Zimbabwe, have many sacrifices to make. For example, Ndabe and Eric are living in the hostels, not because they want to, but because of the financial commitments they have. Ndabe has four dependents in Zimbabwe, and Eric has over five. In a similar vein, CC (with eight dependents in SA) and Mpumi (with three in SA and one in Zimbabwe) are renting, and they can only afford this type of accommodation because of the severe financial commitments they have. At the same time, living in the hostels is cheaper than renting, suggesting that ZT who rent can afford somewhat better living situations than those who live in the hostels. This is partly due to the deficient living conditions of the hostels. As Ndabe and Eric put it, respectively:

> *Choosing to live in a hostel is because of money for me, there is no other explanation. I have to save money for my grandchildren in Zimbabwe who need money every month; children are very expensive. But I am a simple man, I do not care about living in a big house. I am building my own house in Zimbabwe, so I do not care about living in a big house here; it does not matter much to me.*

> *As you can see, the way we live here is not ideal, it just is not healthy, especially now that there is Covid, we cannot practice social distancing. If I could get a better place I would, but I do not have the money to afford something cheaper… Right now, I am working for my children and not myself.*

Ndabe (as a widower) is staying in the hostels because he needs to save for other costs for issues he values, notably his grandchildren and building a house in Zimbabwe. Though Eric (who is single) does not explicitly state that he sends money home every month, his salary is likewise split, and thus he sought cheaper accommodation in the hostels.

CC and Mpumi both have a different story to tell, which explains their reasons for being able to rent proper housing accommodation. CC explains in her own words:

> *…I just did not want to have to send money every month because that is costly… Their* [family in Zimbabwe] *problems are never ending so I decided to bring everyone here instead of sending*

money home. I can at least control the money and see what comes in the house every month. It works for me that way.

Living with family members here in SA is cheaper and more manageable for CC than having to send money to Zimbabwe. Mpumi shares similar thoughts on the matter:

Sending money home in my opinion is expensive… With the bank charges, the exchange rate and all of those things, I am still struggling with it when I do have to send money. But at least things have changed now since I do not support that many people back home and they are in front of me [in SA].

In contrast to Ndabe and Eric, CC (divorced) and Mpumi (married) brought their dependents to SA and are living with them, though Mpumi does have one dependent in Zimbabwe. This is because sending money home is more complicated than having the dependents here with them, thereby facilitating tighter control over expenditures. Ndabe, Eric, CC and Mpumi have similar reasons for the decisions of having their dependents here with them, or back home in Zimbabwe. Money and its use in households is different as seen with these ZT. Lebo sends money home every month, and at times, he is compelled to send money more than once a month. "Migrants may wish to send money 'home' to their households for mainly consumption purposes" (Bracking, 2003: 637) and other day to day necessities or emergencies that are not foreseen.

5.6 Conclusion

The chapter provided an overview of the townships and TSS in KZN studied for this thesis, as well as providing an introduction to the lives of the studied ZT by way of a profile which emphasises a number of different variables. It then focused on any relationships existing between ZT in SA and families back home, which clearly are quite substantial at least for many of the ZT. The chapter demonstrates considerable diversity amongst the ZT along many variables, and this diversity may or may not affect the way in which they navigate their lives in KZN and how (or if) they engage with the lifeworld prevailing in the KZN townships. The next empirical chapter seeks to address this very point: how, in the township space they find themselves in, do they navigate their presence in a space in which they may experience hostility or even acts of kindness and/or concern?

Chapter Six: Zimbabwean Teacher's Sociocultural Encounters in KwaZulu-Natal

6.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses on the relationship between SAC and the ZT in the KZN townships. This first necessitates providing a profile of the SAC interviewed, including the township in which they live. The ways in which ZT and SAC may mingle in the townships, or the experiences of hostility ZT encounter, forms a key part of this chapter. In this way, the social interfaces prevailing in the KZN townships, along which SAC and ZT interact or repel each other, become highly significant. Thereafter, the chapter highlights Zimbabwean teachers' experiences of change over time and how SAC might treat them differently over time, with the question of racism and culture are also presented here. The possibility exists that some ZT, based on their socio-cultural experiences over time, may choose to mingle exclusively with other Zimbabweans as if they exist in the space but are not of (or definable in any way by) the space they inhabit.

6.2 Overview: South African Citizen's Profile

In order to understand the social encounters of ZT in the studied townships of KZN, it is necessary to first offer a profile of the South African citizens interviewed during the fieldwork (see Table 6.1). The sample of interviewed SAC amounted to thirty research subjects. Of those thirty, thirteen are female (43%) and seventeen are male (57%). Regarding the variable of age, eleven participants are from the age group of 19 to 30 (37%), eleven are between 31 and 50 (37%), and eight are in the 51 to 69 age category (26%). The variable 'occupation' was divided into the following: student, employed, unemployed, retrenched and pensioner. Five individuals identified as being students (17%), while eleven participants were unemployed (37%). Six people identified as 'retrenched' (20%), thus also unemployed, and another six people said that they were 'employed' (20%). Two people spoke about being pensioners (6%).

For the SAC, the variable 'type of accommodation' entailed four categories, namely, renting, home, hostel, and sharing. Those identified as 'renting' pay a monthly fee to a landlord who owns the property they and their family are renting (27% of the population fall within this category). Family members include parents, spouses, siblings and children. Those who identified their type of accommodation as 'home', which was the largest group at 40%, lived in their own houses (with their families). Individuals who shared accommodation (20%) did so

under similar conditions to those of the ZT. Thus, this included those living in a back room or separate house on the landlord's property (with the landlord residing in the main house). As well, it included those literally sharing accommodation with non-family members. In this situation, they are living under one roof with their own separate bedrooms, while sharing communal areas such as the kitchen, bathroom/toilet and living room with others not related to them (friends, acquaintances or even strangers). The category of 'hostel' included all the men who lived in the hostels (13% of the sample).

All SAC were asked about their 'exposure' to Zimbabweans and specifically ZT. The form of exposure could have either negative or positive implications for the SAC, ranging from friendship to outright hostility. However, generally, exploring this broad issue did not involve identifying the intensity of the exposure – rather, it simply sought to discover if SAC were aware of the ZT in 'their' midst, i.e., that they acknowledge the presence of ZT in the township space. The question was dichotomous, to compel the SAC to answer either 'yes' or 'no' to being exposed to ZT locally. Acknowledging ZT in the township space means that the SAC are merely aware of their existence – that they might encounter them, might speak to them, or might interact with them (in some form and to some degree). Overall, 23 SAC (77%) spoke about exposure in the affirmative.

Accommodation is not a significant variable regarding exposure in its dichotomous form. Thus, 6 out of the 8 (75%) renting as well as 8 out of the 12 (67%) with their own homes spoke about exposure. These figures are close to the average of 77%. Interestingly, though, all those sharing accommodation spoke about exposure. The occupation or employment status variable seemed to be of more importance. In this respect, every student has been exposed to ZT whereas both pensioners (both with their own home) have not. Further, in terms of age, everyone in the younger age group (19-30) has been exposed to a ZT, whereas only half of those in the oldest age group (51-69) have been exposed.

In terms of the specific townships in which the SAC lived, the details are as follows: four SAC each lived in Gamalakhe (13%), Edendale (13%) and Inanda (13%) townships; nine (30%), including four students, were from Umlazi township (accounting for the largest group); and KwaMashu had six (20%) SAC. Umlazi and KwaMashu are the most populated townships in the study, as well as in the KZN province. Madadeni has the lowest number of SAC at three (10%). Of the six townships, Gamalakhe and Madadeni were the only townships that did not have anyone identifying as 'no' regarding the variable of 'exposure to ZT'. All of those who

said ‘no’, irrespective of the specific township, were unemployed, pensioner or retrenched (though many of the SAC falling within these three categories said ‘yes’). At the same time, all those employed, or studying, were exposed in some way, possibly because they are more mobile and more often interacting in the public sphere. It should be added that exposure in-and-of-itself does not necessarily condition in any particular way the perspectives about ZT amongst SAC, as these exposures vary and are fluid; also, non-exposure might also condition perspectives. This is brought to the fore more fully later.

The number of SAC interviewed for each township is not the same as the number of ZT in each township. Further, the SAC and ZT interviewed (30 and 28 in total, respectively) do not typically know each other. Hence, with reference to the perspectives, experiences and practices of the SAC insofar as they involve ZT, these do not relate specifically to the ZT research subjects (and the vice versa is equally true). Below, in Table 6.2, I provide an overview of the township and school status of each of the 28 ZT.

Table 6.1: South African Citizen's Profile

Name	Gender	Age	Type of Accommodation	Occupation	Exposure to ZT?	Townships
Mbali	F	21	Renting	Student	Yes	Gamalakhe
Lu	F	19	Home	Student	Yes	Umlazi
Norma	F	24	Home	Unemployed	Yes	KwaMashu
Nana	F	19	Sharing: LIY	Unemployed	Yes	Umlazi
Sne	F	28	Sharing: LIY	Unemployed	Yes	Madadeni
Latita	F	22	Sharing: LIY	Retrenched	Yes	Madadeni
Mary	F	68	Home	Pensioner	No	Edendale
Ben	M	43	Home	Employed	Yes	Inanda
Milton	M	32	Home	Employed	Yes	Gamalakhe
Mfundo	M	59	Renting	Employed	Yes	KwaMashu
Senzo	M	40	Hostel	Retrenched	Yes	Umlazi
Zwe	M	53	Hostel	Employed	Yes	KwaMashu
Siya	M	31	Renting	Unemployed	Yes	Inanda
Sabz	M	29	Home	Student	Yes	Umlazi
Precious	F	69	Home	Unemployed	No	Edendale
SJ	F	20	Home	Student	Yes	Umlazi
Cindy	F	39	Sharing: LIY	Retrenched	Yes	KwaMashu
Kea	F	49	Renting	Unemployed	Yes	Madadeni
Lisa	F	21	Home	Unemployed	Yes	Gamalakhe
Zozo	M	31	Renting	Employed	No	Umlazi
Bafana	M	53	Hostel	Retrenched	Yes	KwaMashu
Duke	M	48	Renting	Unemployed	No	KwaMashu
Joe	M	69	Home	Pensioner	No	Inanda
Mvelo	M	40	Sharing: LIY	Retrenched	Yes	Edendale
Timmy	M	52	Renting	Employed	Yes	Umlazi
Gift	M	33	Hostel	Unemployed	No	Umlazi
Sanele	M	28	Sharing: LIY	Unemployed	Yes	Gamalakhe
Xoli	M	20	Home	Student	Yes	Umlazi
Linda	F	38	Renting	Unemployed	Yes	Edendale
Tony	M	61	Home	Retrenched	No	Inanda

Source: Fieldwork.

Table 6.2: Zimbabwean Teachers – Township and School Profile

Name	Townships	Schools
King	Umlazi	Teresa College
Zuko	Edendale	Tubman Secondary School
Anashe	Gamalakhe	Oak Park
Judy	KwaMashu	Vuyani High School
Zee	Inanda	Baartman Secondary
Blue	Gamalakhe	Oak Park
CC	Edendale	Tubman Secondary School
Lebo	KwaMashu	Vuyani High School
Rose	Edendale	Tubman Secondary School
Zipho	Umlazi	Teresa College
Eric	KwaMashu	Vuyani High School
Demi	Madadeni	Red Hills
Bonga	Madadeni	Red Hills
Sam	KwaMashu	Vuyani High School
Ndabe	Umlazi	Teresa College
Portia	Inanda	Baartman Secondary
Sbu	KwaMashu	Vuyani High School
Mpumi	Inanda	Baartman Secondary
Theo	Umlazi	Teresa College
Lea	Gamalakhe	Oak Park
Amy	Madadeni	Red Hills
Sara	Inanda	Baartman Secondary
Shaz	Umlazi	Teresa College
June	Edendale	Tubman Secondary School
Tom	KwaMashu	Vuyani High School
Pearl	Umlazi	Teresa College
KB	Inanda	Baartman Secondary
Jay	Umlazi	Teresa College

Source: Fieldwork.

Of the twenty-eight ZT, the largest group of teachers lived in Umlazi, accounting for seven teachers (25%) who work at Teresa College. Six (21%) ZT live in KwaMashu and work at Vuyani High School, while five (18%) ZT live in Inanda and work at Baartman Secondary.

Edendale township has four (14%) ZT living there, who work at Tubman Secondary School. Three (11%) ZT live in Gamalakhe and work at Oak Park. Madadeni township also has three (11%) ZT living there and working at Red Hills.

6.3 Zimbabwean Teachers and South African Citizens Mingling Socially

A number of ZT (including Sbu and Lea) speak about their encounters with South Africans in a positive manner, involving 'Africanism' and African unity. This entails the recognition of a common history and culture in the region, despite citizenship and other differences (Oyeshile, 2008). Intellectually, the unity and oneness of Africa relates to a broader project of understanding the world from the standpoint of Africa; for ZT, though, it is about co-existing with South Africans in the same bounded space. In this regard, Sbu feels like he is part of one 'big African' family, with SA being his home away from home. His overall relations with SAC (including colleagues, learners, and friends) conditions his way of life and perspective of living in SA. This is particularly the case with South African friends from work and from outside of work. Like some other ZT, Sbu is accepted by 'the locals' (i.e., SAC) as if he was a local and is treated as such as well The citizenship of these foreign ZT is not of great significance when it comes to mingling with ZT, as Sbu testifies:

> *Nobody knows that I am a Zimbabwean unless they ask more questions about me… but nobody really cares. We are all Africans, and it does not really matter where you are from. We are all just trying to live as black people and enjoy each other's company. Being able to hang out and have fun without caring about citizenship, is a great step in the right direction for Africans.*

Solid relations between SAC and ZT in KZN townships are difficult to initiate and develop and seem to be more the exception than the rule. Yet, having conducive relationships with SAC is necessary to live a 'normal life', given that ZT are in immediate proximity to SAC and live and work amongst them: at least it is necessary to have civil and not antagonistic relationships to avoid disruptions in their everyday lives.

IsiZulu is a widely spoken language in KZN and, for ZT, knowing and using this local language means communicating with the residents and not to them. The ability to communicate with SAC using isiZulu has been important in generating 'Africanism' (Ubuntu) and facilitating (self-affirming) social interactions, as is the case with 21% (6) of the interviewed ZT. Sbu, Lea, Portia and Theo all live in different townships, but they share similar experiences. Lea explains the issue in the following way:

> *Being able to speak isiZulu is very important, I have to emphasise that. Before I learnt the language, I was struggling a lot… with everything in fact because I knew that I was a foreigner, and because I could not speak the local language, everyone knew that I was a foreigner. Now that I can speak isiZulu, I can do anything, even hanging out with my neighbours during the weekend* [laughs] *because they do not feel uncomfortable around me, and I am more confident being around them you know.*

Theo has similar feelings about the matter of language and interactions with SAC:

> *I spend most of my free time with the guys from around my section. It is easier for me because I can speak their language and I can understand them… it makes it easier for them to include me. Not being able to speak the local language really affects us as Zimbabweans so I always tell Zimbabweans that they must learn if they want to be part of the community like me.*

It is interesting to note that these ZT began to recognise the significance of speaking isiZulu soon after moving to South Africa, and they made a conscious effort to learn it. In the cases of Theo and Lea (and others), learning isiZulu has enhanced their capacity to mingle and interact, though this does not necessarily entail a smooth and linear process of assimilation.

The importance of language acquisition in affecting the relationships between ZT and SAC has been noted by South Africans themselves. Thus, SAC like Mfundo, Senzo and Zwe claim that language is important in how ZT are treated in the townships. Though in some townships, as Mfundo and Zwe expressed it, fitting into townships and township life can be difficult for both locals and foreigners, knowledge of the language does make a difference. King and Sam are both ZT, and their experiences with the locals have been different based on language, which is affected by whether the ZT is a Shona or isiNdebele speaker. Ndebele-speaking King can fluently understand and speak isiZulu, while Sam does not know the language. This skill or lack thereof has highly conditioned their relationships with SAC. Though isiZulu and isiNdebele are not the same, they form part of the Nguni languages. As such, because of his language acquisition of isiZulu, King can interact with the locals and blend in, in a way that Sam is currently unable. This acquisition of the isiZulu language makes SAC view and perceive the Zimbabweans with whom they live, in specific ways. Mfundo put it this way:

> *Zimbabweans who can speak isiZulu are also accepted better. I think it is because they* [SAC] *know they will not be able to do much to them* [ZT] *because they* [the latter] *can hear them* [the

former]... *It is just safer for them to know the language instead of speaking English all the time. Speaking English in the townships does not work.*

Senzo puts it more forcefully, highlighting that IsiZulu is not only important but absolutely necessary; it can be the difference between being accepted or rejected in the townships:

It is just easier for us to speak isiZulu instead of English all the time, so they must learn to fit in otherwise we will avoid being around them. It is tiring to speak English even when there is no need.

If ZT are able to communicate via isiZulu then, literally, meaning is not lost through translation. Sometimes in translating between IsiZulu and English, there is no direct translation and words lose their original meaning, leading to convoluted attempts at supplementary explanations and, eventually, misunderstandings. This barrier, as Senzo indicates, is more than enough to separate and divide SAC and those ZT who cannot speak isiZulu.

Communicating with others in their own language, particularly when residing in the spaces of those others, also carries hidden messages; as does failure to do so. KZN township spaces are rich in culture, and speaking English is not necessarily part of that culture. Senzo reiterates this when he argues that speaking English is tiring. Townships are sites of disadvantage and poverty, and failure to speak isiZulu becomes a sign of disrespect. People who speak English in townships are often frowned upon because not everyone can speak English or speak it fluently. There is thus an urgency to learn isiZulu for ZT, as some ZT themselves recognise; as Mfundo (an interviewed SAC) argues, English in the townships is not popular. As well, the English taught at township schools is not the same as the English taught at former (middle-class) Model C schools. A reminder and reliving of class disadvantages can come through when people speak English in KZN townships and, as such, they can be excluded from these communities. Specifically, ZT who cannot speak isiZulu are easily identified as foreigners, and they are also easily excluded.

The relationship between ZT and SAC in the townships though varies considerably across individual ZT and SAC. Not all SAC are perpetrators of intolerant behaviour based on language or other factors, and not all ZT are victims of these attitudes. For a number of SAC (such as Mbali, Lu, Nana, and Norma), living with ZT is the same as living with South Africans. A sense of belonging to Africa and being one with 'others' is a shared sentiment amongst these SAC, and they tend to be accommodative of ZT in their local spaces. All four of the SAC cited

are amongst the youngest of the SAC interviewed (in the 19 to 30 age bracket) and it may be that age (like language) is an important factor when seeking to understanding variegated relationships between ZT and SAC. In addition, their understanding and acceptance of ZT makes sense because they had been previously exposed to ZT in other settings, with these previous experiences generating positive conceptions of ZT. In Lu's case, for instance, she was exposed to ZT during her high school years when she was taught by a ZT. Seeing ZT at school and benefiting from their teaching tended to normalise – for Lu – the presence of ZT outside of the school setting and in the wider township setting.

