MIGRANT TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF TEACHING IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN JOHANNESBURG

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A study submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's degree in Geography education, School of Social Sciences, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal: Edgewood campus.

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OCTOBER 2014

DECLARATION

I, Lucille-Dawn Anganoo, declare that this research study presents my original work and it has not been previously submitted for any degree or examination at any other University.

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Signature   Date

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Supervisor   Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I hereby express my gratitude to the following who contributed to the completion of this research study:

- First and foremost I would like to thank my Lord, Jesus Christ for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, understanding and strength to complete this thesis. With God all things are possible!

- Thank you to my mentor and supervisor, Dr. S. Manik. You have been my strong support throughout this research study. I appreciate your motivation; patience and encouragement in helping me complete this thesis.

- To my dear parents, thank you from the bottom of my heart for always being my biggest fan and cheering me on even when this thesis seemed like a never ending race to reach the finish line.

- I would like to thank my sister, Dianne because she was there for me in so many ways. Not only did she proofread my thesis and read it for content, she was constantly there to help me when I didn't think I could continue.

- My fiancé, Shannan Naidoo: thank you for being so considerate and understanding; and also sacrificing our time together so that this study can be completed.

- To my friend, Faeeza Shaik, who was always willing and able to offer me transportation to conduct my interviews with the various participants that I otherwise would not have been able to attend, as well as her continuous words of inspiration.

- To all my colleagues at work; all your support and best wishes was noted and highly appreciated.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all the participants of this research study. I hope that this thesis sheds new light in bringing forth positive transformation on migrant teachers' primary school experiences in the host country in the future.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABET   Adult Basic Education and Training

COMSEC   Commonwealth Secretariat

CTRP   Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol

DBE   Department of Basic Education

DHA   Department of Home Affairs

DHET   Department of Higher Education and Training

DoE   Department of Education

EI   Educational International

EFA   Education for All

EMS   Economic and Management Sciences

FET   Further Education and Training

FGD   Focus Group Discussion

FP   Foundation Phase

GDE   Gauteng Department of Education

HET   Higher Education and Training

HOD   Head of Department

ID   Identity Document

IP   Intermediate Phase

IPET   Initial Professional Education of Teachers

MDC   Movement for Democratic Change

MDG   Millennium Development Goals

NAPTOSA   National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

NPDE   National Professional Diploma in Education

OBE   Outcomes Based Education

OHP   Over-Head Projector

OTT   Overseas Trained Teachers

PERSAL   Personnel Salary System

PGCE   Post Graduate Certificate in Education

PTRs   Pupil Teacher Ratios

PTUZ   Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe

RDP   Reconstruction and Development Programme

SA   South Africa

SACE   South African Council of Educators

SADC   Southern African Development Community

SADTU   South African Democratic Teachers' Union

SAHRC   South African Human Rights Commission

SAMP   Southern African Migration Project

SAQA   South African Qualifications Authority

SGB   School Governing Body

UAE   United Arab of Emirates

UIS   Unesco Institute for Statistics

UK   United Kingdom

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

US   United States

USD   United States Dollar

ZANU PF   Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZAR   South African Rand

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the reasons why migrant teachers were teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg and it also explored what were migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg. The data draws from a qualitative study using interviews and a focus group discussion. The findings indicate that the majority of the teachers migrating into Johannesburg are of Zimbabwean descent and seasoned teachers. The pull factors for this move included a desire for political, economic and educational advancements. Half of the sample migrated as tied 'movers', following their spouses to Johannesburg. Many migrant teachers have had mostly negative experiences. Inefficiencies by the Department of Home Affairs; temporary contracts causing instability; ill-disciplined learners; xenophobic attitudes and subject discrimination were key experiences of the migrant teachers in Johannesburg primary schools.

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Teacher migration is a phenomenon which gained momentum in the early 2000's with developing countries from the Commonwealth drawing attention to their loss of teachers to developed countries which were targeting selected teachers for recruitment. Manik (2011a) explained that the migration of teachers from Commonwealth countries in the South to countries in the North captured sufficient attention due to political commentary (such as that by the Caribbean education minister and Kader Asmal, the South African education minister during Nelson Mandela's reign) which led to the development of a Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (2004) and the birth of a Commonwealth Council on the Mobility and Migration of Teachers in 2010. The education systems of developing countries were being threatened due to their loss of teachers. Many studies undertaken by scholars indicated a South to North teacher migration that was occurring at this time, for example, teachers from South Africa (SA) leaving for the UK (Manik, 2005); Caribbean teachers to the United Kingdom (UK) (Miller, 2011); Filipino teachers to the United States of America (USA) (Lederer, 2011) and the migration of Indian teachers from India to the USA and UK (Sharma, 2011).

Teachers' experiences were later made public such as their recruitment experiences and abuse (See Lederer, 2011 for Filipino teacher migration to the United States and Manik, 2006 for SA teacher migration to the UK). The loss of teachers from developing countries was such that international interventions were required to safeguard both teachers and nation states. The concern raised by these countries led to the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP) as stated above being drawn to protect countries and migrant teachers globally (a discussion on the CTRP can be found in section 2.9.1).

1.2 Migrant teachers from SA emigrating to the UK

In the context of South Africa (SA), teachers emigrating to the UK and their return raised many concerns due to the loss of qualified teachers from SA (Manik, 2005; Appleton, Sives and Morgan, 2006; Manik, Maharaj and Sookrajh, 2006; and De Villiers, 2011). Manik (2005) explained that teachers left SA for multiple reasons such as unhappiness with the SA

teaching profession, the influence from recruitment agencies providing improved salaries; travel enticements and social networks. She further stated that "increased workloads linked to a lack of appreciation of teachers' inputs in SA schools (particularly public schools) paved the way for teachers' decisions to migrate" to the UK (Manik, 2005, p. 97). The British currency (pound) was an attractive incentive for emigration to the UK because it was the strongest currency and is still presently. Since international recruitment agencies were hiring teachers from SA, this deepened the shortage of teachers in SA as these agencies only wanted to fill the teaching needs in the UK at the expense of developing countries to reach their education targets.

Manik, Maharaj and Sookrajh (2006) stated that among South African teachers, job dissatisfaction was given as a key reason for teachers leaving the country. Reasons for such dissatisfaction were primarily associated with new changes in the educational policies together with poor school management and increased workloads; poor remuneration, the reduction of teachers' leave days; the implementation of outcomes-based education (OBE) and the uncertainty faced by temporary teachers, among other reasons. Teachers who chose to migrate did so because they felt that they were economically marginalized professionals in SA, in addition to feeling that they were not adequately re-trained to teach within the new educational paradigm which involved outcomes based education.

South Africa was not only an exporter of teachers; it has also started attracting teachers from afar.

1.3 Teacher Immigration: migrant teachers in the SA context

Appleton et al (2006) stated that in order to address the teacher shortage problem, especially at secondary level (and particularly in mathematics and science disciplines), provinces in South Africa (such as Limpopo) did turn to other countries for the provision of teachers, thus SA became both a 'sending and receiving' country for migrant teachers. Immigration in the context of SA is a newly emerging phenomenon since South Africa has opened its borders upon becoming a democracy. There have been few studies on teacher immigration in the context of SA. For example Manik (2011b) engaged in a study on Zimbabwean teachers in Kwa-Zulu Natal province and Singh (2013) undertook a study on Zimbabwean teachers in Limpopo province and Keevy, Green and Manik (2014) undertook a national study on foreign teachers in public schools in SA.

Interestingly, Manik (2011b) noted that the South-South migration of teachers did not attract much international interest until recently. She reported that there is a dearth of research unpacking SA as a receiving country for migrant teachers. She explained that it appeared that there is significant numbers of Zimbabwean teachers in SA. However, whilst she has stated that there were studies undertaken in South Africa, which emphasized the predicament of unskilled Zimbabweans, who were enthusiastic to earn a living in SA, there was no understanding of Zimbabwean teachers' experiences in SA. This provided the rationale for her to embark on an ethnographic study in 2011 to examine the nature of Zimbabwean teachers' (whom she called 'education professionals') migration to SA. Her study utilized data from thirteen semi structured interviews with Zimbabwean education professionals located in Kwa Zulu-Natal, SA. The findings from this study included two separate cohorts of education professionals in the sample: teachers and lecturers. They were exiting Zimbabwe for many interconnected reasons. She stated that the most significant of these reasons were the economic state in Zimbabwe linked with the current political situation which resulted in a ripple effect on the education opportunities available for Zimbabweans in their home country.

Singh (2013, p. 10) in his study revealed that there is a huge group of Zimbabwean teachers, teaching in Limpopo province "ever since the political and economic problems began in that country". Limpopo province borders Zimbabwe, making access to the neighbouring SA easy. But, he doesn't clarify whether his sample is in public or private schools. However, a recent study by Keevy et al (2014) revealed that in the context of public schooling, "migrant teachers employed by the State represent a very small percentage (less than 0.5%) of the total number of teachers employed in public schools in 2010. Of these, the greatest numbers of migrant teachers were employed in Gauteng (459 or 28%)" as shown below in table 1. Thus, it is evident that the location of this study is in a province which plays host to the highest number of immigrant teachers in public schools.