The empirical evidence suggests that SAC with an educated background and those who have been exposed to ZT in school settings have more positive views about mingling socially with ZT and foreigners in general. Compared to other SAC, their views about Zimbabwean migrants in the country (in 'their' space) entail a greater accommodation and acceptance of foreigners, and they are more likely to have self-initiated and significant interactions with the ZT. A similar situation exists with reference to those SAC who have their own children being taught by ZT or have extra lessons after school, as taught by a ZT. SAC like Ben, Kea and Milton are examples of this, seemingly accepting Zimbabweans in their townships because of this. ZT are contributing directly to the education of their children and, with respect to extra lessons, this requires establishing some sort of mutually-beneficial relationship with the ZT offering the extra lessons, thereby leading to a positive rendition of the presence of Zimbabweans in the township. Ben is a good example of this:

> *My child is in grade ten and he is struggling with Mathematics. I pay extra money for the lessons he has with a Zimbabwean teacher who is very good with Maths, even his marks have improved… When it comes to Zimbabweans, we really need these people here and we should start appreciating them.*

Milton's views are less sanguine, seeming almost indifferent to the presence of Zimbabweans as teachers. His only concern is that they do the job properly, given their responsibility of caring for 'our children':

> *What does being afraid of them help us with because they are with our children every day at school, they teach them and look after them, that is what teachers do. I personally do not care about them, they are just teachers like all of the other teachers, there is nothing different about them so long as they teach our children properly.*

Any undifferentiated understanding of foreigners, or of Zimbabweans specifically, means that they are painted with the same brush. Doing so, if involving negativity about them, would mean that they are not given an opportunity to become integrated into township live in SA. As indicated, this is not the case. Ben, Milton, and Kea are some of the SAC willing to incorporate ZT into the ambit of their lives, as are others like Sne and Latita. Both Sne and Latita do not have a problem sharing township space with ZT. Sne has a Zimbabwean tenant renting accommodation at her house, and Latita has a Zimbabwean hairdresser. Their exposure to Zimbabweans, whether as service workers or tenants, configures their perceptions of ZT in a positive way.

Township life in general tends to be quite collectivist (i.e., communal) rather than being characterised by isolation and individualism. This means that people living in the same space are close to each other at least physically and often-times socially as well, sharing problems and possibly assisting each in times of great need. Potentially, this should be an inclusive community-setting though it might entail practices of exclusion. Generally, because of the collectivism at community (or neighbourhood) level, many ZT find township life to be a more welcoming experience than school life as teachers. Two ZT (Judy and Eric) brought this to the fore, based on their experiences. They have experienced a positive integration into KZN township life without encountering any xenophobic actions by SAC. As Zimbabweans, they have a sense of safety and security, though this does not make them immune from xenophobic practices. As well, they are not protected from the general crimes that occur in the township, which affect all occupants. Nevertheless, Judy appreciates the relationship she has with the SAC in her community:

> *It is not something I take for granted, I am very fortunate to be treated like them* [SAC] *and not like a foreigner. You hear many scary stories about foreigners being abused and killed in South Africa, but I have not been exposed to that violence. At least when I get home, I can forget about the bad day at work because at school, they treat me differently… I cannot be part of the South Africans I work with.*

Eric also has similar experiences to Judy:

> *When South Africans are nice to you, and they invite you for a beer, you do not refuse because they are reaching out. Being accepted and being part of the community for us Zimbabweans is very rare, so when people like you, you have to like them back. My colleagues do not even offer me a cup a coffee from the staffroom, they make sure I know I am not welcome.*

Any differentiations made between locals and foreigners in SA is significant because it provides the foundation for possible acrimony between locals and foreigners. In seeking to define and protect their space, SAC may become hostile and deeply territorial in excluding foreigners as disruptive intruders. Indeed, both Judy and Eric seem to imply that this takes place at their place of work (i.e., schools). Judy and Eric make a distinction between their work life and home life, with the former being toxic (that is, treated as a foreigner) while the latter is their 'haven' where they are treated like humans and not unwelcome aliens. They recognise that this is not the universal experience of all ZT in SA and they consider themselves as privileged and honoured, expressing gratitude in the process, and not taking this privilege for granted – as if they are indebted to the SAC who show them kindness or treat them like humans.

Sara, another ZT, is also friends with locals but, contrary to Judy, Eric and others, this is because of her colleagues at school (i.e., SAT) who connected her to other SAC. In the four years since arriving in SA, she has been able to explore her immediate environment and broader social spaces and, because of this, she has experienced the country in a positive light. As Sara articulated it:

> *I have South African friends, thanks to my colleagues from work who have introduced me to other people that I can now call my friends. They have taken me around the township and to other places to explore them and to see the people there. They have also taken me to different areas in KwaZulu-Natal; it has been great for me because I am with them so no one will do anything to me. It is like I am a South African because I am not treated the way other Zimbabweans are treated. I hear many stories about Zimbabweans being abused in South Africa, but I cannot relate, I do not want to lie.*

Sara's friendships with SAC are crucial because she can do what most ZT may never do while in SA. The ability to freely roam the space she lives in as well as other spaces, is something that many ZT living in townships will never do because they lack the 'security' that comes with knowing 'the locals'. The healthy relationship between Sara and her South African friends allows her to view South Africans in a life-affirming and dignified manner. Networking with SAC means that Sara can explore other places beyond KZN if she has reliable connections in different parts of the country. This does not amount to romanticising her experiences, and the experiences of other ZT, as being without hurdles. As a ZT, Sara still has the status of a foreigner in SA despite being friends with the locals; and she might encounter situations where her foreignness is interpreted by certain SAC as problematic.

Mpumi lives in the same township as Sara, and she is friends with members of her cell group from church. She was introduced to these members by a South African work colleague at school. These relations with South Africans from different institutions (school and church) have co-constructed her lived experiences. The church that she attends is not the exact same church from the one she attended in Zimbabwe, but it is the closest to what she knows. Still, Mpumi has many changes to adhere to, and these shape her experiences. These adjustments relate for example to the language in which the church gatherings are conducted, the times they start and finish, and even the number of people who attend the gatherings. But, for Mpumi, though the friendships with SAC started at church, her relationships with SAC are now independent of the cell group and her experiences also go beyond the boundaries of cell group activities. Mpumi spoke about as follows:

> *We know each other from cell* [cell group] *but we visit each other during weekends and drink and go to parties and clubs in other places… We just do what friends do… going out, having drinks, having fun… but still praying* [laughs] *because cell* [cell group] *started this whole thing.*

Mpumi attends the cell group with her friends, but they enjoy other social activities together such as drinking and clubbing. By going out and socialising, she comes across diverse people and places the people, with or without her friends from church and expanding her horizons because of this. In this way, the newness of KZN townships dissipates over time. But, she and her friends from the cell group still undertake their prayer and spiritual activities, the main activity that connected them from the beginning. Also, instead of going out to socialise, they sometimes visit each other on weekends as another means of connecting and enjoying themselves if they decide not to go out. These home visits are more informal and casual than the official church arrangements.

In general, it seems clear that, for ZT, experiences between the school space and the township space may be uneven and heterogeneous. For instance, there may be a negative school space and a positive township space existing for a particular Zimbabwean teacher, or vice versa. One space is a zone of comfort and the other is a zone of hostility, which becomes a dimension of life experienced daily as the ZT move and transition to and from these spaces on a regular basis.

Regarding the ability to ‘fit into’ KZN township life, 36% (10) of the studied ZT sought to engage with the local cultural milieu, namely, by experiencing (and connecting with) the space

of township live and the people living there through the arts. These ZT have no relation to the already mentioned ZT who also mingle socially within the space. In doing so, they mingle socially without any hostility. Shaz, Bonga, Tom and Pearl for example have all gone about experiencing South Africa's cultural milieu during their time in KZN, seeing this as a way of integrating and assimilating into the way of life in the province. This involves at times very simple initiatives, including daily decisions about what they wear, what they eat and how they speak. As Pearl says:

> *I really like the traditional beads and the traditional garb that Zulu people wear, and I use their necklaces and bracelets as my accessories when I go to work or when I attend serious functions. They really make your outfit pop. I like the colours, and the designs, they are very unique, and you cannot get them anywhere else like that. It is another way for me to show that I am also part of this culture.*

With the same energy, Bonga expressed similar feelings about engaging with the food and the language prevailing locally:

> *A lot of the food in South Africa is the same as the food back home and it just shows that we are one. Whenever I miss home, I just cook traditional dishes and invite some friends over and we eat* [laughs]. *Eating the traditional food is a way of connecting us with South Africa like speaking their language and knowing it… that is another way we connect with our 'new home'* [laughs]. *It is just the small things that help us become like them* [SAC].

Pearl and Bonga, who live and teach in the same township, engage with the culture through fashion, food, and language. In a similar way, Shaz learns about and experiences South African culture through site-seeing and travelling. Before the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown, Shaz often travelled through the province and her travelling history entailed many visits to heritage sites in the province. A sensitivity on the part of ZT to these type of cultural 'artefacts' carries unspoken meanings as part of a wider cultural symbolism. From the perspective of the ZT, it is hoped that these meanings convey to SAC a willingness on the part of the former to respect and accommodate the cultural arrangements of the latter. At the same time, as Bonga highlights, there are certain 'artefacts' shared across territorial boundaries which potentially build bridges between ZT and SAC culturally, and which assist ZT in turning their South African experiences into spaces of familiarity.

The experiences lived through cultures and customs in SA are shared amongst all ZT because there is no way to not experience the space outside of its culture, norms, values, and systems. But Zipho is the only ZT who experiences the culture through eating and engaging with the different Zulu cuisines. The Zulu culture can be seen all over SA and not just in KZN, and this has aroused interest in Zipho to understand and learn more about the culture, mainly because he now lives in KZN. The culture's cuisine can be very informative, and outsiders can learn a lot about the culture through its food. Zipho, a ZT who has been in SA for a year, is from Harare and does not know much about the Zulu culture, other than the basics. His experiences of the space and the culture is explored through eating traditional foods served in townships, which he is told to be authentic versions of the dishes.

Eating and asking questions about the dishes and observing how they are cooked and served is a great way to familiarise yourself with the culture and be within the roots of that culture. Food has its own language, and it echoes the language of the culture it represents. It is on this understanding that Zipho experiences and explores the space through its food;

> *I love food, so I wanted to see what kind of food they eat and how do they eat it. Zulu people have a lot of traditional food, and the dishes vary. Some of the dishes are labour intensive and they take hours to prepare. The different styles that have emerged from personal touches also change the dish, but the essence is still there. What I enjoy about the food is that Zulu food gives me the feeling of being home and being content with any situation I am faced with after eating it* [laughs].

The dishes that are cooked can connect the people who eat them, and through sharing the meals, a bond is created. The bread that is broken between strangers can join them and make them friends. In the townships, the food can be prepared and served in front of you depending on the prior arrangements that have been made. This act of seeing the food and seeing the steps it goes through before it can be eaten allows people to appreciate the food better, and it will enable them to know exactly what they are eating since they have seen the food being cooked in front of them. Through observation, Zipho can become the student and ask questions and taste recipes and mixtures before the final product. Many people find comfort in food, and Zipho is one such a person. After eating some of these home-cooked meals, the sense of serenity and calmness that clears the mind overwhelms him. Connecting with the people who cook the meals and the people who eat them allows Zipho to experience the Zulu culture in an unconventional way.

6.4 Zimbabwean Teachers Experiencing Hostility from South African Citizens

Before the Covid-19 pandemic, KZN townships were vibrant tourist and entertainment hubs frequently hosting events and parties with celebrities from the area, as has been the case for a number of years (Booyens, 2010). During these entertainment events, African foreigners are sometimes isolated because of myths (or at least unsubstantiated claims) that they are centrally involved in illegal activities. These 'myths' affect detrimentally the relationships between ZT and SAC. Insofar as there are African foreigners illegally in the country and carrying out illegal practices, this is not necessarily widespread. One ZT (Zee) experienced the negative conduct of SAC while attending local township events. Zee presented her experience as follows:

> *They* [SAC] *think that all foreigners are thieves. I have my own money and I can afford being at a festival like everyone else. I am here to have fun not to pickpocket people. They think we are all criminals, or we are all the same, it is an unfair way to look at people because we are unique. They do not even give you are chance to explain before they judge you as a thief because you are a Zimbabwean… that is very stupid mentality for me.*

It has become exhausting for ZT like Zee to constantly defend themselves in the light of the stereotypes created and maintained by SAC about them. Zee sees this problem as a problem beyond her control, as it is difficult if not impossible to establish a relationship with people who have already prejudged her with such negativity. The lack of knowledge of, and exposure to, black foreign nationals in the townships of KZN does at times contribute to the emergence and circulation of anti-foreigner stereotypes. In the daily lives of township (SAC) residents, the type of exposure to foreigners which might undercut such stereotypes is not guaranteed. In many instances, the exposure of SAC to foreigners is via the media – which sometimes has sensationalist accounts of relations between SAC and African foreigners, thereby fuelling the problems experienced by Zee and other ZT. Zee is not a thief, but she is judged and subsequently isolated because of the idea that all Zimbabweans in the country are thieves. For SAC to be wary, cautious and vigilant about crime when it comes to foreign Africans exclusively is tantamount to a hostile xenophobic stance.

As teaching professionals in SA, ZT are negatively affected by the 'myths' about foreigners because even the legitimacy of their qualifications is questioned. This affects their self-esteem and confidence as teachers but, most importantly, it undermines the quality of the work they produce as teachers. One ZT (KB) put it this way:

> *Foreigners in the country are really affected. South Africans just do not respect us, even the work that we do, they do not respect us as teachers who teach their children. It is like they do not believe that I am a qualified teacher who studied for this qualification just because I am from Zimbabwe.*

If they are not correctly identified and understood in the townships, their educational work will also not be valued. In this context, Gift (a SAC) puts the blame squarely on the South African government for allowing Zimbabweans into the country in the first place and for the supposed problems (for example, unemployment) arising from this. This relates to the perspective of Gift and other SAC that the country has finite opportunities and resources, and that African foreigners are crowding out SAC in this respect.

Gift understands the presence of ZT in the country as a result of the government trying to please others while failing its own people. In doing so, he tends to ignore other reasons why opportunities and resources are limited (including the government's mismanagement of funds and wide-scale corruption) unrelated to the presence of foreigners. Gift thus detailed his views as follows:

> *We are not happy with them* [ZT] *here because we are not happy with the government so they will have to be punished for the government's mistakes. That is life and if they have a problem with it, they will just have to take their belongings and go back home; we will keep fighting them if we have to. South Africa belongs to us, and they can stop scaring us that they helped us during the* [anti-Apartheid] *struggle days… that is over now, we do not owe anyone anything. We just want what belongs to us, do you understand me? It is very simple, this thing.*

This is likely an extreme position, but it is not uncommon. In this case (i.e., Gift), it appears that the failure of SAC to hold government accountable is now to be at the expense of migrant workers. The ultimatum given to ZT to either accept the treatment or go home is xenophobic in-and-of-itself and, additionally, it entails a social injustice and human rights violation in that the ZT are blamed for the errors of the government. For ZT, this fundamentally misconstrues their purpose, role, and identity in the country. Nevertheless, it is perspectives of Gift and others like him which complicate township life for ZT and lead to fractured relationships between ZT and SAC in KZN townships.

Clearly, the kind of interactions between locals and foreigners in the studied townships are variegated and multi-dimensional. Similar to Gift, Cindy (a SAC) is terrified of foreigners including Zimbabweans that live around her area. This terror does not appear to be grounded

in any direct and immediate experiences of problematic practices undertaken by Zimbabweans. Yet, the fear of Zimbabweans and their families, if widespread, means that they are almost rejects within the community (inside, but simultaneously outside) and excluded from any and all collective activities. In such circumstances, the relationships between ZT and SAC are deeply fragmented and constrained, from the perspectives and practices of both SAC and ZT.

In the same light, Zozo and Timmy (who live in the same township) are SAC who do not want to be associated directly with ZT or to even have them residing in their township – in their case, this is because of certain spiritual implications arising from their presence. The relationship between Zozo and Timmy (on the one hand) and ZT (on the other) is strained because of the apparent prevalence and use of 'traditional medicine' by ZT, with this medicine having serious consequences including death. For Zozo and Timmy, the link between ZT and *muthi* (traditional medicine) is based on different arguments. Zozo feels that he could be attacked personally by Zimbabweans:

> *I am very scared of any Zimbabwean because maybe they have a snake or something that they will use on me or my children. That is why they get the jobs in the townships… They use external* [spiritual] *forces to get the jobs. You see them working in the schools with permanent jobs, that means they used* muthi [traditional medicine] *to get those jobs. Witchcraft is real and we do not know their witchcraft so what will I do when I have that problem?… So it is very difficult for me, even talking about it makes me feel sick. I would rather not even make that mistake. My only option is for me to move and go live in the rural areas with my family, but I cannot do that because they are dependent on me, and they look up to me; so I have to be here in town close to work opportunities.*

For Zozo, Zimbabweans make use of witchcraft to access employment and he fears that they might use it directly against him. He believes that ZT are prosperous because they use devious methods, such as evil spiritual means, to achieve what they acquire. Timmy's experiences and thoughts about *muthi* derive from his mother, as he tells the following story:

> *I do not have much information or knowledge as to why they are all here. But when we were growing up, my mother used to tell us to run away from* amakwerekwere [derogatory term referring to black foreigners] *because they will chop us and cook us to make* muthi*. We were not even allowed to speak about them. From then I have always feared them, even if they are nice people, I do not care. Even the educated ones and the ones that are living with us, I avoid anything that is a* kwerekwere [foreigner]. *In my* [township] *Section I make sure that I stay away from*

people who are friends with people like them so I chill with those who also do not like them, because that way they will not get too close to me, and they will not kill me.

The concerns of both Zozo and Timmy (and other SAC) about the presence of ZT seem to be deeply inscribed in their thoughts. Typically, when people worry about witchcraft, they almost always consider the possibility that malicious persons are using harmful substances known generically as *muthi* (traditional medicine). In this respect, Ashforth (2005: 218) explains the basic principles of *muthi* and witchcraft: "[B]ecause the witchcraft that consists of 'poisoning' by muthi is practiced in secrecy, little can be publicly known about it". The mystery around witchcraft makes it deeply disturbing and fear-inspiring for those with a history of believing in the existence of witchcraft. This fear has severe implications, at least potentially, for the lives and security of ZT in KZN townships. This is despite the fact that the accusations are not substantiated by concrete evidence, making them a mere allegation. It is an allegation significant and forceful enough not only to ruin another person's reputation but also to put his or her life in danger, without necessarily allowing for any recourse in denying the condemnation as a witch.