Province	Total
Eastern Cape (EC)	456
Free State (FS)	11
Gauteng (G)	459
KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)	212
Limpopo (L)	144

Mpumalanga (MP)	94
National Departments	1
North West (NW)	91
Northern Cape (NC)	24
Western Cape (WC)	141
Grand Total	**1633**

Table 1: Number of migrant teachers employed by the State in South Africa in 2010
(Department of Higher Education and Training 2013b, adapted from Keevy et al, 2014, p. 95)

Whilst there have been these studies that have researched the experiences of migrant teachers in schools in South Africa, the emphasis has largely been on teachers in general and in largely rural contexts and not specific to teachers in primary schools in an urban setting. This can be understood as logical since Wedekind (2011) had stated that South Africa is a country with a deep need for qualified teachers with provinces such as KZN articulating huge teacher deficits, particularly in rural areas. According to Manik (2011b, p. 85), a majority of the migrant teachers interviewed, in her study undertaken in KZN, were specialists in Mathematics and Physical Science indicating particular subjects in demand.

But, this present research study has targeted the Johannesburg area and the experiences of migrant teachers in primary schools where other subjects may be in demand. This present study sought to explore migrant teachers' experiences in specifically primary schools in Johannesburg, Gauteng, an urban location. The availability of limited literature on teacher migration locally at the outset of the study indicated that there was a need for teacher migration to South Africa to be explored in further detail. I have chosen not to use the term 'foreign', to describe the migrants from other countries as it indicates discrimination on the basis of national identity (Hammar, McGregor and Landau, 2010) and national identity is linked to xenophobic practices in SA (Manik, 2013). The term 'migrant' teachers' is more frequently used in the literature to describe teachers from other countries (Manik, 2005; Manik, 2009; Keevy et al, 2014).

The Importance of Studying Teacher Migration

In general, Yonemura (2010, p. 2-3) asserts that there are three main reasons why teacher migration is important: Firstly, it is related to teacher supply. She explained that it would be valuable to discover the opportunity to start in each country a system for "collecting, analysing and maintaining data, integrating information" of significance to both birthplace and endpoint countries to support a managed form of teacher migration. The second reason that she explained is related to "quality – how is quality assurance and recognition of qualifications of migrant teachers handled?" She stated that it is often that skilled migrants are not employed at the same level of their qualification as they were in their destination countries. Thirdly, she expressed the view that it is important to ensure the ethical treatment of migrant teachers, as outlined in the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol which provides a framework for countries to adopt and apply. This is important in the SA context considering that the Integrated Strategic Planning framework (DBE, 2011) calls for migrant teachers to be used to fill existing posts in SA.

Quantifying the loss of Teachers

As the United Kingdom and other countries became appealing to South African teachers, the migration of South African teachers to those countries meant that the South African education system began to experience substantial losses of educators (South African Council of Educators - SACE, 2011, p. 6). According to Morgan et al (as cited in SACE, 2011, p. 6), in 2006, it was estimated that the total teacher population in South Africa was approximately 400,000 and that South Africa needed to recruit 17 000 to 20 000 teachers per year, yet the teacher training output was around 9 000 newly qualified teachers per year. That is, there was a deficit of approximately 8 000 teachers per annum because not all teachers who qualify will enter the SA profession upon their graduation. Thus, it can be estimated that the inflow of newly qualified teachers into the education system is substantially less than the number of teaching posts that became vacant each year.

1.3.1 Zimbabwean migrant teachers' experiences in SA

The findings from Manik's (2011b) study on Zimbabwean migrant teachers' experiences in SA, included a difficult procedure in obtaining important documentation to enter SA's work force, poor compensation packages, challenges in gaining job security, xenophobic attitudes and workplace dissatisfaction. In terms of documentation, Zimbabweans complained of the frustrating paperwork that they had to complete to enter SA. With regards to poor

compensation packages, low salaries paid in SA to migrant teachers were one of the aspects that made Zimbabwean migrant teachers feel unworthy despite their professional status. Another issue related to the challenges that migrant teachers had in gaining job security. Temporary employment positions at school made it difficult for migrant teachers to plan for their future. Xenophobia was also an issue of concern for migrant teachers.

Xenophobic Attitudes and workplace dissatisfaction

A key experience of migrant teachers in SA appears to be xenophobia, but this is not a surprising feature as foreigners in SA have experienced serious outbreaks of xenophobia since 2008. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC, 2000) defines xenophobia as an "irrational deep dislike of non-nationals." The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978, p. 1275), states that the word xenophobia is of Greek origin. "Xeno" means stranger or foreigner, and phobia means fear. For the purpose of this study and my discussion later on, I will rely on the definition of xenophobia as 'an intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries' which denotes attitudes of dislike towards migrants (Crowther, 1995, p. 1385). Both Manik (2013) and Singh (2013) found that Zimbabwean teachers are most susceptible to xenophobic attitudes by other teachers and or learners in schools and this leads them to feeling disgruntled in the schools where they teach.

Manik (2011b) also noted in a study that many of the migrants had family responsibilities and that they occupied the 'role of head of household' which impacted on them accepting poor working conditions in SA. They lived transnational lives commuting between SA and Zimbabwe and this had an impact on their economically and psychologically leading to vulnerability. A key finding in her study was that their training and skills did not give them easy entrance into the professional teaching field in SA, which is similar to her finding in 2005 of SA teachers entering the UK (Manik, 2005). She reported that as professionals in the latter study (2011b), they had to be satisfied with whatever small pittance they had been offered and some Zimbabweans had to settle for a lack of job security due to being non-residents.

1.4 Rationale and Significance of the Study

The logic for undertaking this study and the importance of the study will be discussed below.

My personal rationale for this study is that I am a permanent primary school educator at a combined school in Johannesburg. I decided to conduct this study when I noticed the presence of migrant teachers on our staff and some had been occupying temporary teaching posts but they had taught for a longer time than I. The migrant teachers at my school were concerned about the stability of their jobs and this triggered my curiosity to find out what were primary school teachers' experiences of teaching in other primary schools in Johannesburg. I hoped to be able to contribute at some time to discuss how South Africa as a democratic nation could improve the teaching experiences of immigrant teachers.

My professional rationale for the study is that teacher shortages in South African schools have become a huge concern in SA and I therefore felt it important to research the experiences of migrant teachers in SA. The teaching profession is attracting Zimbabwean teachers from the neighbouring country due to our stable economy; however, the temporary nature of their employment contracts is worrying for the status of the profession in SA.

The contextual rationale for the study relates to location. There have been studies that have centred on migrant teachers in rural areas, which I have discussed earlier. Since the school where am I teaching is located in an urban area, I was keen to explore migrant teachers' experiences in an urban context. These findings will be important in contributing to the body of knowledge on teacher migration in SA by indicating why migrant teachers have specifically chosen to teach in urban schools in Johannesburg and their experiences in that particular location in SA.

1.5 Outline of Chapters
The thesis is divided into six chapters.

CHAPTER ONE: begins with the background and rationale behind this study. Detailed reference is made to understanding migrant teachers' experiences within the context of the study in South Africa. Xenophobia in South Africa is briefly examined and motivations are provided for the need to explore migrant teachers' professional experiences in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: provides the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study. Globalisation as a process is a cutting-edge phenomenon and viewed as the channel to facilitate teacher migration. There are discussions on a model of survival migration, migrant

teachers' experiences and the recruitment of migrant teachers in specialist subjects in SA which provide a backdrop for understanding the reasons for SA being a receiving country for migrant teachers.

CHAPTER THREE: concentrates on the methodology and design used in the study. The choice of tools and methods used were influenced by the need to get rich data from the participants. This chapter also explains the choice of the interpretivist paradigm and qualitative approach to the study. The types of data produced and the methods of analysis for this study are also discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: centers on the results from the research study: migrant teachers' reasons for teaching in Johannesburg - what enticed migrant teachers into coming and their primary school experiences in the Johannesburg area are examined. This chapter details, in particular, teachers' frustrations in respect of job security in SA.

CHAPTER FIVE: is a discussion of the findings on migrant teachers' experiences in the Johannesburg area by linking the findings of this study with the literature from Chapter 2.

CHAPTER SIX: discusses the key insights emanating from the study. These collectively were located within the theoretical, conceptual and methodological realms. These insights feed into understanding migrant teachers' professional experiences in South Africa and offers some suggestions in respect of migrant teachers.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to the study by providing a discussion on the background and rationale of the study and a brief overview of the context of South Africa as a country which is both a home and host country to migrant teachers (largely from Zimbabwe, India and West Africa) and therefore a participant in global brain circulation.

In the next chapter, I discuss the relevant literature, theories and concepts across disciplines that were necessary in providing a framework for this study on teacher migration to South Africa.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature review and it has the following structure. It begins with a discussion on globalisation, followed by migration and the theoretical frameworks on mobility such as the push and pull framework. Thereafter, the mobility of highly skilled professionals such as teachers will be explained as well as the reasons why teachers decide to migrate to other countries. A theoretical framework by Betts (2010) on survival migration will then be discussed. This is followed by the experiences of migrant teachers within the teaching profession. This chapter also presents Miller's theoretical framework on the experiences of migrant school teachers. The chapter then proceeds to a discussion on a structural level by providing the reasons for changes in teacher supply and demand both worldwide and in South Africa. This then leads to a further discussion on the reasons for South Africa being a receiving country and the impacts of teacher migration. Research has shown that most migrant teachers are employed to teach scarce skills subjects, therefore the literature review also incorporates migrant teachers in primary schools which is an area of demand (Early Childhood Development and Foundation Phase) and the subjects which they are allocated to teach.