In this context, xenophobia is not exclusively about preventing foreigners from accessing material resources (including employment) in KZN. There is also a cultural-cum-spiritual element whereby the 'the other' (in this case, ZT) are depicted discursively as impure, corrupting the integrity of local societies. This element, as demonstrated in the story by Timmy, is not a fleeting or superficial one, as it has been passed on from generation to generation. This entails the discursive construction of the African foreigner as diametrically opposite SAC, as a largely unknown and immoral entity inhabiting and corrupting township spaces. Because these are real fears, they may be acted upon in terms of a hostile manner of engaging with ZT and other foreigners.

Whether a believer in witchcraft or not, the language used by many SAC to describe Zimbabweans is dismissive and derogatory. Tom, KB, Sam and Ndabe (ZT who live in different townships) have all experienced verbal abuse and intimidation from SAC because they are Zimbabwean. Verbal abuse is a form of interpersonal violence that is meant to exert power or control over those at the receiving end of the abuse, and it triggers embarrassment, anguish, pain, and distress through intimidation, harassment, and bullying. The name-calling

and derogatory labelling is bound to affect the lives and dignity of Zimbabweans as they go about their daily lives in the KZN townships.

For Tom and Sam, their personal experiences of verbal abuse and intimidation complicate their interactions with SAC and how they view themselves in relation to South Africans. Being told that they are a foreigner and do not belong in the country because they morally pollute the site has had long-lasting effects on them, and KB is also still suffering from similar remarks. It has effects often not addressed and usually unimaginable by the perpetrator. For these ZT, they are forced to live with the aftermath for a very long time. The consequences of any abuse are certainly multifaceted and, since the burden is placed on the victim, ZT are expected to continue as usual and not lash out because they might be further abused. They are vulnerable because their ongoing residence in the township (and hence their employment) depends in part on the attitudes of SAC and their continued acceptance in the township space by SAC. As Sam (a ZT) articulated it:

> *Things are really hard. We cannot fight back or do anything because the whole township will come after us;… we just have to accept the way things are and move on. We are not even given the space to process what happened, you just have to move on and get over it. Since I am trying to learn isiZulu, they* [SAC] *mock me and call me names. Anyone who is learning a language will struggle. You should help them and motivate them not put them down.*

In bullying ZT and not allowing them the opportunity to process their feelings, these hostile SAC tend to treat them as emotionless punching bags. This is the way Tom spoke about his experiences:

> *South Africans easily move on as though they have no conscience. Zimbabweans also have feelings; if you stab me, I will bleed like everyone else. But when they call us names and swear at us, we have to smile and just accept that because we want them to stop the abuse. Fighting back has never been an option for us, we just have to protect ourselves; that is the only thing we can ever do.*

The idea of having to move on without any closure is crippling for Tom and other ZT, particularly with the knowledge that a similar (hostile) incident is likely to take place sometime and somewhere, without notice, in the future. It is as if when and where vigilantism is concerned, the victim is somehow expected to move on without any explanation or closure. The legal system in SA, because of the perceived lack of justice in addressing reported cases

of xenophobia by foreigners, also constitutes a nonverbal communication to ZT of 'moving on'. Zimbabweans do not see themselves as being given a fair trial, and they cannot fight back or choose not to do so. Both Sam and Tom indicate that they are not able to defend themselves against an angry mob or even against a single SAC; hence, they accept the abuse without responding to it. This affects how Tom and Sam (and other ZT) live their lives in the KZN townships, including their interaction and relationships with local SAC.

6.5 Experiences of Changes Over Time

For these ZT who appear to be reasonably comfortable living in the KZN townships, there are variations in terms of how his came about, as indicated by the different experiences discussed. Zuko, Amy, Lebo and Jay share similarities in their experiences. The commonality in their experiences is that, initially, they have trouble or resistance from SAC but, over time, this is either overcome without any explicit effort to do so, or purposefully (the ZT removes themselves from the unwanted situation). As well, there are differences regarding the time it took for this comfort to arise. Overall, at least for some ZT, there was a shift over time regarding the relationships between them and SAC, including from hostility to amicability. In first arriving in SA, the ZT sought to interact with those with whom they felt most comfortable, and this was often other Zimbabweans, whether teachers or not. This allowed them to explore the possibility of interacting (or mingling) with SAC in a tentative and transitional manner, and they saw this as the safest option for them as foreigners in the country.

This is because of the wide-known intolerance amongst SAC for foreign Africans: "Government officials, some government departments, the media and the police have adopted similar attitudes" (Tella, 2016: 143). Xenophobic discourses and practices are widespread in post-Apartheid South African society, with attacks on foreigners being unpredictable and sporadic, making it hard to prepare for them. Consequently, the attacks often happen when everyone is off-guard (Neocosmos, 2008). Zuko, Lebo and Amy (all ZT) have been living in SA for a number of years, and they have experienced the ways in which foreigners are accepted or rejected in the country. Zuko speaks about being able to discern an imminent xenophobic attack. He claims that, before an attack takes place, the atmosphere shift, almost as though nature is warning them that something dark is about to take place. This 'something' might not be extreme: for instance, it can be a diffusible feud between neighbours but, because a foreigner is involved, the situation is amplified.

Lebo reflects upon his stay in South Africa in the following way:

> *People are different, and they might not all like you, or they will all like you… it just depends. But things are not the same like when I arrived here. Maybe I am used to the place, or they do not care about me, I am not sure. What I am sure about is that I am not treated the same like before, you know? It is like I am part of the community now, they do not really care about me.*

After first apparently standing out quite visibly as a foreigner, Lebo argues that slowly but surely his presence in KZN became normalised. Amy has had a similar experience:

> *I can say things have changed because they* [SAC] *do not stare as much as they did in the past. Now they know about me and they do not care much, at least the people that live around me and know me. They just know that a foreigner lives in this area, and they do not care… at least they act like they do not care.*

The comments from Lebo and Amy do not imply full acceptance of them by SAC in general and hence an unbridled willingness to interact with them. Rather, outside of a heightened xenophobia atmosphere at least, the ZT are not depicted as a threat and hence they are avoided and unworthy of undue attention. The burden and potential implications attached to being constantly stared at no longer exist for Lebo and Amy. Meanwhile, they do mingle with the SAC they consider as their friends.

Overall, these changes as experienced and interpreted by ZT are conditioned by shifts amongst South Africans. For example, although he has been in SA for only one year, Jay speaks about discernible changes in the perspectives of SAC. For Jay, South Africans are seen as curious to know about new members of their communities, as was also the case with Lebo and Amy when they first arrived. There may be no set rules indicating how SAC are to engage (or not to engage) in particular with foreign Africans, but Jay experienced SAC expressing an interest in learning about him, until they find out that he is a Zimbabwean migrant in SA. As he put it:

> *People are fine until they know that I am not from here, then they suddenly change their attitude and isolate themselves from me… as though I am a disease. The change is shocking, they treat you like an animal when they know you are a Zimbabwean working when they do not have any jobs. Like, the best thing to do is hide that you are a Zimbabwean for as long as you can.*

The change over time involves how SAC view and treat ZT, and this sometimes involves South Africans being at first genuinely interested in knowing a person until they find out that he or

she is a foreigner. The change may then become hostile (possibly xenophobic) because, in the case of Jay, he is a migrant teacher who has 'stolen' a job from a South African. This language of theft derives from the view that foreigners are taking jobs that belong to South Africans, thereby contributing to the high unemployment rate amongst locals in KZN. Despite this, there is certainly no guarantee that Jay's teaching post would have been otherwise given to a South African.

Any seeming difference between the thoughts and experiences of Lebo and Amy on the one hand, and those of Jay on the other, revolve around Amy's statement that 'at least they [SAC] act like they do not care'. Not caring about the presence of others (in this case, ZT) might imply a principled acceptance of their presence, or it might merely entail a conditional one. Jay interprets this an in-principle renunciation of his very existence which is bound to affect his self-assurance and his interactions within the township space in the years to come; his attempts at moving forward may be constrained by the memories of the past. Perhaps because of their longer stay in the townships of KZN, Lebo (11 years) and Amy (7 years) have interpreted shifts in the stances of SAC as involving some degree of accommodation to the presence of ZT.

6.6 Zimbabweans and Other Foreign Nationals

SA is a desirable destination for African foreigners, not just Zimbabweans, and it hosts a range of foreign nationals such as Nigerians, Ghanaians, and Lesotho citizens. Since foreign Africans generally (irrespective of nationality) tend to share common experiences in SA around vulnerability, insecurity, and marginalisation, they often associate with each other and develop close bonds. Many foreign Africans, including Zimbabweans, try to avoid South Africans by isolating themselves from SAC, constructing their sets of friendship and community spaces through sustained interaction. Marginalised foreigners find comfort and solace in each other's company, and their experience of township life may be mediated by their established networks. Because of the pronounced xenophobic milieu in the country, some ZT thus prefer socialising exclusively with other Zimbabweans. They experience KZN townships almost exclusively with other Zimbabweans and, where they can, they avoid interactions with SAC. Anashe is a good example of this:

> *I only see South Africans at school, the shops or around the townships, but I would never invite them to my house or go to their house… I have other friends for that, I value my peace and South Africans do not respect us as foreigners so I stay away from them if I can.*

But, there are other ZTs who do not see engaging with other Zimbabweans (or other foreign nationals) as a replacement to interacting with SAC. Rather, they simply value mingling with other Zimbabweans, as it is an enriching experience. June (a ZT) spoke about this in the following way:

> *When we do meet up, it is always great. We cook and eat all sorts of foods; it is like a big celebration and it is really good for the soul. Interactions with the locals is also always good, but nothing is better than being with people you can relate to or people who are similar to you, people who will understand your problems, I do not think any South African will ever be able to understand our problems no matter how kind they are.*

CC spoke about this matter, similarly:

> *As a foreigner, I just find it easier to be around other foreigners and not South Africans if I can. At least we speak the same language and understand each other here in South Africa. We do not have to explain everything to each other, we just understand without talking much. We are different to South Africans, and I have accepted that, and there is nothing bad about it so long as we can all respect each other.*

June, Anashe and CC all experience the township by way of interactions with other Zimbabweans, in part because of the negativity of SAC towards foreigners and in part due to the positivity emanating from being with other foreigners, mainly but not exclusively Zimbabweans The desire to be with 'your own people' or 'people like you' is quite common within the Zimbabwean migrant community in SA, including Blue and Amy. Living in the townships with other foreigners can be comforting because it might remove a sense of loneliness and even undercut the self-conception of foreignness (of being a foreigner). With the exception of school and their work as a teacher, many ZT simply avoid SAC outright, as if they do not exist. These ZT, without the direct assistance of SAC as intermediaries, explore and experience the townships, on their own terms and with whom they want While this does not mean that their township lives are devoid of contact with SAC, ZT are not reliant on the SAC in circulating around the townships. By acting in this way, they hope to avoid any incidences of xenophobia.

6.6.1 Zimbabwean Teachers and Racism in South Africa

Zimbabweans and other foreign nationals interact amongst themselves for different reasons (including cultural ones). They may do this perhaps only on a temporary basis as they might later immerse themselves more fully in South African society and culture. However, as indicated earlier, many ZT consciously seek to learn about and practice KZN cultural arrangements. This includes the ways in which way funerals and weddings are conducted in the province, as well as cultural events like the twenty-first birthday or *Umemulo* (coming-of-age ceremony). Demi is one ZT who has attended such happenings, notably funerals. In this regard, Demi makes an intriguing comment:

> *Racism is very clear in South Africa, you cannot ignore it. Even in the funerals… they are different because of racism. Funerals in the townships do not have the same dignity as white people. It is like they do not care, and they are burying an animal, they just do a rushed job like they are volunteering and not getting paid. Yes, the cultures play a role but also the race plays a bigger role for me.*

Demi speaks about cultural differences in SA as being a manifestation of racial differences. A funeral that takes place in a KZN township is different from a funeral that takes place in white middle-class suburbia. While at first site this might appear as a racist comment by Demi about black SAC (as marked by some sort of cultural deprivation). Rather, she in trying to point to the deeply racialised character of South African society and how Zimbabweans and other foreign nationals (as blacks) suffer the consequences of this ongoing racial hierarchy alongside black SAC.

More than six decades ago, Mia Brandel (1955: 296) observed in her study of township social organisation that "death in [the white] town is expensive, equating it to be in a different paradigm as death in the townships". Funerals in townships were typically overcrowded as there was no formal invitation, so everyone was 'welcome' even if they do not know the deceased or the deceased's family. Funerals in white urban areas were conducted differently (with the funeral location a hall or a church) not allowing the capacity to be maximised, therefore minimising the mourners who are present. Over the past two decades, there has been a phenomenal growth in both informal and formal burial insurance schemes, and this has ensured a ready, if uneven, supply of funds and resources for funerals.

The range of products and services now available – "from personalised memorabilia of the deceased to portable green 'grass' and tents which frame the burial site, as well as increasingly sophisticated photographic and video recording services" (Lee, 2011: 226) – has dramatically increased. The escalating costs of funerals are powered by the social pressures of providing for a dignified funeral. The increased burial costs (as part of the ongoing commodification of the funeral sector) hinder township residents from ensuring what is considered as a dignified funeral. The funeral's racial aspect, which can be seen in the 'dignity' awarded to each funeral and the way in which (deceased) black bodies, is the matter of focus for Demi.

Demi is not the only ZT who highlighted the problem of race and racism in SA. Many of the ZT (including Theo, Lea, Pearl, June, Eric, Sbu and Rose), living in different townships, agree outright that racism is alive and well in the country. While the question of race and the racial legacy in Zimbabwe has been heightened in recent years, particularly from the year 2000, ZT do not believe that Zimbabwe is as racially conscious as is SA and its citizens. They recognise that the racial question remains unresolved in SA and, while in the country, they experience being slotted unwittingly into the socially constructed racial hierarchies. In this regard, they experience racism in SA as a kind of cultural shock about which they are compelled to be conscious about and to which they must accommodate themselves. It simply cannot be ignored, at least as a black person (whether South African or not).

Being in a black body means that they experience the treatment that comes the way of black bodies in SA. Eric explains his thoughts on race and racism in the country as follows:

> *I think it is something that you have to experience and go through before you can explain it or understand it. In South Africa, black people just have to know that they are black and do not try and think otherwise. For me, the last thing I was worried about was white people because I know they would not kill me… at least that is what I thought before coming here. Now, I have to worry about both white and black people. White people hate you because you are black, and black people hate you because you are a foreigner. Living in South Africa as a Zimbabwean is a daily challenge.*

At first sight, it might be concluded that racism in SA would and should bring together black SAC and foreign black nationals. But, as Eric argues, this is not necessarily the case – if only because black SAC tend to blame African foreigners more than they do white SAC for the grinding poverty in KwaZulu-Natal's townships.

Hence, in SA, black African foreigners including Zimbabweans face two challenges. The history of white racialism in SA is one challenge (facing all blacks), but so is what might be described as the new racism – which is directed against foreign black nationals specifically by black SAC. This new racism is displayed through Afrophobic attitudes and practices of black SAC in which 'foreign blacks' are placed at the very bottom of the human hierarchy and subjected to ill-treatment because of this, at least potentially. As Eric said: "Now, I have to worry about both white and black people". Black Zimbabweans in the country can relate to black South Africans in that they share their lived experiences of marginalisation in terms of race. Their blackness in SA matters, and it affects how they experience the country. However, their foreignness also matters, perhaps affecting even more dramatically how they experience township life in KZN. This is certainly the case for those ZT who have been on the receiving end of xenophobic comments and actions.

6.7 Conclusion

The chapter can be understood as identifying, and seeking to understand, two main trends regarding the presence of ZT in KZN townships: mingling socially with SAC and ZT who experience hostility. In this regard, as shown, the views and practices of SAC are integral to explaining these two trends. However, it is important to emphasise that these are merely tendencies and not law-like pathways. There is also the possibility that particular ZT might experience both trends in their lives simultaneously, depending on the specific township spaces they enter (or are invited into), such that they live their lives with a high level of uncertainty. Further, this possibility might also arise because of the specific set of experiences while teaching at their particular TSS. For example, they might encounter hostility as the dominant trend in the township, but they may mingle freely with South Africans at school (or vice versa). We now turn to the lives of the ZT at school in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven: Zimbabwean Teachers' Relationships At School

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationships that ZT establish at school, relationships which may be very troubling for them. After first detailing briefly a typical day in the life of a teacher at a TSS, the chapter turns to discuss the overall problems that both South African and Zimbabwean teachers experience by virtue of teaching at a resource deprived TSS and how ZT in particular make sense of their teaching lives under these conditions. The chapter then provides a relational understanding of ZT and their time at work, by looking at three sets of relationships in turn: relationships with school administrators, with SAT and with students. As with the lives of the ZT outside of school hours, the working lives of the ZT are marked by considerable diversity, with two broad trends again appearing – from close and productive relationships to hostile and dysfunctional relationships.

7.2 A 'Typical Day' of a Zimbabwean Teacher

Teaching is known to be a highly stressful occupation with a heavy responsibility in caring for the emotional and mental development of children and teenagers (Collie et al., 2012; Ramberg et al., 2020; Dicke et al., 2015; Hakanen et al., 2006). Admittedly, it is difficult to generalise about the daily experiences of teachers, given that these experiences and schedules vary between individuals and schools and even from day to day for a particular teacher. Teachers' relationships with others within the school (including administrators, students, and other teachers) condition their daily lives, as do personal commitments and external obligations and activities. Like other professionals and employees, teachers have a life outside of school, including with regard to their families and social engagements of various kinds. Their experiences are not fixed or reduced to teaching and school activities and, because of this, it becomes important to understand the lives and practices of teachers in this broader (including township) context. In this context, I outline briefly the lives of two Zimbabwean teachers in order to give the reader a general sense of the 'typical day' of ZT in SA.

Rose is a junior (Grade 8 and 9) Social Sciences (female) ZT who has been teaching for two years in SA. Zuko is a male ZT who teaches senior (Grades 10-12) Science subjects and has been teaching in the diaspora for his whole life (ten of these years have been in SA). These two teachers were asked about their 'typical day' both inside and outside of school.

For Zuko, the general time frame for being at work to teach is anytime between 06:45 and 07:30. Zuko starts his day early because he wants to prepare for any morning meetings and lessons in the first period. Zuko goes home any time between 15:30 and 19:00. During the day, he teaches on average five lessons but, sometimes, depending on the timetable, he can teach up to seven lessons in a day. He notes that his free time between lessons is spent doing 'pointless' paperwork or the odd punishment of misbehaving learners. Zuko adds that he tries to mark scripts during his free periods; otherwise, in 'free' periods, he prepares for the next day or is in a meeting. The 'free' periods are not free because there is always some work to do. The best time to do this work is during those periods, so that there is hardly any work taken home at night or over the weekends.

On some occasions, depending on the time of the year and the school calendar, there are extended school meetings, parent evenings, training/workshops, school events/sports and disciplinary raids. Some teachers continue their studies and hence attend trainings and workshops. These trainings affect their schedules and add work to their tight schedule. If a teacher is absent unofficially, this will disrupt the entire school teaching schedule, and there will be significant freelancing and shifting of lessons between available teachers. In such situations, Zuko cannot have a 'typical day'. Every Tuesday and Wednesday evening, he also gives extra Physics lessons to learners attending a private school. He daily attends a gym in the area, and he enjoys a cold beer when necessary. At times, at night, he prepares for the next day if he has work that was not completed during the day. During the weekends, he is involved in personal arrangements and tasks, as he is trying to complete his Honours Degree.

Rose starts her day at 05:00 to ensure that everything is in order before the school day starts. During the day, she spends her time teaching the learners and, if she has a free period, she can relax and have a cup of tea. Rose tries to attend to all her lessons during the day, so she does not have extra lessons. Extra lessons are periods carried over after school. Having lessons after school affects the departure time for teachers and, if Rose leaves school late, she will arrive home late. In general, Rose arrives home anytime between 16:00 and 17:30. Once at home, she still needs to cook and make sure that she is prepared for the next day; ensuring that her work outfit is ironed and ready, is part of these preparations. If scripts or homework assignments are to be marked, she might need to mark them after work and make sure that the learners get their scripts back in time. In her free time at home, she can video-call her family in Zimbabwe or friends in different countries. The video-calling activity is a great way to connect with her

family and friends, and it is her way of fulfilling her socio-emotional needs/wants. Connecting with people who she loves and discussing matters outside of school/work is a form of self-care for Rose.

Many people are dependent on Rose's income, and she is still in contact with these dependents living in Zimbabwe. Her family members are people who benefit from her income. Rose is involved in church activities such as church choir during the weekends, and she needs to attend choir practices every weekend. In addition, during the weekends, Rose might window-shop and walk around the big malls such as Gateway Theatre of Shopping. During the long holidays such as the June and December holidays, Rose may visit family in Zimbabwe or travel wherever she wishes. Travelling during the holidays is a form of relaxation after the long school terms, and it is another activity that Rose enjoys.

Teaching can easily consume the free time and personal relationships of the ZT, including Rose and Zuko. Their work does not always end in the classroom; sometimes, it needs to be taken home and completed there. Their social relationships and social encounters are important to them, but these are sometimes crowded out because of their busy schedules. Having minimal time to spend with family during the week because of schoolwork can be stressful to the teachers and their families. Though there is considerable diversity in the lives of ZTs, as demonstrated with reference to Zuko and Rose, a 'typical day' as a ZT in SA is a pressure-filled one with an array of commitments and activities. Living in a foreign country and working alongside SAT and teaching South African students, has variegated effects on the experiences of ZT at township schools.

7.3 Zimbabwean Teachers' Experiences - Life at School

This section discusses the many general themes that constantly arose when speaking with the different ZT about their lives at school as teachers. The particular teachers and narratives selected in this discussion are representative of the sample of ZT more broadly. The key issues raised in this section are: the old and dilapidated equipment/teaching material; outdated curriculum; poor safety and security; the performance of gender roles; discrimination based on citizenship; assumptions by others about ZT; and deficient parental support. All teachers (whether South African, Zimbabwean or other foreign national) face similar problems in terms of many of these issues (including use of old equipment, outdated curriculum, safety and security, gender roles, and the lack of parental support). Because of this, and as much as

possible, I try to focus on what is specific to ZT so as to narrate and capture their particular teaching experiences.

Like most teachers working in township schools in the province and elsewhere in the country (Boyd et al., 2011), there was constant references by ZT to challenges such as poor infrastructure, inadequate resources, poor learning material and low teacher morale. The many issues raised by the ZT suggests that the inadequate infrastructure of the township schools alongside improper resource allocation are important factors behind inadequate learning in the classrooms and inevitably underperformance and poor grades from the learners. Theo for example is a junior (grade 8 and 9) Mathematics teacher at Teresa College, and he has had difficulty using the old chalkboards. Like other ZT, he explains how having more advanced equipment would better his teaching experience:

> *We are still using the old green and black chalkboards. There are features on the* [newer] *smartboard that are advanced, and that can help the teacher in teaching the subject better.*

As much as there is a strong want for better teaching equipment, one of the key obstacles to ensuring the presence of this equipment is security in township schools. The location of townships in low-income parts of urban spaces in SA impacts any effort in maintaining a safe and secure environment for school buildings and movable property and equipment on school grounds. Having advanced teaching equipment on school premises would require enhancing security at schools on a 24-hour basis or run the risk of losing the equipment through theft.

School infrastructure and equipment in townships is not the only problematic issue that ZT spoke about. Pearl and Judy for example have both worked outside of SA, and they are able to compare the South African teaching curriculum with curriculums from their previous schools in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Pearl elaborated on this matter in the following manner:

> *If I look at the curriculum and compare it with other countries, it is very outdated, and it is a waste of our time as teachers and the learners that we are teaching. We are playing in those classrooms, and that is why the learners do not really care. We are boring them with what we teach. We cannot still be teaching subjects like Life Orientation. That is just a waste of time because there is the internet, and these children Google everything. They know more about sex and drugs than we do. They teach us about oral sex, and that is not from the textbooks. The learning topics are very old and outdated, and it has not changed with the times.*

Judy contrasted the South African and Zimbabwean teaching systems quite explicitly, stating:

> *I think that as Zimbabweans, it also frustrates us when we compare the South African schooling system to the Zimbabwean schooling system. They are so different, and we must change our mindsets and teaching techniques when we move from Zim* [Zimbabwe] *to South Africa".*

The outdated curriculum still present in South African secondary schools is, from the perspective of ZT, an insult to them as they are presented as incompetent when teaching certain school subjects which seem to bore the learners. Pearl articulates this clearly when she argues that the learners are in fact bored by the curriculum and, because of the advanced technology, learners can self-teach themselves as much of the content appearing in the curriculum can be readily accessed from the internet.

To illustrate this point differently, the outdated content taught in secondary schools in particular forces the ZT to become creative so they can engage with the learners in a productive way. The topic of sex, for instance, arouses the interest of teenagers because they are still developing, and they are curious about topics such as sex. However, the school textbook and learning material do not necessarily speak to the changes and challenges that learners currently face with regard to sex and sexuality. The content covered needs to move with the times and stay relevant to the learners. For example, homosexuality is more freely spoken of now than it used to be, say, twenty years ago. The schools' learning material should reflect this and be more inclusive of other sexualities in the case of sex education. Pearl speaks about this, at least implicitly, in making reference to the ways in which learners explore other topics that might be considered taboo (such as oral sex) in relation to the school curriculum, but which are discussed and presumably practised amongst school learners.

The existence of fears around the security of school premises when it comes to property losses and damage raises a deeper concern for the ZT in the province. The security and safety of property is one thing; the security and safety of the ZT themselves is another thing altogether. Sbu (a ZT), as well as other teachers, brings this to the fore. Indeed, the issue of safety is essential in understanding the experiences of ZT in SA. Certainly, Sbu experiences and processes crime and violence in SA (mentally and emotionally) differently than SAC. Further, the question of an unsafe school environment encompasses concerns around the wayward behaviour of many learners – on and off school premises. Some of the learners are involved in

township gangs and gang activity, which jeopardises the lives of the teachers in addition to other learners not involved in gangs and feuds between local gangs.

As a ZT, the safety of Ndabe's learners is a priority, but so is the protection and safety of his own life at school. The burden of making sure that everyone is safe is often placed on the teachers, as Ndabe argues:

> *Teachers are not police; we cannot be expected to teach and make sure that the learners are safe. I think for us male teachers it is even more…. [T]he pressure to perform or to act during learner disputes is higher on us because we are seen as strong. No one is strong if you are fighting someone who is carrying a knife or a sharp object. I also have to put my life first and not risk it just to be a hero. It can be scary here when the learners are fighting each other as gang members, and they forget that they are children in school uniform.*

The presence of gangs and violence at the schools in the KZN townships have a gendered dimension to it. Not only are boys rather than girls the key members of gangs, but male teachers specifically (not female teachers) are expected to handle and resolve the violence if and when it arises – as men, they also see this expectation as embodied in their gender.

Gender roles for teachers in the schools place a significant amount of pressure on both male and female teachers, and gender conditions how ZT experience teaching in the townships. In many instances, gender roles dictate that male teachers perform the function of security guards (stopping learners from engaging in physical fights), while female teachers are expected to act out more feminine roles such as being social workers and emotional care givers. At the schools, female teachers are depicted as mothers and nurturers, and they are supposed to address and sort out psycho-social and emotional issues. As one female ZT (Mpumi) put it:

> *Some of these children, they come to school with issues that I have never heard of. I have to stop teaching the class and attend to this child who is dying emotionally; and that disrupts the other learners and the whole lesson is wasted because I was unavailable. As teachers, the burdens that we carry are not specified in our qualifications and teaching here in the townships, we have to be social workers and teachers at the same time. Some of us only have a teaching degree and did not study psychology.*

Mpumi, a female teacher, does not speak about preventing learners from fighting. Instead, she practices more feminine-related endeavours such as being an empathetic carer who listens to

the many problems that learners bring to the school, and who is someone who even stops the lesson to take care of a learner in distress. In this regard, there is minimal support provided to teachers (both male and female) from government and school administrators. There are no formal security guards or social workers in place at schools, which means that the teachers need to take on these roles. The presence of these dedicated skillsets at township schools in KZN would likely improve the quality of the school experience for both teachers and learners.

The widespread belief that specific (almost natural) attributes differentiate men and women (Eisend, 2019) and assign them separate social roles tends to perpetuate the gendered division of labour amongst ZT (and other teachers) at the schools studied. Overall, the ZT have assimilated these socially constructed gender roles, such that their school experiences have a pronounced gendered dimension. Culturally sanctioned gender roles are pervasive throughout the townships of KZN, with Zulu men insisting upon and demanding respect (Bhana et al. 2009), from women and youth. The conflict between Zulu culture and the constitution maintains the inequalities in gender roles (Bhana et al., 2009).

ZT like KB have noticed and experienced the differences in how men and women are treated in the school where she teaches. She has seen how the learners respect the male teachers differently when compared to how they treat the female teachers. She put it in the following way:

> *It has nothing to do with me being a Zimbabwean because even the South African teachers are treated the same way. The learners do not respect us as females;… they drag their feet when they have to do stuff, or they come up with excuses. But if a male teacher gives them a task, they run immediately. Maybe they are afraid of the male teachers because they are the ones who carry whips. There is discipline when they are around but if they are not available, the kids do as they please.*

In her experience of how respect is actively given to the male teachers, as a female teacher, KB claims that she needs to be in the presence of a man before being respected, which makes for an unpleasant and degrading experience for female teachers. Because of the cultural values pervasive in the KZN townships, respect is naturally given to men, whereas women need to earn the respect of others. This also exists within the township schools specifically, with the learners (i.e., students) internalising the gender-based socialisation within the privacy of their homes, only for this to be reproduced in the public sphere of the school.

The issues discussed so far may be experienced by both Zimbabwean and SAT though, for ZT, some element of adjustment has been required regarding these issues. In addition, there is no doubt that, in many instances, ZT are treated differently than SAT within the school environment. This differential treatment tends to entail a pronounced element of discrimination against them. In this regard, King (a ZT) recalls how he is treated differently purely because he is a Zimbabwean (or, more broadly, foreign national):

> *Zimbabweans are usually the only teachers who are never relieved or assisted during the invigilation sessions. Instead, we are taken out from one [exam] venue to another one without any break. Invigilating is extremely exhausting because you are doing a lot at once. You need to hand out the scripts, make sure that no one is cheating, count them… there is so much work for one person to do it on their own.*

Having to invigilate in venues that often consist of more than one hundred learners requires teamwork and certainly more than one invigilator, particularly if the aim is a successful session in which the integrity of the exam process is upheld. King is not the only ZT who has been treated differently because of his Zimbabwean citizenship. Other ZT, such as Tom, Rose, and Amy, share the sentiments. For these ZT, the issue of being treated differently because they are Zimbabwean-ness is not only unfair and xenophobic in-and-of-itself, as it is outright unprofessional. For example, as Rose highlighted, her citizenship does not affect her teaching abilities, and hence to be treated differently on this basis goes against the core values of the teaching profession.

Besides such direct school experiences, ZT are as well faced with issues outside of the school walls, deriving from their status as teachers. As teachers, there are assumptions attached to that status. Sara, Sbu, Portia, Demi and June have all experienced the pressure that comes with the idea that all teachers are content and live a lavish lifestyle. Sara argues in fact that the esteem attached to teaching has lowered, and the profession is simply not of the same calibre it was once. Because of this, there should be no glamour or sophistication associated with the profession, as might have been the case in the past. For Sara, her motivation as a teacher is no longer passion-driven; rather, it is financially-based despite the relatively low pay. Low teacher morale is prevalent and affects many teachers in township schools, and this is certainly evident amongst ZT.

Following on from the thoughts of Sara, June reiterates the misguided perceptions amongst many township residents that ZT are living a lavish lifestyle. As she argues:

> *As Zimbabweans, we are not living a glamourous life as most South Africans think. We are all struggling in many aspects of life like them. The competition at work has negatively affected me and my health. For a long time, I was in and out of hospitals because of work stress. In 2015, I was diagnosed with depression and my doctor said I should take leave and some time away from South Africa. I considered going back to Zimbabwe to rest, but I was worried that I would come back without a job anymore, so I had to push through the challenges.*

In the case of June, the stress that comes with the occupation of teaching had detrimental effects on her health and overall well-being. She was not only diagnosed with a mental illness but was additionally recommended to take leave and some time away from the site that is causing her troubles. However, as a Zimbabwean and given the low employment rate in SA, leaving her work was not an option. The tight job market in SA, particularly for foreigners, is a troubling phenomenon for ZT (as migrant workers in the country), and they 'soldier on' despite the difficulties they experience. In this light, Portia lamented regarding her teaching experiences:

> *The glamour and sophistication of being a teacher ended with our parents, and we are just suffering now. Even the salary is an insult to us. There really is not enough motivation for us to wake up and go to work. We go because we need the money to live. We also need the support of the learner's parents as well. They need to be involved with their children because we cannot be both teachers and parents in the classroom.*

Besides the general suffering of the teacher of today, Portia implicitly refers to a point raised earlier, about teachers having to go beyond the call of duty – in being security guards and social workers for instance. More specifically, she refers to the insufficient support given to students by their parents. The schooling experience of the student is placed entirely on the teacher. This adds even more stress to the ZT as teachers, as Sbu explains quite vividly:

> *The parents need to be more involved in their schooling and also have a relationship with us as teachers. The parents send their children to school and forget about them. You do not even see the parents anywhere near the schools. It is like these children do not have parents because even if you tell the child to come to school with the parent, they come up with excuses. It really is hard for us to teach the children on our own because in fact, we should be working hand in hand with the parents. We are given so much responsibility as teachers and no one cares about us, we are also human.*

Both Sara and Sbu bring to the fore how the lack of support from parents affects detrimentally their experience and performance as teachers, as they speak about not only being a teacher to students but being parents to them as well.

7.4 Relationship Between Zimbabwean Teachers and School Administrators

School administrators may also be central to the teaching lives of ZT, either because of the quality of their work as administrators or due to personal biases for or against particular teachers or groups of teachers. Based on the interviews with the ZT, it became clear that there was significant variation across administrators when it came to these factors, though all of them seemed to imply that their school administrators tend to favour certain teachers for whatever reason. In this context, some ZT had positive experiences of school administration while others had more negative experiences, with these experiences often conditioning their overall experience as teachers at a particular school. The importance of the induction process for teachers by administrators, and the problems which arise for teachers if not done properly, is noted in the scholarly literature (Tillman, 2005; Moir & Gless, 2001).

The teachers discussed here have had variegated experiences with administrators that are representative of the broader sample of ZT. Portia has been teaching for three years and is relatively new to the teaching profession and the school. At the beginning of her journey at the township school, Portia indicates that the school administrators did not even help her by providing basic information about the school, including giving her a lesson timetable, and showing her the staff toilets and the storeroom (for extra chairs), nor did they give her the general support that she expected as a new teacher. As she put it:

> *I had to find everything myself, even the toilets. I was really lost, and the kids [students] could see that I did not know what I was doing. I could not find the classroom I was allocated and came late; [because of this] some of the learners walked out of the class. There really is no staff support here, you have to figure everything out yourself.*

The lack of support from the administrators contributed significantly to Portia's negative experience working at the school.

Before coming to work as a teacher in the province, Sam was working abroad as a teacher. Like Portia, a key issue with Sam's current school is the negative effect of the administrators on her work life. In particular, at least compared to elsewhere, she speaks about the

unprofessionalism and lack of accountability undercutting the integrity of the township school where she teaches. The administrative systems of the schools where she has worked, starting in Zimbabwe and then in the United Kingdom and now SA, are simply not the same, as are the professional standards of the different schools. Sam and Portia are not the only ZT who have negative experiences of their school's administration department. Lea, Mpumi, Ndabe, KB and Rose also refer to the minimal support received.

Contrary to these experiences, there are other ZT who have more constructive relationships with school administrators. For instance, Jay has been teaching for seven years, and is new to the township school but not to the teaching profession as such. With the support of the school administration, which operates from Jay's perspective in a transparent manner, he has been able to plan his lesson timetable successfully and to even get two free periods on Mondays since he was allowed to swap some of his lessons with a teacher colleague. The administrators additionally assisted Jay in showing him where the extra equipment can be found. Further, Jay has been able to develop a personal relationship with one of the members of the administration department. Their relationship is personal in that they do not only discuss school-related issues. It may be that some form of bias has come Jay's way in the light of this relationship, perhaps receiving benefits not granted to other teachers. Jay highlights the importance of the administrative department in the following way:

> *I do not think I would have survived the first few months if I did not have the help of the admin[istration] team. The school is big, not like my old school and I am new to this township… I had a lot to learn. Some of the ladies really helped me with the basics and I had to figure out the rest on my own, but I would go ask for help every now and again. In return, I would sometimes buy them cold drinks… just to say thank you and to make sure they help me again.*

Jay's relationship with various members of the administration department is conducive to an uplifting experience as a teacher. The dynamic of this relationship works to his advantage because he experiences the institution from a particular perspective: as a seemingly 'legitimate' and fully-recognised member of the teaching staff. He is comfortable with being relatively new in the school and, despite his newness, he has the status of a more-established member of staff. Buying drinks for the administration department to 'thank them' for helping him likely is self-serving in that it guarantees further assistance when required. It also potentially undermines the professional ethos supposedly animating public institutions like schools. But, for Jay and

those in the administrative department, the gesture of buying drinks strengthens bonds across the administrative-teaching functions, which is critical to school functioning.

The experiences of Demi and Bonga, a married couple who work together, have also been positively shaped by the school administrators. Demi and Bonga teach the senior (Grades 10-12) learners: Demi is a Life Sciences teacher, and Bonga is a Business Studies and Business Economics teacher. They have been working at the same school for the past two years, though they do not have exactly the same experiences.