2.2 Globalisation

Globalisation is important to understand in terms of its significance to migration. Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton (1999, p. 2) write about globalisation as the "emergence of interregional networks and systems of interaction and exchange." They also explained that there is an entanglement of countrywide and public systems within wider processes leading to worldwide integration. This increasing connectivity between places is a common understanding of globalisation as Castles and Miller (in Czaika & De Haas, 2013, p. 5) also explained that "a key dimension of globalisation is a rapid increase in cross-border flows of all sorts, starting with finance and trade, but also ideas, ideologies, and knowledge about democratic and economic governance, cultural and media products, and people." These movements appear to grow over time and gradually strengthen one another. Globalisation thus appears to provide the opportunity for global and multinational collaborations to help foster close relationships between not only societies but also countries, world-wide

organisations, non-governmental organisations and international companies which constitute a new global organisational structure than previously. Thus, these networks describe a world wherein restraints on communities, societies and countries have been dissolved.

This new structure of the world has human migration implications. Bhengu (2011, p. 5) reveals that "increased globalisation has been characterized by advanced transport and information and communication systems," and this has led to greater movements of workers and this has carried with it new fears for countries, particularly about the impacts of the emigration of skilled workers from developing to developed countries. He cites a study undertaken by the Commonwealth Secretariat in 2005, that 50 - 80% of all highly educated people from numerous developing countries in the African continent and the Caribbean are residing and are employed in a foreign country. It is therefore apparent that developed countries have taken the initiative to address their dire human resource needs such as the scarcity of teachers by seeking to entice, recruit and to keep migrant teachers, particularly those who are teaching scarce skills subjects which are in demand- such as Mathematics and Science teachers (Bhengu 2011, p. 5). However, in respect of this present study, teachers have migrated largely from other developing countries to SA, which is also a developing country.

It thus becomes necessary to understand why teachers are migrating and the section below explores relevant migration discussions.

2.3 Migration

Migration has been presented as a key aspect of the human race. Parker (2007) explains that migration is a character attribute of being a human being and people are always in search of better-quality living conditions. She points out that migration is knotted to the human soul, which seeks to explore, follow possibilities, and find explanations to have faith even in dangerous environments such as when there were widespread xenophobic attacks on immigrants in South Africa (which started in 2008 until present). People travel to find better job prospects and they will emigrate from their home country (origin) to avoid political discord. According to Landau (cited by Polk, 2011), migration is most frequently seen as a short-term survival tool. He notes that specifically with rural livelihoods, vulnerability will impact on movement decisions which will become the norm. He stated that local and global actors must recognize that people are emigrating, and that they are emigrating to many different places for a variety of reasons. He argues that "these new places will need attention

and resources, so there is a need to move beyond traditional view points of migration that exist in the discourse in order to respond to the challenge" (Landau as cited by Polk, 2011) as presented by migration.

People may choose to migrate across national borders and the concept of transnationalism is therefore of significance. Basch, Blanc-Szanton and Schiller (1994, p. 6) initially defined transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement". Morawska (2007, p. 153) suggests that currently transnationalism includes a considerably larger variation of form and content and that, "depending on the specific constellation of factors, it can involve single or multiple cross-border activities…regular…or prompted by specific situations…carried by individuals, immigrant families or ethnic groups through informal or institutional channels; and it can be confined to private lives of people on both sides of the border or involve the public sphere." Thus it is clear from both the explanations that transnationalism encompasses migrants crossing the borders of countries and maintaining social relations across many countries.

There are two types of migrants defined in the literature: emigrants and immigrants. Withers (2010) explained that the process of emigration is the migration out of a home country in order to live in another (host country) whilst immigration is the move into a country. Emigration is the opposite of immigration. Anderson and Blinder (2013, p. 7), explain that "the duration of a migrant's stay or their decision to settle as a crucial prerequisite has the possible advantage of differentiating long-term migration from the more temporary blend of undergraduates, temporary employees, and some who enter a country and relocate within a few years". Thus the duration of the migrant's stay in the host country can differ. Immigration is a critical concept in this study as the study centres broadly on the immigration of teachers into Johannesburg, South Africa and their experiences. The study does not focus on differentiating between long term migration and a more temporary form of migration by migrant teachers. Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand how immigrants are classified in order to understand why teachers locate in Johannesburg and how they make sense of and explain their experiences in Johannesburg.

2.3.1 Influences on Immigration decisions

According to Wood (2013), there are two imperatives which lead to migration: economic and social.

2.3.1.1 Economic immigrants

Wood (2013) states that economic immigrants are individuals who are in pursuit of cash and are temporary employees. Similarly, Alexander (2012) explains that the term 'economic migrant' refers to somebody who has emigrated from one county to another country for various reasons related to money such as better job opportunities or enhanced financial status. Muñiz, Li and Schleicher (2010, p. 3) explain that the desirability of more economically developed places for migrants has always provided the motivations for people to move. They state that when people migrate to new places in search of employment or improved financial situations, they are considered to be "labour migrants". In addition, Samari (2009) maintains that when migrants are refused entry into a country, one actually disregards the valuable input they could add to the economic wellbeing of the country. An economic immigrant is different from someone who is a social immigrant.

2.3.1.2 Social immigrants

Wood (2013) also adds that people are influenced by social reasons to emigrate and he refers to this cohort as family immigrants when they are in the host country. They are people who have close family members who will sponsor them a trip and they feel it easier to fit in and achieve success if they already know somebody in a foreign destination (they can protect them). Thus family immigrants move due to the influence of their family members who have chosen to migrate and these migrants would not have considered migration had it not been for their family influence.

In that past few years, there have been an increasing number of refugees worldwide due to particular socio-economic and political reasons. These are people who are forced to move from their countries due to circumstances beyond their control.

2.3.2 Refugees

Refugees are people who individually or as a family choose to escape their home environment because of risk and oppression that is not related to their own choice. In respect of South Africa, this group of people may not have the required legal documents to be in

South Africa and can, therefore, apply for refugee status to give them legal standing in the country. The word "asylum" is the Latin complement of the Greek word 'asylon,' which means "freedom from seizure" (Boed 2014, p. 3). Therefore, Boed explained that in the past, the term "asylum seeker" has been viewed as a place of refuge where a person is free from persecution. Usually, refugees or asylum seekers are people who have been forced to leave their country of origin due to reasons such as war, violent political unrest or genocide. Mills (2014) notes that a refugee is a person who is afraid of being oppressed for his or her race, spiritual beliefs, ethnic group, governmental views and has separated themselves from their country of origin due to such fears. Having refugee status means that the person has the protection of the South African government and cannot be forced to return home until it is deemed safe to do so. People who have refugee status can access most of the same rights as South African citizens (except the right to vote) (Department of Home Affairs, 2013).

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) is the national institution recognised to maintain constitutional democracy. It is devoted to uphold "respect for, observance of and protection of human rights for everyone without fear or favour" (SAHRC, 2014). The mandate of the Commission as contained in Section 184 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. The SAHRC encourages "respect for human rights and a culture of human rights; promote the protection, development and attainment of human rights; and monitor and assess the observance of human rights in the Republic" (SAHRC, 2014). This ensures that everyone residing in SA must feel safe and comfortable whether they local or visiting SA such as immigrants. Some Zimbabweans emigrating to South Africa have arrived as refugees or asylum seekers for their survival. A new visa was recently crafted in 2014 for Zimbabweans in South Africa which will now allow them to remain for a period of 3 years (to 2017) without having to re – apply for a work permit. Migration as a survival strategy is explained in the theoretical framework presented below.

2.3.3 Theoretical framework by Betts (2010) on survival migration

Betts and Kaytaz (cited in DaSilva, 2009) describes survival migrants as "forced migrants who are not eligible for the legal protection afforded by refugee status, but who nevertheless flee an existential threat to which they have no domestic recourse." Similarly, Betts (2010, p. 4) explained that survival migrants are "persons who are outside their country of origin

because of an existential threat to which they have no access to a domestic remedy or resolution". It can thus be understood that survival migrants believe that they are in a "catch-22" situation and have no alternative but to migrate in order to survive. Survival migration therefore appears to provide an interesting way to conceptualise migration which is neither 'refugee' nor 'voluntary economic'.

Manik (2011a) suggests that Betts (2010) has provided a way of understanding teacher migration in South Africa, as part of the developing world. Betts (2010) who conducted a study on survival migration in southern Africa, states that he is not "an expert on teacher migration" but on international migration and its impact on the developing world which has valuable points on "survival migration." He explains the concept of survival migration as focusing on "the situation of people who are "outside their country of origin because of an existential threat to which they have no access to a domestic remedy" but who fall outside of the dominant interpretation of a 'refugee' under international law (Betts, 2010, p. 361).

Betts (2010, p. 361) points out that the mixture of environmental catastrophe, government instability, and livelihood disaster often networks in ways that create a need for protection. He also stated that "the mass exodus of people from Zimbabwe between 2005 and 2009, with some 2 million entering South Africa alone, represents the most visible recent case of people with an obvious need for international protection, but who have generally been seen as in a neither–nor position of not being refugees yet not being voluntary, economic migrants".

Betts (2010) also provides conceptual clarity for the terms 'survival migration', 'refugees' and 'international migration'. He (2010, p. 27) explains that refugees are survival migrants but not all survival migrants are refugees; survival migrants are international migrants but not all international migrants are survival migrants. Betts reveals that in his study, there were some issues that surfaced relating to teacher mobility that require development. For example there were qualified teachers in survival migrant populations namely Zimbabweans and Somalis in the following three countries within his project: South Africa, Botswana and Kenya. This finding has particular relevance for the present study on teacher migration in SA.

Betts (2010, p. 29) also noted that there were several challenges faced by migrant teachers: "there was an absence of formal opportunities for teachers in destination countries…with little thought about how they could be brought into the labour market and informal teaching taking place without support from the state and international organisations." He cites amongst other examples that of Zimbabwean teachers in the Central Methodist church in Central

Johannesburg, teaching Zimbabwean migrants in unhealthy circumstances. He stated that life is unpleasant for migrants in South Africa, mentioning xenophobia, discrimination, police pestering, job loss and a lack of essential services.

According to Betts (2010), only 10 percent of those Zimbabweans migrating into South Africa have been formally documented as refugees. Therefore, he notes that it appears that the mainstream of Zimbabwean migrants are escaping a mixture of state failure, severe environmental distress, or widespread livelihood collapse, rather than as individuals fleeing political persecution as required by global refugee law. Thus, he contends that they have received limited legal protection in the host countries and are tremendously vulnerable to poverty, persecution, and xenophobic attacks both in South Africa and Botswana.

2.4. Mobility of the highly skilled professionals

It has been argued by Sives, Morgan & Appleton (2004) that teacher mobility is determined by a two-fold process: by a demand for teachers in the receiving country and conditions in the home country. Thus push and pull factors encourage people to emigrate from their home country to a specific host country (this framework will be later discussed). In the context of South Africa, highly skilled teachers, particularly from Zimbabwe (Keevy et al, 2014), are emigrating to South Africa. Therefore, concern on the international migration of teachers is a significant policy issue for South Africa. Sisulu, Moyo and Tshuma (2007, p. 533) explain that Zimbabweans "have the unenviable distinction of having the fastest shrinking economy, the highest rate of inflation and the lowest life expectancy in the world." They explain that because of the difficult conditions in their home country, Zimbabweans have been leaving particularly for SA, their neighbouring country. They also noted that many qualified professionals such as nurses, teachers, pharmacists and doctors go to the UK and SA but SA attracts both skilled and unskilled migrants. They are of the opinion that different groups of migrants have left for different reasons stating that prior to 2005, doctors, nurses and pharmacists left for economic reasons while teachers, journalists and the youth left for political reasons.

By contrast, the movement of teachers out of South Africa prior to 2008, left a vacuum in the education system, and it has been argued that this partially led to South Africa becoming a receiving country (Bhengu, 2011, p. 10) due to the teacher shortages in certain areas. Manik

(2011b, p. 81) states that "there is a dearth of research unpacking South Africa as a receiving country for migrant teachers," which she believes is worrying.

Hence, I found this study imperative in order to sift out the reasons why migrant teachers are attracted into South Africa. There are several theories that account for cross border migration such as the neoclassical macro and micro economic theory, world systems theory, social capital theory and cumulative causation (Manik, 2005). However, in this thesis I will only be concentrating on those theories and concepts which are relevant to the destination that is, the location of teachers in Johannesburg, SA. The mobility of highly skilled professionals such as teachers can be understood by both the push and pull factors which impact on them leading to their migration. These are explained in detail below.

2.5 Theoretical framework on mobility

A theoretical framework on mobility will be discussed for this study, namely, Lee's (1966) push-pull theory for migration. Again, it must be noted that this present study concentrates on the location of the teachers in SA, hence the pull conditions.

Lee's (1966) Push-Pull Theory

Figure 1 below summarises Lee's push-pull theory in graphic form (Muñiz et al 2010, p. 6). The model shows potential migration between a place of origin and a place of destination, with positive (plus) and negative (minus) signs which indicate pull and push factors, respectively. Essentially, negative characteristics push the migrants out of the origin area while the positive aspects of the destination area pull the migrants towards a specific direction. The movements occur between two places; however, there can be intervening obstacles to these spatial movements. Muñiz et al (2010, p. 6) explains that "although these obstacles are represented by "mountain' shapes, keep in mind that the obstacles need not be limited to physical barriers". They also stated that "deterring migration regulations, for instance, can present a challenging obstacle to potential migrants". They further articulated that it should be noted that both the origin and destination have push and pull factors, indicating the certainty that any migrant will have to consider both the positives of residing in the host country and the negatives of moving, as well as their opposites. This theory is clearly centred on migrant rationality- that migrants make logical decisions. The rationality of the push-pull theory is that "if the plusses (pulls) at the destination outweigh the plusses of

staying at the origin, as shown below, then migration is likely to occur" (Muñiz et al 2010, p. 6) . This analytical framework, although it was crafted in 1966 is one of the most frequently used in migration studies. It will be used in Chapter 5 when analysing the data.

Lee's (1966) Push-Pull Theory
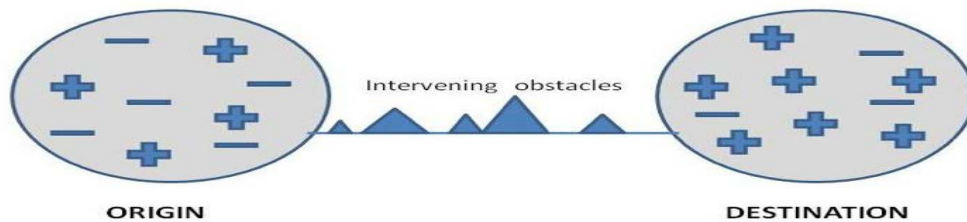
Figure 1: Lee's Push-Pull Theory

Adapted from Muñiz et al (2010, p. 6), and based on Lee (1966).

In the next section, I discuss Lee's (1966) Push and pull factors in further detail as it relates to specifically teacher migration.

2.6 Teachers' reasons for migrating

Global teacher migration occurs when there is an imbalance in the quantity of teachers necessary in a country and the quantity of teachers that the education system creates. Teachers are impacted upon by push and pull factors which influence them to migrate. Van der Erf and Heering's (1995, p. 3) found that one of the most frequently known academic concepts in migration research, implied in economic models of migration, is the so called push –pull model for the clarification of the causes of migration, as discussed above.

Push and pull factors

"Pushes and pulls are complementary - that is, migration can only occur if the reason to emigrate (the push) is remedied by the corresponding pull at an attainable destination" (Muñiz, Li and Schleicher, 2010, p. 5). In the framework of labour migration, push factors are often branded by the lack of work opportunities in sending areas or home countries, and

pull factors are the financial opportunities offered in receiving areas or host countries. The push-pull model comprises of a number of negative or push factors in the country of origin that cause interference to a person's present and future planning and it slowly forces people to move away from a particular location in this instance, teachers. This works in combination with some positive or pull factors that work to attract migrant teachers to a receiving country. Manik (2005) stated that research has exposed that there is normally a high curiosity among South Africans, to teach in foreign destination countries because they were denied free movement during apartheid (before 1994). She also explained in her study of South African teachers moving to the United Kingdom that teachers were leaving their home country for a variety of economic, social and career reasons. Morgan, Sives and Appleton (2006) have also indicated socio-economic reasons for South Africans migrating to the UK in a later study. Hence, the following reasons influencing the emigration of teachers from their home countries, will be discussed below, namely, economic, social, educational and political.

Push factors

De Villiers (2011, p. 54) drawing from Lee's (1966) model defines a push factor as "a force driving a person to consider leaving home." Economic reasons can be powerful in convincing a teacher to migrate.

<u>**Economic**</u>

Teachers have been known to migrate for several reasons related to economics. These include poor pay and limited professional benefits (which have financial implications) in their home countries.

Poor Salaries

Migrant teachers tend to move away from low-income areas to areas which provide a high-income. However, Crush (1998) has noted that poor salaries, in addition to several other reasons not related to economics have been reasons for migration in general. But De Villiers (2011) maintains that low salaries and unemployment were reasons for teacher emigration. In the context of teacher emigration from South Africa, Manik (2005) has commented on pay related issues. Manik (2005) found that teachers were leaving as a result of low salaries in public schools and some teachers being on temporary contracts which led to lower salaries when compared to permanent teachers. Appleton (as cited in Bhengu, 2011, p. 19) explained that 'although teachers in developing countries are described as being relatively well paid in

their home country, a higher salary was the leading reason for teachers deciding to work abroad. He also stated that the figures indicated that South African teachers working in the United Kingdom; earn 46% more income than they made at home. Thus, the economic advantages are more than adequate to persuade teachers to migrate to improve their standard of living in a new destination.

Commenting about teacher emigration in a Filipino context, Geron (2009) stated that low salaries in the Phillipines were one of the push factors for teachers going abroad. Similarly, a study by Lederer (2011) also revealed that Filipino teachers left their home country due to the poor salary for better financial prospects in the U.S. Similarly, Sharma (2011) explained that teachers in India are undervalued by political officials and are therefore not adequately compensated on a financial level for their services. This leads them to emigrate to other destinations where they can save which unfortunately will be impossible for them to do so in their home country. The findings of Manik, Maharaj and Sookrajh (2006) which were revealed in a SACE document on teacher migration compiled by Bhengu (2011, p. 6) suggests that economic benefits were vividly enunciated as one of the reasons for emigration to the UK.

Unemployment

The lack of permanent employment opportunities in home countries has led to teachers migrating to other countries (Manik, 2005). Teachers on temporary contracts were leaving SA for more secure employment in the UK. In keeping with this, Ochs (2007) argued that a dearth of teaching jobs in the country of birthplace was not a problem, but instead the requirements of the profession and what the teaching contract entailed. Thus, the nature of the contract, being temporary for example can influence teacher migration as there is no job security and when the contract ends, these teachers will be unemployed unless they can find alternate teaching positions.