Demi has become friends with the office administrator. They both attend the same church, and they have a personal relationship outside of the school environment, often visiting each other during weekends or school holidays. Bonga is also friends with the office administrator, though their bond is less robust than Demi's relationship. Both speak about the relationship with the office administrator contributing to a positive experience at the school as teachers. For example, they can freely go to the administration department and seek help or request changes. Both Demi and Bonga feel comfortable freely share their opinions and views during staff meetings without any hint of being judged negatively by others as foreign nationals. Further, Demi indicates that she can change her lessons with another teacher if she has personal errands to complete. Overall, then, Demi and Bonga have a pleasant experience, perhaps more so than other teachers who might not have a 'friend' or anyone they know on a personal level in the administrative department.

7.5 Relationships between Zimbabwean Teachers and South African Teachers

The relationships between ZT and SAT raise a number of diverse issues or themes, including the role of language acquisition, learner ill-discipline, discrimination against ZT, xenophobia in the workplace, and the culture of violence in South Africa generally. This section discusses these issues, showing at times the variegated experiences of ZT when it comes to interactions with SAT.

Zaza is a SAT who works at the same school as Lebo, a ZT. Both Zaza and Lebo are Physical Science teachers for senior (Grades 10-12) learners. Because they teach the same subject, they by necessity must work together. Zaza teaches the Grade 10 and 11 learners, and Lebo teaches the Grade 12 learners. Though teaching different grades, they communicate with each other in drafting the Physical Science curriculum and exam papers, as well as with regard to meetings

with the head of department and external meetings specific to their subject and coursework. If one of the two Physical Science teachers is absent, the other is expected to fill in for them. In this sense, their relationship is very interdependent, and any tension between them would be detrimental for the learners. If the teachers are not prepared to cooperate and the lessons have not been planned properly, the learners will suffer. Both teachers seek to remain professional and any potential differences of opinion (on matters irrelevant to their teaching responsibility) between them is left outside of the school premises, to the students' benefit.

This cooperative relationship is also seen in the case of other SAT such as Fifi, Joy and Milton, who teach at Oak Park. They do not have any problems working with ZT, and they do not see anything wrong with ZT learning and assimilating local norms, values, and cultures. For these SAT, working alongside ZT is like working with anyone else, and their foreign status and citizenship is simply irrelevant. Fifi explains it clearly when she states that:

> *I try understanding them as individuals and not as Zimbabweans or South Africans, but as someone who is a hard worker or someone who is incompetent and not judge them because of their citizenship. I just like working with hard workers, people who get the job done, regardless of where they are from. Even if they come from America, so long as they do the work and remain professional… we will work well together.*

For Fifi, the main issue conditioning relationships between teachers is the degree of commitment to the profession. Insofar as ZT work hard, then Fifi supports their presence at township schools; likewise, if SAT work in an incompetent and unprofessional manner, they become a problem for Fifi. Hence, citizenship is irrelevant from the perspective of Fifi, and indeed some other SAT interviewed as well. Hence, many healthy and mutually-supportive relationships exist between the ZT and SAT.

Zipho, a junior (Grade 8 and 9) Life Orientation and English Teacher from Zimbabwe, works with Lwazi and Sue, who are SAT. All three teachers work together at the same school but, interestingly, the dynamics of their relationships are not the same. The key element here is language, which can smoothen relationships or cause conflict between teachers. IsiZulu is the most widely spoken home language in the province. Many Zimbabweans, especially those from Bulawayo, can speak and understand isiZulu because they know isiNdebele. IsiZulu and isiNdebele are Nguni languages which are quite similar. For Zimbabweans who struggle with isiZulu (who are Shona speakers in Zimbabwe), being in the KZN province might be a problem

for them regarding communication and overall interaction and acceptance. In this respect, many Zimbabweans (including teachers who stay in the province's townships) learn isiZulu to bridge the gap. In this context, Lwazi and Sue have contradicting feelings about ZT who speak isiZulu. Sue speaks about the positive implications for Zimbabweans speaking isiZulu:

> *I think it is easier for the Zimbabweans who speak or can understand isiZulu. Knowing the language opens many more doors for them and makes them seem more like part of us. Language can be a big barrier for anyone, so I would encourage all foreigners to learn the language.*

However, Lwazi does not feel the same and adopts a different stance:

> *But the language thing can cause some problems with Zimbabweans, such as them not respecting boundaries and thinking we are now friends just because they can speak isiZulu. We are not friends even if they know the language. They should stay with their own friends, and we will stay with our own friends.*

For some SAT like Sue, having ZT speak isiZulu allows for (and facilitates) more accessible connections between Zimbabwean and SAT (and South Africans more generally). Like in the case of Fifi, Sue is able to collaborate with ZT at her school and this enhances the learning experience for the students. For Sue, speaking the local language ensures that ZT can fit in, and not be subject to anti-foreigner attitudes and practices. Lwazi feels strongly to the contrary. Communicating in isiZulu does not trump or overcome the foreignness of ZT in the township and township schools. Learning isiZulu in-and-of-itself does not break down the boundaries between local (insider) and alien (outsider). It is not welcomed by Lwazi and others, as they do not want to be in any way associated with foreigners. Xenophobic views in SA take on different forms, and they do not necessarily entail physical action or harmful speech. For ZT like Zipho, their relationships with SAT are affected by trivial yet fundamental obstacles such as language. In fact, it can be challenging for Zipho to know 'his place' when some SAT congratulate and celebrate his learning of isiZulu, while others simultaneously punish him for this success. It places him in an awkward and ambiguous position, whether to respect the seemingly invisible boundaries (as spoken about by Lwazi) or to cross over into the world of South Africans in the province (as Sue highlights).

The importance of language also relates to the use of English and different accents when speaking English. Black people in SA who speak English fluently are often labelled in particular, and derogatory, ways. This may entail a type of 'class-ism' on the part of working-

class black people in SA, who consider these fluent blacks as snobbish because of their middle-class or even white sensibilities. These black people are "perceived to be black on the outside but white on the inside" (Coninck, 2018: 156) – that is, 'coconuts' – and they do not relate to other black people who are black both on the outside and on the inside. This distinction and subsequent treatment is prevalent in townships in KZN. Sam for instance speaks about this, in relation not only to her use of 'coconut' English but her recognisable foreign accent in using English. She has experienced this labelling and subsequent isolation at school, with even the SAT treating him differently because of it. As she puts it:

> *I have an accent and I speak English differently, but I do not appreciate being called names because of that. We are all adults and I do not expect old people to be gossiping about me because of how I pronounce words. I have travelled the world, but I am still an African… I will always be an African. For me, the issue is that South Africans do not respect us as people like them; that is [for them] reason enough for them to disrespect us and make fun of us and our accents. You do not find other African countries behaving like that;… it is really something that I have only experienced here in South Africa.*

Sam does not seek to distance herself from the implications of being a particular type of black person, even though this means that she does not fit in but, rather, sticks out. Having to emphasise that she is an African and that she will always be an African (no matter where she travels to) is a burden she carries with her during her teaching duties. Sam indeed does not seek to alter her way of talking or of presenting herself in order to be acceptable to SAT, and any such shifts may not make any difference whatsoever.

The dislike of ZT amongst even SAT is quite pervasive in the KZN township schools, and for what often seem to be insignificant matters – as if these insignificant matters are simply ex post facto justifications for anti-foreigner viewpoints which are grounded on other matters. In doing so, it certainly appears that SAT and South Africans more widely are washing their hands clean of any guilt for their xenophobic stance. In this light, even the existence of supposedly different teaching techniques and different ways of disciplining learners can lead to distinctions and antagonisms between ZT, and SAT. Cameron, Simon, and Tee are SAT who believe that the ZT in their respective schools fail to ensure proper learner discipline. Anashe (a ZT) teaches with Cameron and Simon and claims that the overall treatment from SAT is not conducive to a healthy work environment. She thus posited:

> *They [SAT] do not care about what I have to say; most of the time they ignore my emails and say they did not receive them. It is like I do not exist, and they only act funny around me. My colleagues do not have a problem with showing me that they do not want me here or that I do not belong here. They even tell me that my job should be given to a South African because they are unemployed. I was not treated so badly at my old school in Ashton.*

Anashe has taught in other schools in SA before her current school in the province. She thus has a reference point to compare her current experiences of teaching. With multiple emails unanswered, and by way of other standoffish practices on the part of SAT, it is clear to Anashe that these other teachers do not want to cooperate with her or accept our legitimacy as a teacher.

Shaz, Blue and Judy all have been victims of xenophobia in the school workplace. They all work in different schools. Shaz teaches Grade 12 English, and she was previously teaching English in Asia before coming back to Africa because of personal commitments. Since being in SA, her experiences can be best understood within the context of xenophobia against foreign migrant workers. Shaz has been mistreated by her colleagues (i.e., teachers), as well as external staff and superintendents. This is taking place despite the fact that the appointment of teachers from outside the country was an intervention strategy by the government to assist a failing education system. Like her SAT colleagues, Shaz is a qualified teacher, and she has worked as a teacher for longer than many of these colleagues, including in different places and under diverse systems of teaching. Because of this, the stereotypes and myths about black African migrant workers in SA is very disturbing to her, as it leads to unfair treatment at work. Shaz hence lamented:

> *Zimbabweans are treated differently. We get more scripts to mark, we have longer invigilating hours, [and] we have more [teaching] periods than the South Africans. We are all in the same rank, but we are not treated like that. It is just another way of saying 'pack your things and go home'. South Africans really do not want us here, and they do not hide it.*

The territorial mentality that many South Africans have, especially xenophobes, gives them the confidence to express their unacceptance of foreigners outright – as witnessed in the case of Shaz being compelled to undertake a level of work greater than SAT because of the official malpractice of distributing an uneven workload based on citizenship. Formally, this would be considered unfair treatment of an employee, but it is sanctioned within the school. This inhibits Shaz from raising objections. It also sends a clear signal that ZT are not recognised on par with SAT as fully-fledged teachers. They are conceptualised differently because they 'do not

belong', and this is enacted and reinforced through the extra work given them. It is not easy for Shaz to work with teachers that do not respect her as a professional, let alone as a citizen.

Jerry, a SAT who works at the same school as Shaz, substantiates her claims as he does not hide that he does not like working with ZT:

> *They* [ZT] *think they are better than us… but they need this job to feed their hungry children. They just irritate me when they want to change things and think they are the HoDs* [Heads of Department] *when they are just teachers. This is the township, not the suburb, we will not be controlled by them.*

Since Shaz and Jerry work at the same school, and their relationship is hostile due to Jerry's feelings, it is more difficult for Shaz to navigate and settle in the school compared to other teachers. Nozi is another SAT who works with ZT and other foreigners from other parts of Africa, and her 'issue' with working with foreigners seems almost frivolous and baseless mainly because she has an issue with not only how they speak but also how they smell:

> *It is not easy working with them, they are very different to us… the way they speak, the way they smell even the way they teach, but I am not xenophobic, I am just answering your question… I just personally find it hard to work with them.*

Her problems with foreigners are quite personal rather than substantial as she does not query their teaching capacities as such. The questions around speaking and smelling are subjective, and they do not directly impact the performance of the Zimbabweans as teachers in the school. What is interesting with Nozi is the need, on her part, to add that her views are not xenophobic, and that her dislike for ZT has nothing to do with xenophobia. She distances herself from xenophobia by trying to maintain the high moral ground – as if she was raising purely apolitical technical concerns about ZT and other foreigners. In doing so, Nozi is trying to maintain her moral status as a teacher in the township community.

Nevertheless, ZT teaching in KZN township schools do experience outright xenophobic attitudes of SAT, including in the many diverse ways in which xenophobia becomes expressed. These include social ostracisation, verbal rejections, threats, aggression, bullying, avoidance, discrimination, exclusion, and stereotyping (Coetzee, 2012). Xenophobic acts, particularly confrontational ones, are part of the broader violence and criminal activity existing in SA, perpetuated in the main by South Africans (Burger, 2011; Mnyaka, 2003).

Blue is a ZT and her experiences as a teacher have been shaped by the discrimination against foreigners enacted by SAT, who refuse to take responsibility for this discrimination. Blue has been often confronted by SAT who have displayed negative attitudes toward her simply because she is a Zimbabwean. Blue has even taken the matter to the principal of the school, and, on at least one occasion, the police have become involved. Unsurprisingly, the involvement of the police did not change – or make a difference to – the situation. The fear or hatred expressed by SAT toward ZT is expressed in discriminatory attitudes and practices and may culminate in violence, abuses of various types, and exhibitions of hatred. Like Blue and other ZT, Judy (a ZT) has had to endure xenophobic-configured working conditions. Unlike Blue, though, Judy has never confronted her colleagues or taken the matter further. For the most part, she has dealt with the situation on her own, suffering in silence.

Judy has been working in SA for more than five years, but she has only recently (in 2018) moved to the townships and worked at a township school. Her relationship with SAT in the KZN township school is different to her relationships with SAT in her previous place of employment as a teacher. She expressed it in the following manner:

> *I have worked with South Africans before, but they have never treated me like this. We respected each other and we treated each other properly… but here… things are different. Working with South Africans here has shown me the other side of these people, that they can be xenophobic if they want to, and there is nothing that I can do. I just have to do my work and get paid.*

Her focus is on how her previous school acknowledged her presence as a teacher in a dignified and uplifting way. The fact that she is a Zimbabwean was irrelevant to her previous teaching post and was unrelated completely to her performance as a teacher. The reasons why SAT reject Judy in the township school include it seems fear of losing their social status and identity if they accept her, as well as a sense of superiority – all of which become crucial to maintaining and solidifying socio-cultural boundaries in the face of what is deemed as threatening (Solomon & Kosaka, 2014).

The ZT recognise that xenophobic practices aimed at them by SAT (and other South Africans) undermines peaceful co-existence and constitutes a violation of their human rights. They also note that, remarkably, the most remarkable feature of xenophobia experienced in SA is that it appears to take on a primarily racial form – that is, it is directed at migrants, and especially black migrants, from elsewhere on the continent, as opposed to, for example, whites who are, to a certain extent, practically welcomed with open arms. If a white teacher were to teach at a

township school, they thus would likely be treated differently than how black ZT are treated. This suggests that exclusion is not simply directed against foreigners but those defined and understood as strangers from Africa.

7.6 Relationship Between Zimbabwean Teachers and School Learners

All teachers have a particular relationship with their learners, and this section focuses specifically on ZT. This includes issues such as teachers offering extra help or support to learners (students), the accents of ZT and how they may be treated differently by learners because of this, and learner indiscipline which might be displayed (in extreme cases) in learner fights. In the case of the latter, ZT must protect themselves or find creative ways to protect themselves as foreigners in.

For Eric, Zuko, Rose, Zee, Tom, Amy, and CC, though not teaching the same courses or teaching at the same school, the subjects they teach have created bonds between them and the learners. Put differently, the learners feel free to be themselves around the teachers, and the teachers, to some degree, are not intimidated in any shape or form. However, this is not the only contributing factor creating and maintaining upbuilding relationships between these ZT and their learners. For example, Rose is a junior (Grade 8 and 9) English, Social Sciences and Life Orientation teacher. The relationship that she has with her learners has been strengthened by her interest in the lives of the learners. Many township school learners in the province are orphaned and carry the consequences of their situations with them, including subconsciously bringing their issues to the school grounds. Children living in conditions of poverty have always assumed household responsibilities such as domestic work, childcare of siblings, and contributing to household income (Haley & Bradbury, 2015), and this affects their performance at school.

In this respect, Rose has a nurturing relationship with some of her learners. To reiterate a point made earlier, gender roles are active in schools. In this case, Rose, as a female teacher, has a nurturing relationship with some learners and acts in *loco parentis*. Her empathy and ability to sympathise with the learners and connect with them on a deeper level, strengthens the teacher-learner bonds. The narratives around township school learners, that they are mischievous and gang members involved in crime, are unsubstantiated generalisations. Not all learners in township schools are problematic in this way, as Rose highlights:

I can understand their situations of growing up in marginalised areas of society and how difficult life can be, and I know how kids are. The kids we teach are brave… at such a young age, their problems are bigger than them, but they are brave. I just enjoy spending time with them and learning from them, they usually teach me isiZulu and I can make mistakes in front of them, they just laugh at me.

The relationship between Rose and the learners is mutually supportive because she assists the learners (often beyond the call of duty) while the learners help her to learn isiZulu.

In SA as elsewhere, learner performance is determined by assessments, and the June and November exams are critical determinants that decide the learners' future. This is a problematic process, as there are multiple factors negatively affecting the performance of learners, including the learner's overall wellbeing and the background and support of parents for their children's education (Saifi & Mehmood, 2011). Zee, for instance, is a junior (Grade 8 and 9) Natural Science teacher, and much of the content of her subject cannot be completed in the lesson time during the year. For Zee, the lack of parental support and involvement in the academic work of their children is concerning, because the teacher is on his or her own. Because of this, Zee is under considerable pressure to assist the learners as much as possible during lesson time:

There is no time to play around because I have to go through as much as I can in forty-five minutes. Most of the children do not get help from home and they do not complete their homework once they leave the classroom. I do not think they open their books after that. It is hard for me to work like that because I am repeating a lot, there is no way we can ever finish the syllabus. Since the parents do not participate, the children are on their own really.

The poor performance of learners in township schools has been understood as partly because of the lack of support from home and even from teachers in the classroom at times (Mouton et al., 2013). For this reason, Zee has taken it upon herself to help the learners by going through all the work thoroughly in the classroom so that there is minimal work to be taken home.

Not all teachers have a 'good' relationship with their learners. The issue of learner behaviour and, in particular, student indiscipline is evident in the classrooms as well as during actual lessons. The SAT interviewed for this study constantly noted that learners are more mischievous in Zimbabwean teacher's classes because of the lack of discipline and the freedom

they have, since ZT do not necessarily exercise the same forms and extent of punishment as some SAT do. Zuko, Amy and Zee (as ZT) all experience this phenomenon in particular ways.

Zuko is a senior (Grade 10-12) Geography teacher. He is not the only foreigner at his school, and there are other Zimbabwean, Ethiopian and Basotho teachers who work there. As well, Zuko has been previously in the position of acting Grade Head (for three years) until the position was taken over by a SAT. He thus has experience working in a managerial position, thereby bridging the gap between learners and teachers, and working personally with the learners as a teacher. As a teacher, Zuko has had to deal with learner indiscipline ranging from incomplete homework and assignments to bullying. In essence, his relationship with the learners, now that he is no longer Grade Head, seems strong because, to some degree, he knows them personally including the type of unspoken issues they face daily.