High inflation

Zimbabwean teachers have been leaving their home country due to the high inflation rate with associated currency implications (Manik, 2011b). The value of the Zimbabwean dollar has dropped leading to teachers believing that they will be unable to live with their families in the present economic climate in Zimbabwe (Manik, 2014). Manik explains how teachers

were unable to purchase basic necessities such as bread for their families from shops and the high cost of public transportation.

Limited professional benefits and opportunities for growth

A study by Manik (2005) on South African teachers migrating and returning indicated that one of her participants had revealed that the decision to go the UK was because of the lack of professional development and opportunities that prevented her from getting promoted in her home country. Similarly, Lederer (2011) who comments on Filipino teachers in the USA explained that people emigrate in order to improve their professional benefits and Shotte (2011, p. 113) who writes on Jamaican teachers emigrating to the United Kingdom also stated that "promotion chances" are some of the benefits of the teaching profession that push people to emigrate instead of being satisfied with no growth positions in the home country.

In addition, social reasons can also influence teachers to migrate.

<u>**Social**</u>

The social reasons that have led to teacher emigration include the need to live in a safe society and opportunities to travel (Manik 2005). More than fifty percent of newly qualified teachers in a pilot study conducted by Manik (2005, p. 122) showed that South Africans had not been out of the country and "travelling to the UK would be their first trip abroad." She explained that many migrants were leaving SA with the purpose of travelling. Social networks can also lead to the increased migration of teachers (Manik, 2005). Similarly, Morgan et al (in Bhengu, 2011) explained that social networks can also influence others to acquire a teaching position at a foreign school after visiting family members or friends in that country.

<u>**Educational**</u>

A person may also migrate to another country in search of educational opportunities. Manik (2011b) explained in her study on Zimbabwean teachers that they were migrating to South Africa for improved educational opportunities, that is, to study further in a postgraduate environment. The opportunity to improve linguistic skills or study further has also enticed teachers to posts overseas. Interestingly, migrant teachers noted that "frustrations with the educational system in their home countries drove them to teach abroad. Specific factors cited included standardised testing, misdirected policies, and disrespect for teachers" (Caravetti, Lederer, Lupico and Meter, 2014, p. 32). This migrant characteristic is understood to

positively affect migration, since well-educated people are more knowledgeable, are on the hunt for improved jobs, and are more competent due to the acquisition of further skills and are also more likely to undertake the possibility of risk (Jimenez and Sotto, 2004).

Political

Political instability in the home country can also drive teachers out of their home country and Ochs (2007) explained that push factors include the political and unsafe situation at home (particularly for South African teachers) as well as a shortage of jobs at home. Later, Manik (2011b) argued that the movement of Zimbabwean teachers into South Africa has also been attributed in part to the political instability in the country of origin and the stability of South Africa. The extent of the influence of politics has been debated and Makina (2007) and Mosala (2008) as cited by Bhengu (2011, p. 19) add that, "While politics may be a reason, research shows that economic reasons are more likely to serve as an impetus, primarily because Zimbabwean teachers who come to South Africa continue to have families back in their home country and more often than not, commute back and forth between Zimbabwe and South Africa and send remittances back home". Bhengu (2011) further explained that for Zimbabwean teachers who left their home country due to political mayhem, there was also the "knock-on" effect on the economy and education opportunities which added to their decision to leave. Thus, there are multiple reasons for exiting the home country and entering a particular destination.

Recruitment by agencies

Recruitment agencies have also been seen as being responsible for the drive of teachers from specific destinations to other locations. There have been aggressive recruitment strategies by agencies working on behalf of developed countries to meet their needs in destination countries which are largely developing countries (Manik, 2005). Teachers have largely been recruited from developing countries such as South Africa and the Caribbean to the United Kingdom between 1994 and 2007 (Manik, 2006; Miller 2009). Similarly, teachers from the Philippines have been recruited to the United States (Lederer, 2011). Morgan et al (in Bhengu, 2011) reporting on recruitment to the United Kingdom, states that South African teachers are known to come into a foreign country in numerous ways, such as through "recruitment agencies, internet applications and others through procurement of working holiday visas that allow them to work while on vacation". A specific worry is the fact that there is an indication of greater rates of global recruitment of teachers via agencies

specialising in recruiting teachers in subjects that are known to be to be scarce subjects, particularly, the maths and sciences Commonwealth Secretariat (COMSEC, 2009). There is also evidence of the qualitative impacts of international recruitment of teachers from South Africa in that, emigrating teachers tend to be rated by their headmasters in host countries as being of above average effectiveness, suggesting that in the recruitment process, the best teachers in the country are being targeted for other destinations. The demand for teachers in developed countries has led to the emigration of teachers from developing countries that have been recruited in large numbers by international recruitment agencies (Lederer, Ochs and Manik, 2010). I expand on this idea in greater detail in the section on teacher supply and demand.

Although the push and pull factors were discussed above to understand the push-pull model, this present study deals with the pull factors that have drawn immigrant teachers, particularly to Johannesburg, South Africa.

Pull factors

Ekiss (2011) describes pull factors as those factors "that draw you to live in a place". Ochs' (2007, p. 8) explains that pull factors include an array of possibilities which can include "a new experience or challenge" in a foreign destination; or following a partner/spouse; a better "future of their children"; in search of extra education; or being enticed to the host country in order to travel. Interestingly, she noted that one can be pulled to a destination for individual reasons, for a partner or for your family. The research findings by Ochs were reiterated by Ekiss. Ekiss (2011) succinctly noted that pull factors can be divided into three categories which include economic factors; social factors and political factors. Similarly, Manik (2013, p. 6) contended that Zimbabwean teachers have reported that they are in SA due to socio-economic, educational and political reasons. De Villiers (2011, p. 54) has expanded on the number of pull factors and he points out that "pull factors as powerful motivators are classified as better working conditions, family ties, higher compensation and benefits, professional development interests, better living conditions, more political, economic and social stability, more job opportunities and a desire to see the world." The more positive incentives in the host country, the more keen migrants are motivated to relocate, pulling them to a new destination.

Various authors above have defined what pull factors are. For the purposes of this study, I have categorised the pull factors for teachers into the following categories: economic, educational, political and social subsections and I discuss each of these.

Economic

There are various reasons that fall within economics as can be seen above from the various scholars who have been cited. I now discuss a selection of these factors.

Work Opportunities and a Higher Standard of Living

Gabriel (2013, p. 1) clearly states that "if an individual is unable to find employment in his home country, then the next alternative would be to look for another place that would be able to offer him or her employment." He also explained that although a migrant may be employed, they may want to relocate to a place where they can have an improved standard of living and an extra trade and industry opportunities. Thus migration can be as a result of limited or no employment in the home country. De Villiers' (2011) study on teacher migrants found that South Africa is increasingly seen by Zimbabweans as a country to help them build a prosperous future, instead of a place of temporary relief and quick pay. He states that the literature indicates three migration waves. For Zimbabweans, the pull factors for migration into South Africa are employment, geographical accessible and the state of the economy in SA (Ekiss, 2011). She also stated that the unemployment rate in South Africa is 24% compared to Zimbabwe's 94%. South Africa's minimum wage a month is approximately 1,041 Rands (141 USD) compared to not having a salary at all given that Zimbabwe has a high rate of unemployment. Similarly, Kriger (2010) explained that the bulk of Zimbabweans are in SA "looking to find work to help their families at home to survive", which has currency given Betts (2010) explanation on survival migration that was earlier discussed.

Higher salaries

An authority on refugee teachers, Barry Sesnan, (2011, p. 88) revealed that "teachers will naturally try to go to where the money is. In every situation that he has worked in, there would have been no shortage of qualified teachers if a good salary had been offered for the job". Similarly, Ochs (2011) revealed that the appealing remuneration was one of the motivating factors pulling Caribbean teachers to the United States. Manik's (2005, p. 109) study also indicated that many South Africans were attracted to the value of the Pound in the UK, and stated that "a simple conversion of 100 pounds to rands is an attractive proposition

for a SA teacher". Hence, money and its other professional benefits discussed below are appealing motives for teacher migration.

Extended benefits for recruited teachers

Professional benefits relates to economics because when incentives are given free, then migrant teachers do not need to pay for them and this reduces their costs. In Manik's (2005) study on South African teachers' migration to the UK and their return, she found that recruitment agencies were offering free flights, cell phones and subsidised housing to migrant teachers.Also, an article by De Villiers (2011, p. 58) stated that "many recruitment agencies are focusing on recruiting South African teachers to the UAE. This country is considered as a new destination country which holds many possibilities and advantages for both newly qualified and experienced South African teachers". He added that the rewards are extensive and include migrant teachers being presented with free air tickets, housing and food, transport to and from work, and medical services. Migrant teachers also can earn 35000 rands (ZAR) per month tax free. Hence, these appealing financial gains would motivate South African teachers to apply to teach in the UAE and it currently serves as pull factors to the UAE.

<u>Educational Reasons</u>

Teachers also migrate due to educational reasons for themselves and or their children. Gabriel (2013) stated that a few places provide more learning prospects for professional development. Caravetti, Lederer, Lupico and Meter (2014) revealed that host countries presented educational opportunities for migrants' children. Migrant teachers found that excellent schooling, cultural acquaintances, and language involvement for their children were encouraging pull factors into a new country. A study by Manik (2011b) indicated that Zimbabwean immigrants felt that the provision of higher education would facilitate the opportunity of them obtaining a job more easily. She provided an example, where one of her participants stated that his wish was enrol for a post graduate qualification in order to find a better job and another participant stated that her immigration decision was influenced by a need to study which was to complete a Cambridge training course, which was only offered in SA. Hence, she was attracted to SA due its educational offerings.

Political Reasons

Political factors which propel migration include gaining protection under the law, a right to vote and freedom from persecution and safety (Ekiss, 2011). Politics has been linked to the stability of a country. It has been explained that Zimbabweans are migrating to SA because "in the interval monsters have come to the centre of politics" in Zimbabwe (Ranger, 2010, p. 7). A participant in Ranger's (2010) study indicated that although he was offered a position in the parliament in Harare, he had chosen to remain a scholar in SA because of the political stability in the country compared to Zimbabwe's political crisis. Hammar et al (2010, p. 282) state that the "strategies of regulation, sovereignty, state-making, and political violence have spurred both individual and mass physical displacement" in Zimbabwe. Thus, they explained that Zimbabwean migrants choose to migrate to SA because of SA's strong civil service and stable government stature.

Social Reasons

Ekiss (2011) added that social factors which lead to migration include assurance from family and friends, improved health care, enhanced educational chances and spiritual acceptance. Gabriel (2013, p. 2) also revealed that one of the most important attractions for people who migrate is "the prospect of freedom in various areas of life." He provided examples to explain why migrants may leave their home country. However, Muñiz et al (2010) describes the movement of individuals as also an outcome of the degree of social connectivity in a particular country. They also explained that "migration is more likely between two places that have existing social connections between them than between places that are disconnected" (Muñiz et al 2010, p. 8), for example: family or friends. In this regard, Zimbabwe's close geographic position as neighbour to SA with families located in both countries due to historical reasons could be a social link.

Destination image can also guide migrants travel choices and behaviour towards a destination as well as their contentment levels and remembrance of the experiences they had in the destination (O'Leary & Deegan, 2003, p. 213). In the SA context, Manik (2014) refers to democratic SA as being perceived as the land of "milk and honey" for African immigrants. Destinations with familiar images and migrants' positive observations have a greater likelihood of being chosen. Similarly, the images of the destination observed by migrants who have visited a place, influences migrant happiness and the purpose to return to the

destination country in the future, and it may also influence their friends and family by word of mouth communication (Marino, 2008).

It is essential to understand which types of migrant teachers are being 'selected' for migration and the impact of social networks (described above) in ensuring continued migration. This leads us to understand migrant selectivity and 'chain migration' which are discussed below.

Migrant selectivity

Migrants are being recruited from particular age groups, race groups and labour contexts. Migration is therefore also essentially "selective" (Muñiz et al, 2010). Odland and Shumway (1993) indicated that various studies in migration explain that the characteristics of selection are different from region to region and also from time to time. Thus what may have constituted migrant selectivity may alter as time lapses. It is maintained that the highly skilled who are knowledgeable "are the most likely to emigrate while, at the same time, the supply of highly educated workers in the source country is significantly smaller than that of the receiving developed country" (Lowell, 2002, p. 9). Similarly, Odland and Shumway (1993) explain that a population with a high education level are usually more likely to migrate seeking better opportunities.

Ravenstein (1885, 1989) cited by Xiangjing (2011, p. 2) explains that in the most primitive migration study, "female migrants are more likely than male migrants to migrate in a short distance migration". This he referred to as gender selective migration. Also, Odland and Shumway (1993) point out that generally, people who are from the working class are more likely to migrate. Morgan et al's (2006) study on teacher recruitment from SA to the UK between 1994 and 2005 furthermore states that migrant teachers appear to be younger than the average South African teacher and tend to be from urban schools that were formerly exclusively for whites.

But whilst initially migrants may have particular characteristics that led to the first migration, it may have influenced either their family or their friends to follow in their footsteps. This leads us to understand chain migration in the context of migrant selectivity which is elaborated upon in the section below.

Chain migration

An essential aspect related to migrant selectivity is that of chain migration (see Figure 2 below). Muñiz et al, (2010) explain that this refers to the successive migration of families and relatives, following the initial move by the first migrants from a community. The graphic below explains that "as family or friends migrate, a social network of data becomes mobile and moves back to the point of origin, which consequently decreases the obstacles to migration for any future migrants" (Muñiz et al, 2010, p. 8). Thus, when one person migrates to a destination, more people eventually leave their home country (origin) and join their friends or family in this new destination, a result of the flow of positive information back to family and friends who feel 'relative deprivation'- that they too can acquire what the migrants have achieved.
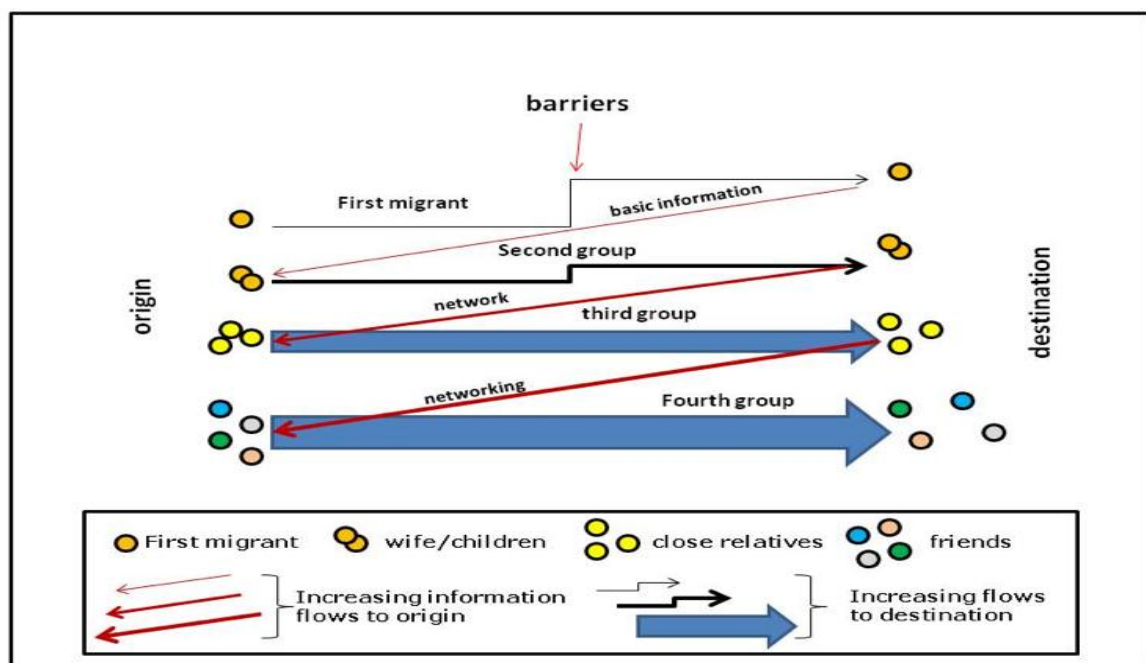
Figure 2. Chain Migration and Network Development

Source: Adapted from Muñiz (2010, p. 8).

Manik (2005) had noted evidence of chain migration in her study of teacher migration between SA and the UK, with teachers returning to SA to recruit their friends and colleagues for positions at their schools. Once migration has occurred, teachers encounter an array of experiences in the host environment.

2.7 Migrant teachers' experiences within the teaching profession

Migrant teachers have a variety of experiences in the teaching profession. The following experiences, which are common in the literature, will be discussed below: 'Red-Tape' dissatisfaction; familiarity and loneliness; a culture shock; xenophobia; a lack of job security.

2.7.1 'Red-Tape' dissatisfaction

'Red-Tape' is a term that refers to unnecessary completion of paperwork for various processes. Manik (2011b) found that migrant teachers from Zimbabwe seeking employment in the formal education sector in South Africa encountered a number of bureaucratic and other hurdles preventing them from easily taking up employment. Some of these were raised by formal institutions (for example, the Department of Home Affairs in SA), such as permit application procedures which were perceived by migrants to be inconsistent, time-consuming and onerous, and school management policies which precluded promotion prospects or long-term contracts to migrant workers. One of Manik's research participants noted that it took him a year and a half from the time of his application to actually taking up the job in SA. Other obstructions were more informal, such as the language barriers, and xenophobia in host communities. The combination of these factors has led migrant teachers to feel financially, professionally and socially insecure. Although South African institutions value the quality of Zimbabwean teachers, and seek them to fill gaps in the supply of teachers in South Africa, according to Betts and Kaytaz (2009), the South African regulatory frameworks similarly present obstacles to efficiently accommodating Zimbabwean survival migrants in formal systems.

2.7.2 Familiarity and loneliness

Familiarity is necessary in a new destination because leaving one's home country can make immigrants feel lonely and (Manik, 2005) found that migrant teachers in the UK experienced loneliness, especially those who were married and had migrated without their families. This was also a finding in her later study of Zimbabweans in KZN province, SA (2011b). Manik (2005, p. 165) explained that "one of the impacts of teaching in a foreign country, especially for married migrant teachers who left their families in SA, was the feeling of loneliness. The absence of spouse and children coupled with adaptation to a new career and social environment impacted on migrant teachers. Identities of being phantom fathers, mothers, husbands or wives affected the emotional resilience of teachers". In a foreign destination,

migrants may no longer visit friends and family regularly because distance is a problem. Holidays and other cultural traditions also may not be observed in the host country due to a change in location. Furthermore, migrants may not be familiar with the language/s used in the destination country upon arrival. Even certain features of everyday life such as the cuisine and forms of entertainment will not be the same as experienced in the home country. While some migrants may be excited with exposure to a new culture, others may find some aspects to be distancing and make them feel like outsiders (Lawrence, 2013).