In the past, in SA, "teachers were …. empowered to be in charge in the classroom, but in a hostile or authoritarian manner" (Mokhele, 2006: 148). In this way, teachers were made to believe that power and authority were the bases for control and discipline, and this approach to learners is still found amongst a number of SAT who criticise ZT for acting in a contrary way. As with other ZT, Zuko has created an environment where the learners do not have to fear him. Consequently, his relationship with the learners has benefited from this. Similarly, Amy has an open/free relationship with the learners that she teaches. As she articulated it:

> *I enjoy being around them and teaching them. You have to be called to be a teacher because it is not easy, but it is worth it. Seeing them do well and progressing in life, makes me happy. That is what we are here for, to see them become better people in society and to see them achieve their dreams.*

Amy is a junior (Grade 8 and 9) Economic and Management Sciences teacher. She majored in Child Psychology, and this has helped her better understand the learners and how best to support them. As Nezhad and Vahedi (2011: 327) argue, "education and psychology are interdependent" and "psychology had changed the spirit of education and it gives new meaning to learning in the classroom". Psychology has changed education as it gives impetus to the importance of recognising individual differences, namely, that every learner has different mental abilities and learns at a different pace.

At the same time, some ZT do experience problems with the learners, as the latter are not invariably well-behaved and eager to learn, and they do not always do as they are told by the

teachers. The issue of disrespect for teachers in township schools is quite common, and for multiple reasons. As with township life more generally, ZT encounter problems around language and accents not only with SAT in schools but also with school learners. For black African foreigners in SA, including for Zimbabweans, pronunciation and fluency of English-speaking are used by South Africans as a foundation for moral judgements. More specifically, solid English proficiency may be associated with superiority in status and prestige, but the accent when speaking English may be a source of ridicule for African foreigners. People with accents such as ZT or people who do not speak English in the socially accepted way of local townships will be judged as if being in a lower social class. In this regard, ZT have experienced a lack of respect from their learners because of their accents. Tom put it this way:

> *It is hard to get them [learners] to listen because they just repeat what I am saying, and they laugh. The way I speak is a big joke to them. They are very immature especially for their age. Who still does not know that we have accents and thinks it is a big joke to laugh at? Really? It is a waste of teaching time when they start these games.*

CC has similar experiences and interprets the mocking of their accents by learners as a tactic to undercut the learning process:

> *I have figured out that they laugh at my accent because they are trying to waste time, but the joke is that they need to pass so they need to concentrate instead of mocking me. I just focus on those that want to learn and the rest will see for themselves. I am tired of trying to accommodate everyone when actually, these kids just want to waste my time.*

Tom and CC both have a strong accent (from a South African perspective) and some of the words are occasionally difficult to understand; certainly, though, when connecting the words together in a sentence, it is not difficult to make sense of what they are saying. One of the challenges, for the learners, is that English is not the first language used in the township, and their linguistic skillset to connect words together (in English) is not easy. In this light, "[c]omprehensibility … seems to be an important factor for learners when evaluating teachers' accents" (Tsang, 2020: 141). Because of learners' own incomprehension of English, accent is used as a self-justification for failure to comprehend. In the end, the learners' depiction of ZT as incompetent because of the existence of an accent also means that accent is being deployed by learners as a marker of foreignness, which is corrupting the learning process for them. Broadly, the accents of ZT are an easily identifiable audible signifier of difference for South Africans in labelling those emerging beyond the borders.

Like Tom and CC, Sbu also has an accent, and the learners do not receive this well. At times, they use his accent as a scapegoat for many grievances. For example, when the learners do not want to participate in classwork, they start causing disruptions and blame Sbu's accent as the cause of their lack of focus. As CC likewise indicates, the issue of accents is not only central to identifying the presence of foreignness broadly, as it becomes as well the basis for learner dissatisfactions and disruptions – or, at least, an excuse for these. This is despite the fact that the ZT are far more competent and fluent than their learners. What might appear to be a sign of status (i.e., fluency in English) becomes a sign of incompetence and less-ness (Sung, 2016) and, indeed, otherness as the foreignness is making its presence felt in the township schools via the ZT.

As a result of the lack of sustainable solutions to the many problems around ill-discipline of student, some township schools in the KZN province still rely on the intervention of corporal punishment, though this has been ruled unconstitutional in the country. Eric, as a ZT, is quite hesitant about making use of (and relying upon) corporal punishment as a means to gain order and control in the classroom. The numerous learner disputes in the schools mean that the teachers need to try to find creative ways to ensure and maintain discipline, without the use of corporal punishment. When the fights start though, and these are unsafe for the rest of the learner body and the teachers, assistance from the police is often requested. Regrettably, as Eric highlights, this has become a regular occurrence:

> *We usually have to call the police and suspend the rest of the day because there is no way we can continue teaching after children have been fighting and stabbing each other. The fights can be violent and bad at times, as though it is adults that are fighting. But we are used to it now because it happens so often that you are forced to get used to it… There is not much that someone like me can do to help or change the situation of these fights.*

Once more, the unsafe schooling environment in township schools means that ZT need to take extra precautionary measures. The frequent occurrences of these learner disputes have 'numbed' the teachers and, to some degree, they have left them hopeless. Moreover, in the case of ZT, when trying to stop a fight, they need to think about themselves and their status as a Zimbabwean, before their status as a teacher: As one ZT (Theo) indicated:

> *As Zimbabweans, we first have to consider that we are Zimbabweans before we consider that we are teachers. It is a consideration that is unconscious, but it is there for our own benefit. If*

something happens to me while I try to stop these children, no one will take accountability. Right? They will just say 'sorry' if I am lucky, and life will continue. So, I have to think twice before I act on a situation.

ZT must consider the consequences and how trying to be a 'good Samaritan' might not end well for them. Additionally, there is no guarantee that the unsafe school environment is only about the learners and their gang issues. It might even happen that the violence can escalate and turn into a xenophobic attack. It may be implausible simply because it seems unrealistic, but xenophobic attacks appear to be usually senseless and unstructured. Many ZT like Eric and Theo, who are working in violent township schools, are at times forced to 'think outside of the box' and imagine a scenario that might be unfavourable for them before it is realised.

7.7 Conclusion

A 'typical day' of two different ZT was analysed to understand what teachers typically go through in terms of their everyday experiences at school. After that, the general school conditions and specific experiences of ZT as teachers at TSS were set out, before focusing on the different sets of relationships in which ZT finds themselves. The character of these relationships, with administrators, teachers and pupils, is open to significant variation such that, like in the townships more broadly, ZT have variegated experiences at the TSS. Further, there is no necessary one-on-one mapping when it comes to township and TSS experiences for ZT: while it may be that experiences in one space might reinforce experiences in the other (for instance, if friendly SAT introduce ZT to township life), hostility in one space may be countered by a welcoming environment in the other.

Chapter Eight: Case Study of Two Different Zimbabwean Teachers

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the township and school lives of two particular ZT, namely Bright and Shay. As the previous empirical chapters have demonstrated, the ZT studied are heterogeneous in terms of their experiences and perspectives. By providing the stories of two ZT, this chapter seeks to show and illustrate more fully the diversity of ZT lives in KZN province. Bright and Shay have experienced the township and school spaces in KZN province differently because of the various people and events they have encountered, as they have had to navigate these encounters and events on an everyday basis and make sense of their cultural milieu in the process. Bright and Shay have experienced SA and KZN differently because of many factors, such as their friendship circles, the communities they live in, and the people with whom they work. Their experiences guide how they interact with South Africans and their overall understanding of the space and interactions with locals.

The life story of their experiences in their different schools and townships will be compared to understand the different events that ZT can be subjected to while living and working in different KZN TSS and KZN townships. As much as SAC play an essential role in how ZT experience the space, it is important to note how ZT are co-constructors in their experiences. ZT are also active agents in SA, despite where they are placed on the social hierarchy. Their response or lack of it contributes to their experiences. It is also important to understand that ZT are part of the decision-makers in their experiences, even if they subconsciously work together with South Africans to create their experiences. Thus, Bright and Shay, in as much as they have experienced the space differently, in some ways or other, they have been accomplices in the outcomes of the experiences they have faced or avoided. At the same time, in situations where the circumstances could have been beyond their control, they remain proactive agents in the co-creation of their experiences.

The chapter will discuss the general experiences that Bright, and Shay have while in KZN townships. KZN and South African culture more broadly is discussed in terms of how Bright and Shay have interpreted the culture they have come across. After that, the chapter analyses the experiences that Bright, and Shay go through within the school environment. Their

relationships with the school administrators, SAT, and school learners will be analysed to understand how they connect with these groups.

Table 8.1: Two Zimbabwean Teachers

Name	Gender	Marital Status	Age	No. of Dependents in SA	No. of Dependents in Zimbabwe/ other	Type of Accommodation	School	Township
Bright	M	Single	49	0	4	Hostel	Teresa College	Umlazi
Shay	F	Married	31	2	0	Renting	Oak Park	Gamalakhe

Source: Fieldwork.

8.2 Bright and Shay's Social Experiences

Bright is a 49-year-old male ZT, and he has been teaching for 26 years. Of those 26 years, Bright has been teaching in South African schools for the past 12 years. He has been working in his current school, Teresa College, for six years. Shay is a 31-year-old female ZT who has been teaching for 15 years. Shay has been living and working in SA for four years. Additionally, she is married to a South African man, and they live together in Gamalakhe and they work together at Oak Park.

Bright has dependents living in Zimbabwe and he sends money to them every month. In SA, he lives alone; even though he has had past romantic relationships with South Africans, they did not work out, and they ended before they advanced to a long-term commitment. Since he lives alone and does not have any intimate partners or dependents who live with him, he has much time on his hands. He can engage with his personal needs and activities without really considering the concerns of other immediate people. For instance, socialising during the weekends with his friends is not a problem because he can mingle with them for as long as he wants. Other than socialising on weekends, Bright spends his time preparing lessons for the week and marking scripts. In Shay's world, her husband is the head of the household, but the family survives on both of their incomes. Shay is a stepmother and does not have any biological children. Her stepchildren live with her, and they attend schools within the township. For most of her time in SA, she has experienced her life through her husband and her South African

friends. Having a South African husband has been crucial for Shay in how she experiences the space and makes sense of it.

Bright has been living in Umlazi township for almost a decade, and the changes within the community have been ongoing over time. Some of these changes, such as having running water, have been welcomed, while some, especially those that have not been anticipated, have not been desirable. Xenophobic attacks are typically periodic and unpredictable, and the attacks to which Bright has been subjected while living in the township have been of this character. Because foreigners cannot prepare for the attacks, the shock can confuse them in most instances if not paralyse them. In one incident that Bright recalls vividly, he explains that in the moment, he could not reason with the locals, and he could not explain to them that he was innocent because there was simply no time to do so. The scenario did not allow for the possibility of peaceful discussions:

> *I knew it would be hard to try to fit in and be a member of the community. But I think that the hardest part with this whole thing was not being able to sleep at night after it* [a xenophobic attack] *happened because I feared for my life, and I wanted to be ready should anything come up… you know. It is not easy to try and explain to an angry group of people that you have not done anything wrong and that you are innocent. Even the weapons they carry scare you and you stop thinking. I have literally had to fight for my life here because on many occasions, Zimbabweans, and foreigners in general, have been under attack in the name of xenophobia. I looked at my life flash in front of my eyes and there was nothing I could do but pray that this will end soon.*

This experience not only physically injured Bright, but it also left an emotional and psychological scar that will always be with him. As Yehuda et al. (2015: 1) argue: "post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a condition that can develop following exposure to extremely traumatic events such as interpersonal violence, combat, life-threatening accidents or natural disasters". Because of this particular incident and the fear of future ones, Bright is prone to some of the symptoms associated with PTSD, and these condition the form and extent of his interactions within the township community. Indeed, the main xenophobic attack he experienced was both life-threatening and life-changing. He finds it almost impossible to assimilate into a space that almost killed him, metaphorically and literally. Going forward, then, such an event strongly influences how he experiences the township space and the people in it.

The future encounters that Bright has with locals will be based on the premises of past events. For example, amicably socialising with SAC after the event is challenging, if not insurmountable. The trauma arising from the xenophobic attack has brought about anger and hatred in Bright, but these emotions have led to Bright wanting to isolate himself and avoid contact with SAC. At the same time, Bright is not able to immediately leave and move to a safer environment, as finding employment as a teacher elsewhere in SA is not guaranteed. In this context, for Bright, enduring the xenophobic attacks seems to be a more feasible option than leaving and reconstructing his life somewhere else.

To reiterate from the evidence, Bright has had unpleasant experiences with SAC in the local township because of his past encounters. In fact, many of his current interactions with locals are deeply affected by the past events that still haunt him. As he explains:

> *It is hard for me to make friends with South Africans because I do not think I can trust any of them anymore. I just do not feel comfortable and like it when I am around them because I think they can do anything to me. Even when there is a function here in our place, I just watch from far and do not really partake especially if there is alcohol involved. You must keep in mind that people get killed here… not just us foreigners but also South Africans. If they can easily kill their own people, can you imagine what they will do to us? It will be so easy for them; they will not have a problem with sleeping at night.*

Considering how Bright understands SAC and in the context of his experiences with them, avoiding them or encountering them from a distance, as Bright does, makes sense. Bright notes that, if there are functions in his area, he keeps his distance because of the fear of the unknown. The fear is that he cannot necessarily predict what will happen regarding his safety and well-being. These specific encounters are what makes him avoid being around SAC. Additionally, the notion that SAC regularly kill each other puts Bright, as a Zimbabwean, in a position of outright terror. He argues that if SAC are able to kill each other as brothers and brutally, then the strangers from the rest of Africa mean nothing to them, and they can kill them (i.e. foreigners) without hesitation.

Being sceptical and extra vigilant about South Africans at and after an event is now normal for Bright, as is protecting himself from any possible unexpected danger. This means that innocent South Africans, such as ‘good’ friends, learners or colleagues who have not been xenophobic or displayed any hatred towards Bright, are unfortunately also in the crossfire. In this respect,

the xenophobic attacks that happened and compromised Bright's life and overall well-being added to his uncertainty about being around all local people. The attacks only perpetuated his discomfort and unease, such that being suspicious and hypersensitive changed his life and how he experienced the township. His narrative is one filled with pain and trauma as well as reflections upon all the negative interactions that he experiences. His is a story of negativity, as Bright does not mention happy events that have happened to him while living in KZN. He rarely speaks about anything good between himself and the locals. The only good he speaks about is getting paid month-end and sending money back home to his family.

Bright left behind his mother in Zimbabwe, who takes care of his niece and nephews who are orphaned and under his financial care. When referring to them, he says he perseveres for them:

> *Back home there is my mother and my niece and nephews who depend on me to send money every month. I cannot walk away no matter how difficult things get. I do not think I would cope if I disappointed them; that is why I wake up every day for them. I continue to live here and go through life, for them. If I lose hope, then that means I expect them to also lose hope, and that is not the message I want to send them.*

There is significant pressure that comes with being away from home, and Zimbabwean migrants like Bright carry with them their own expectations and the expectations of others. Bright feels compelled to send money back home every month and, because of this, he cannot easily resign from his employment as a teacher. The pressure to perform in this way affects many ZT in SA and trumps the possibilities of encountering hostile and xenophobic South Africans. The fear of disappointment, especially when there are dependents involved, is genuine, and it is a lived experience that Bright cannot avoid.

The likely unspoken expectations and aspirations that Bright needs to live up to include being strong as a man and enduring the troublesome circumstances that life presents. As a male and a breadwinner, there are specific demands to which Bright is exposed. As the head of the household, even though he does not physically live with other members of his household, he still has the responsibilities placed upon every household head. Undoubtedly, the way he makes sense of his life in SA and the situations he finds himself in, are highly influenced by these back-home, external responsibilities. His dependents might not necessarily know about the extreme difficulties that Bright endures for the sake of earning a living and sending money to them every month, such that Bright endures in silence.

Not all Zimbabwean foreigners or migrant workers are in a situation where they must send money back home because people depend on them. Thus, Shay, who is married to a South African man, appears to live an almost completely different life compared to Bright. In the end, because of their different life circumstances, Bright and Shay have their own specific opinions about SAC as well as their own particular encounters with them. In the case of Shay, she has no dependents in Zimbabwe. Her parents passed away, and her siblings are working across different continents. Shay has no immediate dependents but considers her stepchildren as her own. Even though she is a stepmother, Shay connects well with her stepchildren, and this positively impacts her household and her broader experience of SA.

Unlike Bright, Shay has an immediate local support structure (family and friends) that she can rely on should she be challenged by the kinds of issues that Bright has had to face. This support structure (with her husband being significant in this regard) helps her to navigate the space, thereby not forsaking her or leaving her to fumble into harm. If there is danger, her family, as South Africans, both warn and protect her. Many of her experiences and interactions with SAC have been guided and directed by her husband and under his influence. They have mutual friends, and they work at the same school, making her encounters with SAC positive, unlike for Bright. Her encounters are positive in part because her husband does not introduce her to SAC who he deems intolerant and bound to upset her. This setting of boundaries by her husband helps Shay in many ways. Certainly, she does not purposefully meet xenophobic or abrasive SAC, which could negatively impact her life experiences.

Further, this boundary helps her by allowing her to navigate the space freely because she is protected and does not fear for her life like Bright, who has many of his experiences constrained by this fear. Shay has the opportunity and privilege of exploring the space and getting to know the locals in a way unknown to Bright, and SAC can likewise get to know her outside of her role as a teacher. Because of this liberty, Shay is able to nurture the relationships she creates with locals and to eventually form social bonds outside her immediate circle and surroundings. Having friends from a range of social settings (like neighbours, church and 'mom groups') allows her to engage in social practices to which Bright is not exposed. This freedom additionally allows her to interact with SAC through exploring the idea of 'one Africa' and the rainbow nation that SA is known for, at least rhetorically. As Shay puts it:

> *My life has been different to most Zimbabweans in South Africa because of my friends and family. I am more a South African than I am a Zimbabwean. But actually, we are all one. As black people,*

that is how we should be seeing ourselves, but I know that can be impossible in South Africa. But my life in South Africa has proven that it can happen [laughs].

For Shay, being integrated into a South African way of life allows her to encounter and enact Africanism in a way that most foreigners in SA are not able to experience. Indeed, it is infrequent for black African foreigners to express their feelings of happiness because they feature somehow in the country's life. This is rare, but not absent: Shay is delighted, a happiness that is missing from Bright's story. Throughout the interview, Shay was smiling and laughing, an emotion that Bright barely expressed. The differences in how they have socially experienced SAC and the township spaces is visibly apparent and contrasting. In this respect, the critical role of SAC in configuring the lives of ZT in townships cannot be underplayed.

8.3 Engaging with Township Culture

Bright and Shay both came to SA with their own cultural norms and values from Zimbabwe. For example, in Bright's culture, the children do not call an adult by name, and he has come across something similar while in SA. He understands that young children call adults with the prefixes *sisi, bhuti, aunty, malume, mama*, or *baba* (sister, brother, aunty, uncle, mother, or father) as a sign of respect. For the most part, many young children in his area of the township refer to him as *malume* (uncle). This cultural practice is also reflected in how Shay's stepchildren and nieces and nephews refer to her. Her stepchildren call her *mama* (mother) while her nieces and nephews call her *aunty* (aunt). In SA, this cultural practice is maintained primarily within the township setting. Thus, in becoming teachers within township spaces in SA, Bright and Shay (as with other ZT) encountered commonalities across South Africa-Zimbabwe cultural arrangements and practices.