Manik (2011b) also provides an example of what loneliness can result in for a family separated due to migration. One of the participants in her study left his wife and child in Zimbabwe whilst he tried to earn an income in SA, but divorce was the result as he felt that he was living a dual life. He used to travel to Zimbabwe twice a year to see his family but he declared that he ended up losing his family because he was away from them. Residing in two places also has economic and social repercussions as a result of loneliness. Migrant teachers may phone or attempt to travel home frequently to overcome their loneliness and this will lead to greater financial losses for the migrant teacher as a result of the trips made to the home country.

2.7.3 Culture Shock

Culture shock is the difficulty people have with adjusting to a new culture that is very different from their own. Lawrence (2013) explained that migration brings people into contact with entirely new ways of life. The most difficult part of culture shock for migrants is that they have no immediate plan to go back home, so they feel forced to accept a new culture and they have to learn how to behave in new ways in a new social context. Language is a common difference for migrants, making it difficult to conduct basic daily communications if the language is different to the language used in their home country. Other differences include the diet, clothing and music. Manik (2005) also stated that teachers recruited to the UK experienced a culture shock abroad and were bombarded with a host of conflicting experiences. They voiced the challenge of attempting to achieve discipline in British classrooms, something they had taken for granted in SA classrooms because they were of the view that SA learners had more respect for their teachers than UK learners had for their teachers.

One of the most significant experiences of Zimbabwean migrant teachers in South Africa was their exposure to xenophobia and a discussion is provided below on this.

2.7.4 Xenophobia

Handmaker & Parsley (2002, p. 44) explain that xenophobia is "the irrational fear of the unknown, the fear or hatred of foreigners by nationals against non-nationals". Similarly, Samari (2009, p. 1) explains that "xenophobia can be defined as a sensation of fear or phobia toward a person or a given group of people deemed strange or foreign". Furthermore, Handmaker & Parsley (2002, p. 44) argue that "…xenophobia is largely based on unfounded myths and stereotypes with foreigners scapegoated for domestic social and economic problems". Thus foreigners could be labelled for local problems being experienced by citizens.

According to Crush (1998), South Africans have not accepted immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa. The majority of South Africans believe that immigration impacts unfavourably on the country (nearly 60 per cent believe that they "weaken" society and the economy, and over 60 per cent that they put a strain on South Africa's resources according to the report). He also explained that the panic of corruption; and intimidations to gaining employment were the primary explanations for the resistance to immigration in South Africa. However, he also stated that these are also the main components of opposing immigration globally and they are therefore not unique to SA. Nevertheless, he does declare that South Africans have a pessimistic outlook on immigrants (Crush, 1998).

Interestingly, Jost, Popp, Schuster and Ziebarth (2012) state that it should be noted that "xenophobia does not only happen at the community level among ordinary members of the community". They stated that xenophobia can be propagated by state representatives in different departments or institutions. These officials often either deny access to services to non-nationals because of the fact that they are not South African, claiming that they are taking resources aimed at South Africans, or they make derogatory statements towards non-nationals.

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC 2000, p. 7) reports that "home-grown experiences in SA have shown us that xenophobia is intensely immersed in prejudgment and discrimination." The White Paper on International Migration (SAHRC, 2000, p. 7) identifies that "most illegal immigrants come from the rest of the African

continent; therefore xenophobia is most keenly directed at Africans." The increase of African immigrants into SA has led to an escalation in xenophobia and this has featured since the first democratic national elections in April 1994. South African citizens, appear to make the assumption that some immigrants are unlawfully living in South Africa, and this is probably resulting in anti-immigrant sentiments which are been seen in violent occurrences involving foreigners since 2008.

Recently, Wakefield (News24.com, 2013, para. 1) reported on a survey carried out by Pondering Panda in 2013 which found that "in Johannesburg, many young people believe foreigners are bad for the country." This study was undertaken amongst 1 845 participants who fell within the ages of 18 and 34 years and it found that youngsters in SA felt that immigrants residing and employed in the country had an adverse effect on SA. Nearly 42% of South Africans were of the opinion that immigrants were undesirable for the country, however, 28% stated that their existence did not affect them and 24% thought that migrants had an optimistic effect. The study also found that 85% of youngsters were conscious of the latest xenophobic ferocity in many different societies. The survey results (in Wakefield, eNews24.com, 2013) further noted that SA is facing a mammoth problem if their study echoes the feelings of all South African citizens. Clearly, The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC, 2000, p. 7) also seems to think that SA is facing a challenge and it is involved in an advocacy programme entitled "Roll Back Xenophobia" which has been running since December 1998 and was introduced in reaction to the great levels of xenophobia found in South Africa since the end of apartheid.

A discussion on Xenophobia is incomplete without an explanation of the word 'makwerekwere' in the South African context and some discussion on exploitation and discrimination.

2.7.4.1 *'Makwerekwere'*

Local South Africans use of derogatory language, such as the use of the word 'makwerekwere' is offensive to immigrants. Makwerekwere is a slang word for foreigners in South Africa, especially illegal immigrants (Macha, 2008). According to Khoabane (2010), the term 'makwerekwere' is a belittling term used by black South Africans to describe other Africans. The term 'makwerekwere' has been around for a number of years, but is newly

topical due to fears that there may be another wave of xenophobic attacks similar to those of 2008, in which more than 60 people died. Segale (2004) explained that the use of 'makwerekwere' establishes animosity, because South Africans have not chosen to find ways to avoid using it in society.

In addition to experiencing derogatory language, migrant teachers are also exploited and discriminated against in South Africa in numerous ways.

2.7.4.2. Exploitation, discrimination and a lack of job security

According to Lawrence (2013, para. 1), "although immigration may be anticipated or may be a 'turning leaf' for a majority of people, economic success cannot be guaranteed for migrants". Migrants in general and similarly migrant teachers face exploitation, discrimination and a lack of job security in the work environment in the host country. Lawrence (2013, para. 4) revealed that migrants may experience many difficulties in securing jobs due to "discrimination and the attendant difficulties of assimilating to a foreign culture". Previously, on a similar note, Massey, Goldring and Durand (1994, p. 7) had explained how this can occur: that "given the lack of knowledge about prevailing wage rates, work habits, legal conventions and social expectations, migrants are vulnerable to exploitation and mistreatment, especially if they are undocumented and do not speak the language of the host country".

In the SA context, there are reports in the South African media, with foreign teachers claiming that they are unable to secure teaching posts in South Africa. Makhaye (as cited by Manik, 2009, p. 153) made reference to two teachers that were interviewed after a spate of xenophobic attacks in South Africa (which left more than 50 people dead in violent clashes in May 2008). The interviewees stated that despite having their qualifications recognised by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), they were repeatedly refused jobs with the South African Department of Education (DoE) and forced to eek out a living in informal jobs. Interestingly, Crush (in Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013, p. 6) stated that "the perception amongst all South Africans that migrants steal jobs rose from 56% in 1999 to 62% in 2006 which coincides with the increase in unemployment" of South Africans. Thus the increasing unemployment rates in SA could be leading to greater hatred of African foreigners in SA.

Sisulu et al (2007, p. 556), had provided an example of exploitation and a lack of job security for migrant teachers, when they had drawn attention years ago that "Zimbabwean teachers in SA are in extremely exploitative circumstances in private schools and colleges, either as a result of not being paid or receiving low salaries with little recourse for legal action as they lack legal status. They are occupying menial jobs, unemployed and destitute." A recent study conducted by Singh (2013) revealed that local teachers are under the impression that migrant teachers want to steal their teaching jobs. He also adds that the "local teachers and school managers exploit the vulnerability of Zimbabwean teachers" (Singh, 2013, p. 14). Singh (2013, p. 11) explains that when it came to promotion, "Zimbabweans were excluded". He provides an example of one "Zimbabwean teacher who acted in the position of principal for two years, however, when the post was finally advertised, the SGB of the school refused to appoint him citing a reason that he is a foreigner and cannot relate effectively with their culture". This indicates that the job situation now and again shows qualities of intolerance particularly in the distribution of teaching posts at schools. The posts held by migrant teachers are frequently altered to protect the jobs of indigenous teachers.

Manik (2014) also recently explained that immigrant teachers feel exploited when they are not recognised for their qualifications and are paid below their expected salary bracket. She stated that because migrant teachers are teaching scarce skills subjects, they ought to be given permanent jobs instead of constant short-term posts that provide job instability. She also argued that migrant teachers in SA are being used as "a stop-gap measure, which locates them in a marginalized position in the profession, (and it) is exploitative and must be addressed" (Manik, 2014, p. 26).

She reported that Zimbabwean teachers are not paid the same salary that SA citizens receive because they occupy temporary positions. Manik (2013) noted that Zimbabweans were on temporary contracts and they were paid significantly less than nationals on a permanent contract and suffered from job insecurity. She (2013) explained that the immigrant teachers in her study, conveyed their vulnerability in being exploited and discriminated in their schools because they occupied School Governing Body (SGB) posts which could be terminated at any time. Hence, she stated that these Zimbabwean immigrant teachers were unable to express their worries freely "due to a fear of losing their jobs" (Manik, 2013, p. 75).

Migrant teachers upon entry to a new context, undergo identity reconstruction which is discussed below.

2.7.5 Teacher Identity

The literature points to the idea that migrant teachers are fluid; they are constantly negotiating their identities as a result of their experiences (example, xenophobic attacks) upon their entry into the host destination (Castles and Miller, 1998; Manik, 2011a; Fomunyam, 2012). Castles and Miller (1998, p. 297) reveal that "it is part of the migrant condition to develop multiple identities which are linked to the cultures both of the homeland and of countries of the origin". Later, Singh (2011) also stated that the decision to migrate to a new destination poses challenges for migrant teachers in adjusting to the cultures of the natives. He explained that the "beliefs, customary practices, cuisine and language" offer a foundation for crafting a migrant teacher's identity. Hence, teachers' identities (personality traits) are shaped and altered given their experiences in the destination country.

Fomunyam (2012, p. 208) explains this process when he reveals that "migrants find themselves caught in confined space between country of origin and country of migration". He explained that "moving between spaces and societies, migrants struggle to develop and maintain an identity that is at once an accurate reflection of themselves and at ease with their environments." Fomunyam (2012) cites Berry's model of choice where migrants must decide if they wish to maintain their minority cultural identity or assimilate into the identity of the majority of the population in the host country. Assimilation is an adoption of the host country's culture and a simultaneous rejection of the home country identity (Fomunyam, 2012, p. 209). Previously, Massey (cited by Fomunyam, 2012, p. 209) had also defined assimilation in a similar way as "the means, mechanism and policies by which immigrants adapt to and are incorporated within receiving societies." It is therefore evident that migrants experience identity transformation but this transformation is dependent upon their experiences in the host country.

Migrant teachers' experiences in host countries do differ because each country provides a different context but there are some similarities.

2.8 Theoretical framework by Miller (2011) on migrant teachers' experiences

Miller's (2011) framework consists of three stages based on a specific time-line and it was context-specific to Caribbean teachers teaching in the United Kingdom (UK) at secondary school level (see Figure 3) in the mid 2000's. As a result of the geographic locations of Jamaica and the United Kingdom (with the Atlantic Ocean separating them), these migrant teachers are referred to as Overseas Trained Teachers. These stages can be separated into Engagement (up to 18 months); Transition and Resistance (19-36 months); and Maturation (36 months and beyond).

2.8.1 Miller's three stages

The discussion below is taken directly from Miller (2011, p. 80).

Engagement (up to 18 months)

Miller (2011, p. 80) explained that Overseas Trained Teachers (OTTs) experience a loss of professional status, shock, financial constraints, uncertainty and isolation. According to Miller's (2011) trajectory, anyone with up to 18 months of teaching experience in a new environment should undergo the above mentioned experiences. These experiences are symptomatic of their 'newness' to both place (England) and space (new job context).

Transition and Resistance (19-36 months)

This is the second stage in Miller's identity development trajectory and takes place from the 19th to the 36th month. During this phase, migrant teachers experience resistance, confusion, acculturation and gains in professional and localised knowledge (2011, p. 80). In this stage, transition (change) and resistance appears to take place midway through the second year and is a crucial part to shaping the migrant's character. It is a phase of turbulence and the identity of the OTT begins to take shape. Miller (2011, p. 80) explained that the migrant teacher increases localised knowledge and is confronted by a range of experiences. The OTT also resists giving up prior teaching approaches and processes (situated knowledge) regardless of their continued relevance. It is the merger of aspects of situated original knowledge (brought with the migrant teacher from abroad) that enables the OTT to come to this identity more firmly and underpins their new emergent professional identity.

Maturation (36 months and beyond)

The last phase in Miller's identity development trajectory is from 36 months (completion of three years) and beyond. It is an extension of the second phase and can have a positive or negative outcome. The positive outcome results in an increased amount of confidence, improvements in financial status and their financial position within the local education system (the new home of participants) and this in turn helps to obtain additional growth and development for the migrant teacher. However, the negative outcome results in decreased maturation, whereby the OTT suffers from impairment which is characterised by confusion about one's status in the local education system (Miller 2011, p. 80).
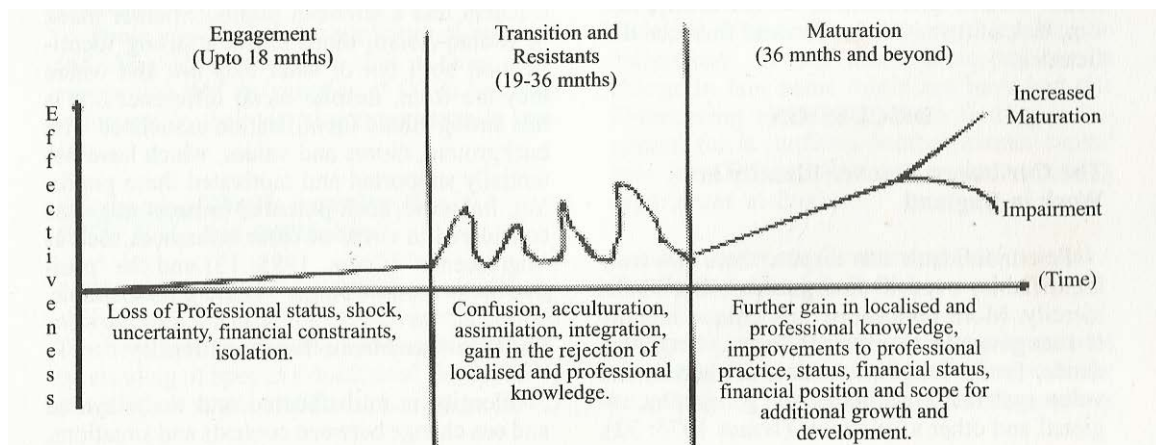
Figure 3: Identity development trajectory (Adapted from Miller, 2011, p. 80)

In the next major section of the literature, I embark on a discussion of teacher migration at a structural level by accounting for migration in terms of global education needs and trends and how this impacts on countries' supply and demand for teachers. I end this section with a discussion of the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol which was designed to protect countries across the world from experiencing unregulated teacher losses and also to prevent the exploitation of migrant teachers.

2.9 Needs in education globally

The United Nations has declared that "education is a right, like the right to have proper food or a roof over your head" (Education for All, 2013). It is also stated in article 26 of the 1948

Universal Declaration of Human Rights that "everyone has the right to education". The value of education is also described as leading to personal growth. Furthermore, an education creates job opportunities and specific freedoms such as the ability to be an entrepreneur in starting your own business. At a different level, it has been known to nurture peace, democracy and economic growth as well as contributing to improving health and decreasing poverty. The critical goal of Education for All (EFA) is sustainable development. In the year 2000, the world's governments adopted the six EFA goals and the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These two are related and there is commitment to the arena of education. Bokova (as cited in the article Education for All, 2013) stated that "the EFA goals and MDGs are complementary: when you fund education, you are securing progress towards all the Millennium Development Goals and education helps global development".

As stated, education has a key place in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) framework. One of the MDG's in Africa to be achieved in 2015 is that of universal primary education (Okeke and Nwali, 2013). This goal (MDG 2) is relevant to this study as this research targets the experiences of migrant teachers in primary schools in Johannesburg, Gauteng. MDG two entails achieving universal primary education needs to "ensure that by 2015 children everywhere will be able to complete a full course of good quality primary schooling" (UNESCO, 2008, p. 28). These needs in education have impacted on teacher supply and demand both worldwide as well as in South Africa. These needs and global trends will be discussed in detail below.

2.9.1 Teacher supply and demand worldwide

A major trend is that of a shortage of teachers worldwide at present and teachers are required in both developing and developed countries. Interestingly, another trend is that developed countries are not producing enough teachers to meet their education needs and neither are developing countries. Manik (as cited by Bhengu, 2011, p. 6) gave global insight pertaining to one of the main reasons for the situation of teacher scarcity stating, "In many developed countries such as the US, UK, the Netherlands, Canada and Australia, the teaching profession is ageing due to an inability to attract young people into the profession". SACE (as cited by Bhengu, 2011) emphasised that as long as this trend exists, these developed countries will carry on experiencing teacher shortages which they will pursue to address by enticing teachers from elsewhere. It was also pointed out that teachers in developing countries will

continue being the main target and that it is against this international background that the issue of teacher migration in the context of South Africa must be understood. SACE also noted that identical international patterns appeared 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 emigrating to South Africa owing to the country's economic prosperity, political stability and the promise of better working conditions and income.

With regards to the segmentation of teachers into primary and high school, according to UNESCO (2008), pre-primary teachers are unequally dispersed within nations, with differences between public and private schools. UNESCO provides an example, such as in Costa Rica, Djibouti, Ecuador, Peru and the United Republic of Tanzania, where the Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTRs) in public schools are more than double those in private schools, suggesting that children in public institutions have access to fewer teachers and are likely therefore to experience worse teaching and learning conditions (Unesco Institute for Statistics database, 2008). The teacher shortages observed in many countries are compounded by low percentages of trained teachers in schools. "Across the fifty countries with data, the percentage of trained teachers ranges from less than 25% in Cape Verde, Ghana, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic and the United Republic of Tanzania to higher than 95% in eighteen countries, most of them Arab States or Caribbean island states" (UNESCO, 2008, p. 54). A common trend before 2008 has been that of teachers emigrating from South (developing) to North (developed) migration such as from the Phillipines to the US and from South Africa to the UK. This research study was largely South to South migration with the exception of one participant being initially from the US before moving to Africa.

Geron (cited by Tubeza, 2009) explained that according to a survey piloted by the provisional employment agency Manpower Inc., teaching is the second hardest profession to occupy in the USA. Majority of the locals, the study alleged, would choose any other profession that pays a good salary than opt to teach. Less income and unappealing job environments were often cited as reasons not to enter the teaching profession. However, for a teacher migrating from a developing nation, salaries would still be significantly more than what they earn at home. Instead of addressing job settings of the education sector, governments of first world countries are finding it more suitable and cost-effective to employ migrant workers, most of whom are paid low salaries