But, like all their other encounters within the township space, Bright and Shay experience township culture (and South African culture generally) in different ways. For Bright, his understanding and stance towards culture in SA, especially in KZN, is influenced by the general dispositions of local people. Put differently, the culture reflects the locals and how they present themselves to him, and hence his social encounters mediate his cultural interpretations. Because Bright has not 'positively' experienced the province and the locals, he does not 'positively' experience the culture. He has seen the culture in the practices that the locals engage in. This includes the excessive drinking and splurging (a drinking culture), which has

resulted in many violent attacks between SAC. These happenings have reiterated and confirmed the many speculations Bright had about local culture:

> *Everyone drinks here. Even the kids, they also drink. When people are drunk it becomes very unsafe to be walking around alone especially as a foreigner. South Africans are very violent… they hurt each other a lot when they are drunk. You can only imagine what they do to us when they are confident from the alcohol. The drinking is very sad because most of the people waste the little money they have on alcohol. I am not telling them what they should do with their money, but I am just making an observation that the alcohol is killing black communities.*

According to the Global Status Report by the World Health Organisation, twelve per cent of youth in SA experiment with alcohol before thirteen years of age (Ghuman et al., 2014). More broadly, alcohol plays a significant role in the lives of many South Africans, including in the KZN townships. Besides having significant direct or indirect effects on health and nutrition, this also affects the socio-cultural and economic aspects of township communities. Unsurprisingly, Bright has noticed the abuse of alcohol and the enactment of violence taking place simultaneously. As with drinking, there appears to be a culture of violence also existing in SA from Bright's perspective. Seeing children and young teenagers in particular engaging in these acts can be challenging to Bright, mainly because he is a teacher. These practices, which are both publicly audible and visual, have led Bright to refrain from engaging more fully in township life and learning more about the richness of local cultural arrangements. He has a partial understanding of it, and has lived through only a part of it. Though Shay has likely not fully immersed herself in all things cultural in the KZN townships, her experiences of local culture are almost incomparable to those of Bright.

As indicated previously, when contrasted with Bright, Shay has a much wider social exposure to SAC in the townships and feels free to engage with different sectors of township life. She has experienced the culture and lived through different events by at least observing the different rituals and customs being performed. Since she married a South African man, she has also encountered local cultural traits through the institution of marriage and through her 'new' family. Additionally, her move into the township area and away from the middle-class suburbs exposed her even more to the different aspects of KZN culture. Living in the suburbs meant that Shay was disconnected from the township and the lifestyle that the locals experienced. This disconnection made it difficult for her as a Zimbabwean to understand the realities of people she works with and the people she teaches. Shay articulated this in the following way:

Part of being African means we need to respect our history and continue our rituals. Living in South Africa, I have been exposed to a different side of being black that was not really explored back home. There are a lot of customs and rituals that are observed in South Africa that I have learnt in my marriage. We do our customs like slaughtering and there is nothing weird about it. Even if we invite the whole neighbourhood, the police will not stop us because there are too many people or because we are making a noise. That is how things are done in the townships. It is just free here.

Living in the township has given Shay a degree of freedom to be herself and manoeuvre within the space and with SAC with some ease. She observes and even practices 'traditional' customs such as slaughtering, thereby immersing herself into the local community and strengthening her relationships with locals. Though the cultures of South Africans and Zimbabweans vary in many forms and practices, the differences have not stopped Shay from trying to learn more. Compared to Bright, she has a deeper understanding of township life and the practices ingrained in this life, such that township life has become familiar and almost taken-for-granted to her. The freeness she feels is liberating, unlike Bright's reserved character and fear which restricts his movements and interactions within the township. Shay's freedom is both physical and mental, as is Bright's confinement.

Shay is not afraid of making any mistakes, because she is seen as learning the culture and is expected not to master it immediately. She has been allowed the freedom to make mistakes and will not be punished for them. If she does make mistakes, she will be corrected, and she will learn from them. This a key difference between Shay and Bright. Bright cannot even contemplate making a mistake because he fears the consequences that could be administered to him because of his mistakes. Ultimately, Shay can do as local SAC do, and she is regarded as one of them and one with them. Being in close proximity to SAC and engaging in the same cultural happenings as SAC has been essential for Shay. While Bright also lives in close proximity (physically) with the locals, he is distant and aloof both socially and culturally, such that spatial-physical closeness in-itself is not central in configuring the lives of ZT in KZN in a particular direction. Other factors, such as marriage to a SAC in the case of Shay, mediate the influence of spatial proximity. Thus, there is no template or blueprint for the manner in which ZT participate (or do not participate) in township life and the types of interactions they do (or do not have) with SAC.

8.4 School Experiences

So far, the discussion has focused exclusively on social-cultural dynamics for Bright and Shay with regard to township life broadly. The chapter now turns to school experiences more specifically. It does so by considering three types of relationships, namely, Bright and Shay's interactions with school administrators, SAT, and school learners. These three sets of relationships constitute and configure the school space for Bright and Shay in particular and diverse ways and, as a result, these relationships condition the practices, experiences and perspectives of the ZT within the school setup.

8.4.1 Relationship with School Administrators

Surprisingly, perhaps, the relationships that Bright and Shay have with their respective school administrators are very similar. Despite Bright's troublesome relationships with many South Africans, he does not refer to any significant difficulties with the administration department of the school, primarily because he knows someone from the department who usually helps him. Both Bright and Shay 'positively' experience the administration departments of their schools. Bright presents it this way:

> *I have a problem with a lot of people in South Africa, even at work, I do not mix well with the South Africans, but I have a friend, or someone I know from around my* [township] *section. Maybe that is why he is nice to me, I do not really know, and it does not matter because, out of all the people I know, he is someone who does not look at me and see a Zimbabwean. Even though Sihle* [his friend] *does not talk to me about sports or tell me about his weekend, he remains professional and helps me where he needs to. I dread going to the* [administration] *department if he is not there because I know I will have a hard time trying to get help. The others will even call him to come help me… they say 'Sihle, here is your person'* [Smiles]. *Sihle does not have a problem with foreigners, unlike the rest.*

Similarly, Shay does not have noticeable difficulties with the administration department:

> *An old colleague told me that it is important to be friends with the people from the admin*[istration] *department and buy them drinks on hot days if you have to* [Laughs]. *I came into work with that mentality from the beginning and I have not changed till now. Sometimes I buy their children birthday presents… nothing big you know. I know I cannot buy everyone drinks or birthday presents because that can be too much; but here, I have learnt that to survive, sometimes you have to do the things that other people are not willing to do. So, you can imagine what type*

of relationship I have with the admins [administrators]*... We get along very well, I do not see how we would not get along well because I do so much for them. Yes, they also do stuff for me, but it is not the same, you know.*

The experiences of Bright and Shay regarding their relationships with the administrators at their schools are similar but they do vary. For Bright, his 'positive' experience is largely shaped by an employee within the department. According to Bright, Sihle may be kind to him because they live in the same area or simply because Sihle is not xenophobic and views his colleagues without considering their citizenship. Whatever the reason, Sihle's support enhances Bright's experience of school as a positive one because, as Bright explains, the other administration department employees do not want to help him. Instead, they call Sihle to assist. When Sihle is not around, Bright faces challenges if he needs any assistance from the administration department. The difference, in Shay's case, is that she feels the need to 'repay' the administrators for merely doing their work, as if they would be uncooperative otherwise. Buying school administrators cool drinks at times is not unheard of, but buying birthday presents for their children does seem to go to the extreme, given that the administrators are employed professionals at the schools who get paid and are not in any way dependent on the 'gifts' they receive from other staff members. However, it appears as though Shay might be buying these items (out of an apparent obligation) based on the advice she got from an old colleague. Alternatively, she buys them gifts to develop solid working relations between herself, a Zimbabwean, and her South African colleagues. The gift-giving is effective for Shay, as her co-workers in the administration department help her, and she does not refer to any tension or hostility within the relationships.

8.4.2 Relationship with South African Teachers

Invariably, ZT have a relationship with SAT, whatever form these relationships take. Bright and Shay have specific relationships with SAT, and these relations highly influence how they make sense of their days within the schooling environment and the degree of fulfilment they acquire via teaching. In this light, Bright and Shay's encounters with SAT guide how they manoeuvre within their roles as ZT in SA. Bright does not have many positive encounters with SAC generally, as discussed already, and this includes SAT specifically. The relationship between Bright and SAT can be seen in the following interview extract with Bright:

I go to work because I need the money, not because I enjoy going to work. No one can enjoy a place that kills you daily. In this country, Zimbabweans are just tolerated, and I know this because South Africans also tolerate me. The sad part is that they do not even give you a chance to prove them wrong. I have worked with other South Africans outside of the country and I can say that the issue is here in South Africa. South Africans in the country just do not make things easy for us. But when they are working in other countries, they expect to be treated properly… as if they treat us properly in their country.

The remarks by Bright are interesting in that, outside of the country, SAT and other South Africans are said to work well with Zimbabweans, but issues arise when they are in SA. It could be that the nagging issue of South African exceptionalism perpetuates the rejection of black African foreigners in the country. Further, considering Bright's remarks, working with SAT in SA is a challenge because SAT do not seek to have their myths about ZT dispelled. Unfounded assumptions, misconceptions, and labels are maintained because of their refusal to engage with ZT on an equal and harmonious basis. From Bright's perspective, engaging with ZT can dismantle stereotypes, stigma, and misinformation about migrant teachers amongst SAT. For Bright, when it comes to his relations with SAT, school is a space of alienation and marginalisation, with SAT rejecting him on the grounds that he is not one of them – without giving him the opportunity to prove or disprove the assumptions they have about ZT. It is a difficult situation for Bright, as he takes on the burdens of being a foreigner in a xenophobic country.

Bright must endure the lack of resources and inadequate learning material available at the school, but he must also endure the undermining of his character and insults from some of his colleagues (and his learners). This ill-treatment has existed throughout Bright's extended stay in the country, and he finds it unacceptable coming from colleagues at work (i.e., SAT). He sees absolutely no justification or legitimate reason for having to suffer such abuse, as teachers are expected to be professional in their workplace. In the end, Bright has experienced xenophobia in many different ways, and it has presented itself as an evil with multiple faces. He explains this more clearly when he states that:

I knew that coming to South Africa was going to change my life in some way… good and bad. You come to South Africa knowing that the challenges will keep coming and they will not stop till you are back in Zim [Zimbabwe] *or are dead. It was no surprise to me when my colleagues would call me names like '*isilima*' [fool] and '*mubiza*' [ugly] because I am Zimbabwean. I just expected*

them to at least be professional. They do not have to like me, but they must at least respect me because I also respect them, as colleagues.

Like most Zimbabwean immigrants, Bright came into SA to seek employment and create a better life for himself and his family back home. The entrenched violence in SA has normalised injustices like xenophobia, with SAC often rationalising xenophobic perspectives and practices through claims about foreigners taking jobs. Because of this, Bright continues to relive his traumas by experiencing (verbal) violent treatment from his teaching colleagues.

Being called names is not only a hard knock on his self-esteem, but it also creates an inconducive work environment, which may have negative indirect implications for the learning environment of students. Teaching in an environment where there is tension and antagonism between colleagues undercuts the necessary teamwork. This is particularly pertinent for township schools as these schools are underprivileged when it comes to resources and learner support systems. For most of his teaching experience in SA, Bright has not experienced inclusionary efforts that try to bring about and maintain teamwork. As he put it:

I know my colleagues do not like me. They do not hide that from me. I do not care because we are not here to like each other, we are here to work. My only problem is when their hatred starts to affect our work. Sometimes I am not told about staff meetings, and they happen without me. Nobody bothers to inform me or even come look for me when the meeting is happening, I cannot do anything if I have missed the meeting. That is beyond my control. Even when the teachers gossip about me with the learners and ask about my teaching, it is hard to continue like nothing is wrong when you are being discussed with kids. I have to keep a straight face and move on.

As a Zimbabwean and as a teacher, Bright's experiences at the township school have been characterised by negative tendencies. It is his Zimbabwean-ness that seems to condition if not fully determine the types of relationships he is able (or not able) to establish with SAT. He is mistreated because of how Zimbabweans more broadly in SA are depicted by SAC.

Part of the isolation and exclusionary measures carried on at the school appear to be designed to ensure that Bright is presented as an incompetent teacher. Certainly, for a teacher, missing meetings is interpreted as incompetent and unprofessional. The fact that SAT gossip with learners about Bright (as a ZT) reinforces the image of Bright as an incompetent teacher unworthy of being employed at the township school. Because he cannot avoid the school space by not coming to work, his coping mechanisms (or ways of dealing with the exclusion) entail

pretending that the situation at the school is normal or fine, or at least to ignore what is swirling around him by focusing on his teaching responsibilities. This is not a solution to his challenges in the long run, as it does not address or solve the problem of anti-Zimbabwean-ness; rather, it is a way to cope with the problem. For Bright, trying to ignore the gossiping, isolation and marginalisation at his school does not only require him to endure through the embarrassment, as it is also a dehumanising experience that he must live through. It is exhausting for him because he has emotions and limits like everyone else.

Regarding how the two teachers relate to SAT as ZT in the country, Shay has a different set of experiences compared to Bright. Shay, for example, can socialise with her colleagues during tea and lunch breaks in the staffroom area, and she and the SAT speak openly about what they did over the weekend, about events during their day or even about their personal lives in general. This is an experience that Bright is yet to encounter while in KZN township schools. Furthermore, Shay socialises with her South African colleagues during school events such as sports days or music competitions. These events usually take place on weekends or after school during the week. This does not mean that Shay is unaware of the presence of possible anti-foreigner attitudes amongst her SAT colleagues. On this basis, Shay explains her connections as follows:

> *I spend a lot of time with South African teachers because I am a music teacher. I see it as not having a choice because we travel a lot with the teachers and the kids. I cannot speak to the children all the time, I have to make conversation with my colleagues, especially if we are the only adults there. So I just told myself that if someone does not like me and I have to work with them, I will not entertain their behaviour. They will eventually like me because I do not want to make things awkward for myself. And besides that, I am an open person, it will take a lot for me to be disheartened by someone especially if they do not like me just because I am a Zimbabwean.*

Shay is far more deeply immersed in South African society than Bright and most of the other ZT, in part because of her marriage to a South African. This has given her a level of comfort, confidence and self-assurance in handling any anti-ZT stances circulating at her school. Possibly, because of her 'high spirits' in this regard, Shay tends to deal with such situations head-on, unlike Bright. In this way, she does not allow SAT to get in the way of performing her teaching functions to the best of her ability, irrespective to what any SAT might think or say about her. In fact, her approach tends to prevent any xenophobic attitudes and practices amongst SAT from emerging in the first place, such that overt tension does not arise. It is the

SAT who remain silent, not the ZT as in the case of Bright. Shay is able to openly negotiate the school space, whereas Bright is not given the opportunity to do so (as if imprisoned in a straight-jacket).

To reiterate, Shay has some advantage within the school because she is married to a South African and because of her well-established relations with other South Africans generally: these kinds of relations not only structure her township life, but also her school life. Shay has been in SA for four years only, and she previously worked in Durban's CBD before moving to the township and working at Oak Park School. Shay interacts with her South African teaching colleagues not only at work but also after work on social media platforms and in person. Their relationship is thus not confined merely to the school premises, as they interact outside of school in social settings. She explains how their communication continues on social media platforms and that (as co-workers) they are also close friends:

> *We have a WhatsApp group that we discuss our holiday trips and general issues that we have as adults. We also share recipes in that group… we even discuss our in-laws* [laughs]. *We are close friends; we do not just speak about school all the time. Many people are friends with their colleagues, and they do things together, we are not the only group that is friends with each other.*

The relationship that Shay has with her colleagues is a relationship that extends beyond the school building, schoolwork, and school problems. Whether on the school premises or not, they speak about their professional work and they speak about their personal affairs. In this respect, Shay does not feel different from the SAT, as a foreigner intruding within the space of the SAT. For Shay, the interactions and encounters with SAT inside and outside school are 'normal', as they act together like any other group of friends would, without concerns about origins and citizenship. The shared activities after school and the activities that are not school related strengthen their relationship, suggesting that they are more than colleagues. Shay has been able to establish a healthy work environment conducive for the school and her colleagues, but it is also suitable for her personally and as a teacher.

8.4.3 Relationship with School Learners

Bright is a grade 10-12 Mathematics teacher at Teresa College, a high school with an approximate population of 1,200 learners. Like any other teacher working at a TSS in SA, Bright is faced with a myriad of structural problems at the school and these problems affect how he engages with his work and with the learners more specifically. These problems include

overcrowding, understaffing, poor infrastructure, poor learner material, and the extra work required to teach students from low-income households. Overcrowding and inadequate teaching material for example add to the teaching strain to which Bright is subjected, because it affects the learning dynamics in the classroom, including how he teaches and how he tries to present himself in the classroom. As Bright articulated this:

> *Sometimes we have fifty learners in a class and there are no textbooks. I have tried to communicate with the principal, but it has been a problem since I arrived here, and I doubt it will ever be fixed. Most of these learners do not pay attention; only the serious ones listen when you teach. Their exams show that they do not listen in class and they have no idea what is going on. Teaching here is hard compared to the other schools I have taught at. All I can do is prepare them for the tests and exams, but I cannot write for them.*

Nationally, these problems in TSS have been documented for many years, yet they endure and remain unresolved. The notion that only the 'serious' learners are active in class suggests that the rest are inattentive, making teaching and learning difficult for those who want to participate. The chaos caused by the imbalance in the teacher-learner ratio in the class contributes to the disturbances and lack of attention that some pupils show. Masitsa (2004: 214) thus explains that "in the township, secondary school's underachievement has been found to be mainly due to the medium of instruction, overcrowding, truancy and a shortage of textbooks", a point that resembles what Bright has experienced and spoken about regarding teaching at a KZN TSS. Bright (and other teachers) occasionally teaches fifty odd learners in a class. Yet, in 2012, the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga stated that "the maximum recommended learner-educator ratio for South African primary schools is 40:1 and for secondary schools 35:1" (Marais, 2016: 1). Bright, along with many others, suffers from burnout because of the intense pressure involved in teaching learners and preparing them for assessments.

Bright's self-esteem and confidence as a teacher is affected by his work relationship with his colleagues, as noted earlier, but it is also undermined by the learners. The confidence that he should have in the class as a qualified and experienced teacher, and as an adult amongst younger ones, is negatively affected and compromised. It is difficult and stressful for Bright to work with colleagues who gossip about him and outright disregard his presence. However, it is a different and more troublesome difficulty and challenge to teach learners who disregard his authority. The discipline of TSS learners is close to ungovernable and this means that the authority of teachers like Bright, who are already marginalised in the school, is not even

recognised. Most teachers of course, whether they are Zimbabwean or South African, face ill-discipline issues amongst learners in TSS, but the situation for Bright is particularly challenging. The possible outward expression of xenophobic attitudes amongst learners is strengthened because Bright is isolated from his teaching colleagues.

To the contrary, Shay's relationship with the learners in her school is no different from the relationship she has with her colleagues. There is no mention or any emphasis by her about being a foreigner from the perspective of her learners. Her relationship with the learners is not limited to schoolwork and school issues, as their relationship also addresses personal issues with which the learners are challenged. The way she relates to the learners is unrelated to her status as a Zimbabwean, but it has everything to do with her being a teacher and adult. Shay expressed it this way:

> *It has been beneficial even for me to move to the township because I can engage more with the people I work with now that I am living with them. Even going to school and interacting with the kids, I understand them more and their situations at home. I can understand that parental support is minimal because their parents are dead or working and they do not have time to help them with their homework, so I am more sensitive to issues like that. This has made me be a part of those kids and not be an outsider who cannot relate to them. All teachers need to know more about the learners and not just their names, especially the kids that we teach in the townships… they are going through a lot at a young age.*

Shay can better understand the learners and their backgrounds because of her close relationship with them. They disclose personal matters with her, and this strengthens their bond, hence enhancing her role and status as a teacher. As a ZT who might not be completely familiar with the lives and backgrounds of South African township learners, her teaching experiences have been enriched by this positive breakthrough. Most importantly for Shay, this integrates her into the school community, as she is considered as a bona fide teacher at the school and not as a Zimbabwean working at the school.

Shay argues that if teachers are not relatable, the learners will have difficulty connecting with them. Compared to Bright, Shay has a more intimate relationship with South Africans broadly, thus being able to connect with the learners at her school more easily. Bright has a more distant relation with South Africans, which influences his dynamics with the learners. It is not as if Bright does not recognise and understand the day-to-day problems of township life for his learners. Rather, he is not given the opportunity to empathise and engage with them, because a

wall has been built around him at the school. For Shay, because of her overall experiences and relationships in SA, it makes sense why she is so close to the learners and how she can learn more about them and connect so well with them. For Bright, his overall experiences and relationships entail a rift in his relations with SAT and this, in turn, affects his relations with his learners. Additionally, the way the learners relate and respond to him, unmediated by SAT's influence on learners' views about Zimbabweans, does not alleviate the situation but only widens the gap.

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the chapter analysed the differences between Bright and Shay. Bright and Shay are two ZT who experience KZN townships and KZN TSS differently, primarily because of the SAC around them. The SAC around them affect how they experience life in KZN based on how they mingle with them. In their encounters with them, they can shape and even guide their experiences in so far as to how they make sense of KZN. With the school experiences, Bright and Shay experience this environment differently based on how SAC relate to them. In the study, the SAC from the school environment consists of the administrators, SAT, and school learners. Bright and Shay have significantly different experiences though a few similarities were highlighted. Their overall encounters with the locals and with the spaces (township and school) are very different. Since their differences are so noticeable, it was important to compare them to emphasise how there is no manual to experience the spaces and that each and every ZT has to find their own way through the spaces, with or without help.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The objective of this thesis was to understand the social and cultural experiences of ZT in KZN townships and secondary schools in these townships. In doing so, it focused on their varied ways of navigating and manoeuvring through the townships and the township schools on a day-to-day basis, including their negotiated interaction and interfacing with others, mainly SAC – including township residents, teachers, administrators and pupils. This concluding chapter summarises the main findings of the thesis, primarily in relation to the subsidiary objectives of the thesis and, by extension, the main objective. The chapter will firstly indicate the ways in which the empirical findings address the subsidiary goals of the research. On this basis, the chapter then shows how the main objective was addressed. It does so by also indicating how the analytical framing for the thesis (i.e., social interface theory) provided a strong for addressing the main objective as well as the contribution of this thesis to the pertinent scholarly literature. The chapter ends by outlining certain limitations of the study and possible suggestions for future research. To remind the reader, the main objective of thesis was to offer *a sociological analysis of the socio-cultural experiences* o*f Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and township secondary schools in South Africa.*

9.2 Addressing the Subsidiary Objectives

The first secondary goal or objective was to understand why Zimbabwean teachers seek employment as teachers in KZN province. This objective was addressed in different chapters, including chapters three, four, five and eight. There is no one uniform answer for why all ZT seek employment in SA (and specifically KZN) because of the multiple interconnected factors that condition the lives of individual ZT in various ways. However, with the Zimbabwean crisis affecting detrimentally the life-paths of Zimbabweans from all walks of life, it is not surprising to discover that there are significant numbers of ZT in South Africa. Like so many of their fellow citizens, the crisis in Zimbabwe has compelled many ZT to leave the country in search of a better future. They look not only for a better future for themselves, but also for their families which are often left behind. Even though some ZT may move to Europe in search of employment, South Africa is far more convenient in terms of cost of moving and ongoing contact with family back home. This is despite the overall xenophobic climate in SA, of which most ZT are fully aware before leaving Zimbabwe. This is because coming to SA was a bridge

that they hoped would allow them to move from their previous precarious life to a more secure and prosperous life. Working in SA meant that they were in a financially-strong position to remit money to family not living in SA, while simultaneously taking care of family who lived with them in SA. Economic reasons were thus of great significance in moving to SA, but it is also the case that many teachers in Zimbabwe suffered political persecution as they were seen as aligned to the opposition movement.

The second subsidiary goal was to identify the range of socio-cultural encounters experienced by Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and schools. Chapters three, five, six, seven and eight (and especially chapters six and seven) speak directly to the issue of socio-cultural encounters experienced by ZT in KZN townships. The province of KZN, like SA more broadly, has its own set of socio-cultural norms, values and practices (or life-world). Zimbabweans, as foreigners (with their own life-world), come and share the township and school spaces of KZN with South Africans, and they need to navigate these spaces in very sensitive ways. Like any society, some KZN township residents are very territorial, and this can be presented in violent and hostile forms via Afrophobia. However, not all ZT experience rejection and ostracisation, whether in the townships generally or at the schools. There is a significant spectrum in terms of the kinds of interfaces which exist, with some ZT experiencing forms of inclusivity. Thus, there are two broad trends regarding socio-cultural encounters: one is rejection, and the other is acceptance, with many shades in between. Variables such as different dynamics across townships and schools, gender, language (and accents) and length of stay seemed to be of important in understanding this variation. Though 'aliens' within the spaces of a 'host', Zimbabweans enacted agency in their navigation of daily interfaces and became co-constructors (with SAC) in configuring the differential character of socio-cultural encounters.

The third secondary goal was to investigate the various challenges faced by Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal township secondary schools and the township sites. Chapters three, four, five, seven and eight all discuss the different challenges that ZT experience in KZN townships and KZN TSS, and in SA generally. These chapters highlight the challenges from a general/similar perspective (what the ZT commonly face), but they further discuss the challenges on a micro level (focusing on diverse, individual experiences). The burdens faced by TSS in SA inevitably affect TSS in KZN. Consequently, ZT who teach in these schools will feel the effects of poor infrastructure, low teacher morale, inadequate resources and, among

other problems, township inequalities impacting directly on the schools. The challenges are interconnected and ZT (along with other teachers at the schools) work under very strenuous conditions. Of course, townships problems for ZT do not end within the school walls, as they live themselves in the townships of KZN and experience the daily hardships as well, including deficient service delivery and poor township infrastructure (including in relation to water, electricity and sanitation). Regrettably, as well, this includes township violence generally and, for foreigners like ZT in particular, xenophobic tendencies amongst SAC. Claims of witchcraft and sorcery amongst black African foreigners are sometimes used by SAC in township spaces as a basis of removing the unwanted other – *amakwerekwere.*

The fourth secondary objective was to understand the perceptions and practices of South African citizens in KZN as they interact with Zimbabwean teachers. Chapter three, four, six and seven address the issue of how SAC (in the townships and the schools) perceive ZT in their space and how these perceptions configure the daily interfaces which ZT navigate. In this respect, there is diversity, as SAC may contribute to configuring these interfaces in ways which are life-affirming for ZT or as life-threatening. Many SAC (including South African teachers) mingled socially with ZT and were able to create healthy and respectful relationships with the ZT. Indeed, some SAC perceived ZT as Africans and reaffirmed the notions and principles of ubuntu in interfacing with ZT, which ZT typically reciprocated. Other SACs had a more distant and fragile relationship with ZT and saw them as intruders in spaces where they did not rightfully belong. For SAC living in the KZN townships, circumstances of poverty, inequality, and marginalisation are a constant reminder of their vulnerability circumstances, and they may turn to criticising and condemning ZT and other black foreigners instead of critically appraising their own government's failures. Thus, their frustrations are taken out on vulnerable Zimbabweans instead of holding government accountable.

The fifth and last subsidiary goal was to analyse the ways in which Zimbabwean teachers in KZN negotiate and handle these encounters over time. Chapter five, six, seven and eight discuss how, overtime, ZT try to make sense of the conditions in which they find themselves and they navigate through township and school spaces with the recognition that serious challenges might arise at any time. For ZT, one of the difficulties they experience in negotiating the space is that they have the sense that they are under constant scrutiny, and thus they try not to put one foot out of step. This is particularly the case during their early years of living and working in SA as a foreign teacher. Some ZT seem to recognise only difference in what they

first encounter in KZN townships, while others see less of a discontinuity in their lives and the lives they encounter in the townships. Whatever their perception, they tend to act accordingly. Because of this, some ZT were able to immerse themselves relatively smoothly into township life, yet others stood more aloof and isolated themselves. For many marginalised foreigners in SA, they find comfort and solace in each other's company, and they unite and experience the 'alien' space together. The early experiences of ZT tended to be quite formative experience and seemed to set many ZT along a particular pathway over time. The key point though is that there was no one pathway for all ZA, and there is no inevitability that a particular ZT will remain for all time on one specific pathway.

9.3 Addressing the Primary Objective

The main objective of the thesis is to offer *a sociological analysis of the socio-cultural experiences of Zimbabwean teachers in KwaZulu-Natal townships and township secondary schools.* Indirectly, and in combination, the five subsidiary objectives address this main objective. The socio-cultural experiences of ZT, as indicated, are diverse and contingent upon a variety of conditions. They are not one-dimensional but rather multi-faceted, including by way of interacting with a diverse array of SAC (both in the schools and outside school boundaries). Though some ZT may want to isolate themselves, they cannot get away from the fact that they live in particular spaces within KZN and must interact with SAC. These experiences, though, are not simply imposed upon them, despite the power differentials which weigh against foreigners (such as ZT) in SA. The ZT enact agency and they are co-constructors of the negotiated interfacing in which they engage alongside SAC. Just as the perspectives and practices of SAC structure the interfaces, so do the perspectives and practices of ZT. This may entail reinforcing any differences existing between the life-worlds of SAC and ZT, or it might involve transcending difference by entering to some extent into the life-world of SAC. In this way, some ZT prefer to merely live in the KZN township spaces while retaining their distinctiveness, while others are more prepared to integrate themselves into the 'host' community.

In pursuing the main objective of the thesis, the study was framed in terms of Social Interface Theory. As an actor-orientated social theory, it was important in foregrounding the agency of ZT, and the ways in which the ZT negotiate their lives at the interfaces of life-worlds. While social interface theory recognises, as does this thesis, that no two life-worlds amount to an absolute difference, the ZT and SAC interviewed all highlighted (if only implicitly) the

relevance of identifying two different socio-cultural arrangements (labelled as life-worlds in this thesis). They also appeared to indicate that any interactions and relationships between themselves entailed a recognition of difference, whether attaching importance to this or not. This involved questions around such issues as food, language, traditions, violence, crime, and lifestyle. All the ZT in the study viewed KZN socially and culturally different than their life-world, but there was no fixed way on their part of handling this difference in seeking to establish themselves in KZN.

There is no claim that there is one homogeneous lifeworld for all ZT, one flattened process of negotiation for these teachers, and one form of adjustment for all; and neither is this the case with other groups of KZN township residents. Instead, life-worlds are internally differentiated. As well, the thesis does not seek to argue that life-worlds are devoid of any overlap, as there are commonalities across seemingly different life-worlds; it is only on this basis that ZT were able to negotiate in the first place. The overlapping of life-worlds is an occurrence that cannot be denied and evaded because these are humans living in a common world and not in total isolation from each other. In general, the level and form of newness of KZN townships – as an institutional and social space – also varies across ZT. It is thus vital to consider the diverse ways in which ZT negotiate the KZN township social space, whether this entails a massive shock and subsequent alienation, adjustment over time, or assimilation into the life-world(s) of South Africans

Interface theory speaks directly to how human agents, in their daily activities, seek to understand their world (including a world of difference) and to act out this understanding in contingent ways through micro-interfaces. The notion of navigation is apt because it recognises that interfacing involves choices – choices which are not necessarily pre-planned, as what takes place in daily interfacing is co-constructed and thus can move into many directions. Thus, the relevance of the social interface theory for this study is clear. It is of value in demonstrating the coming together of life-worlds and the agency of ZT along interfaces. This allowed me to identify and examine the dynamic ways of daily negotiation amongst ZT in an uncertain place in an uncertain time.

As chapters three and four show, there is scholarly literature on Zimbabweans in foreign countries (including in SA) as well as literature about teachers (including ZT) teaching in foreign lands. This existing literature is important. But it is rare to come across literature which speaks to the range and diversity in the socio-cultural lives of foreign teachers, as this thesis

does in the case of ZT in KZN. This is a key contribution of this thesis to the existing literature, as is the use of social interface theory – the value of this theory in facilitating an understanding of the structuring of socio-cultural experiences through daily interfaces comes out clearly in this thesis.

9.4 Suggestions for Future Research

A number of possibilities arise from this study in terms of further research. This would entail for instance studying other types of secondary schools, including rural schools, private schools or former Model C schools, to identify if the socio-cultural experiences of ZT vary across types of schools. This could also include a study in a different province, or different provinces, of SA, thereby allowing for the development of a comprehensive comparative analysis. In this way, the findings might identify even greater diversity in the socio-cultural experiences of ZT in South Africa. Furthermore, this study was in large part ZT focused – further studies could focus more fully on the perspectives and practices of SAC in relation to ZT, to understand more deeply the ways in which they contribute to the co-construction of social interfaces.

With the detrimental effects of racism, xenophobia and now Afrophobia in South Africa, it would also be interesting to know how white ZT in SA experience the space of post-apartheid SA. How are their experiences different from black Zimbabweans' experiences? How are white Zimbabweans living and working in SA depicted and understood by SAC? Are they recognised and categorised as 'foreigners' and, consequently, subject to the marginalisation that many black Zimbabweans endure from Afrophobic SAC? Or are they excluded from the Zimbabwean nation and lumped into white SA?

Finally, a focus on different gender identities might produce different and more complex findings. This study was not inclusive of the different genders as it remained heterosexually cisgendered (in part because of the suppression of sexual exploration and expression, as Zimbabwe is a deeply patriarchal society that favours heterosexuality). Different gender identities amongst ZT might experience the space and encounters with SAC differently because of how society understands and defines them.

Hopefully, this thesis has contributed to raising further vital questions for research about black African foreign teachers within South African (including KZN) secondary schools and their townships, and certainly beyond. The socio-cultural experiences of African (specifically

Zimbabwean) foreign teachers are essential in the comprehensive debate of black African foreigners in South Africa.

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Appendix A: Interview Schedule: South African Citizens

1. What are your views with having foreigners in South Africa?
2. How have you experienced living with foreigners in the township?
3. How are foreigners welcomed in your township?
4. How (if applicable) have you made the space comfortable for foreigners?
5. How have you experienced living with Zimbabwean teachers in your township?
6. What relationship do you have with Zimbabwean teachers living and working in your township?
7. Have you perceived/understood Zimbabweans differently now that you live with them?
8. Do you think foreigners are safe in this township?
9. What forms of deliberate isolation (if any) are implemented to exclude foreigners from township lifestyle?
10. Do you have any interactions or friendships with any Zimbabwean teachers in your township?
11. Have you socially or culturally interacted with Zimbabwean migrants by including them in your social or cultural activities?

Appendix B: Interview Schedule: Zimbabwean Teachers

1. Where about in Zimbabwe are you from?
2. How long have you been living and working in South Africa?
3. What were your reasons for coming to South Africa?
4. How did you experience South Africa when you initially arrived?
5. How have you socially and culturally experienced KwaZulu-Natal and your township?
6. Do you have any friends (local or not) around?
7. How have you interfaced with the locals?
8. Have you experienced any form of violence (directly or indirectly)?
9. How have you negotiated the space with the locals?
10. How (if applicable) have you adjusted into your new social milieu?
11. Do you have any dependents (South Africa or elsewhere)?
12. Do you send any remittances to them?
13. What have your encounters with South African citizens been like?
14. Have you worked in urban schools (outside of the township) in South Africa?
15. What challenges have you come across while teaching in KwaZulu-Natal township schools?
    a. Finding permanent employment in South Africa?
    b. Professional marginalisation?
    c. Teacher stress/low morale?
    d. Judgment based on (citizenship/accents/teaching technique)?
16. What is your relationship with school administrators like?
17. What is your relationship with South African teachers like?
18. What is your relationship with school learners like?

Appendix C: Interview Schedule: South African Teachers and School Administrators

1. How long have you been teaching for?
2. What are your views on the education system in South Africa?
3. How have you experienced teaching in the townships?
    a. Teaching environment: (colleagues/resources/equipment)?
    b. Have you experienced occupational stress/low teacher morale?
    c. What is the root of your unhappiness in the profession?
    d. What is your teacher – learner relationship?
    e. How do you implement learner discipline?
4. Have you worked outside of the townships?
5. What challenges come with teaching at a township secondary school?
6. How do you overcome these challenges?
7. What working environment do you create and maintain with your colleagues?
8. How have you experienced working with Zimbabwean teachers?
9. How have you tried to accommodate them as migrant workers in South Africa?
10. Do you have any preferences regarding who you work with (e.g., South African/Zimbabwean teachers)?

Appendix D: Consent Form

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Name of researcher: Andile Daki

Brief description of the research topic: The aim of the research is to sociologically analyse the social and cultural experiences of Zimbabwean teachers living and working in South Africa. The case study site is KwaZulu-Natal townships and township secondary schools.

Declaration

1. I confirm that the purpose of the research and the nature of my participation have been explained to me verbally and in writing;
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason - however I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate;
3. I understand that data collected during the study, will be used by the researcher and that my personal details gathered during this research, especially my name or identity, will be kept private;
4. I agree to be interviewed and to allow audio recording and transcription to be made of the interview;
5. The researcher has informed me that the recording and interview transcript will be erased once the report is written.

Signature of participant:

Signature of the researcher:

Date: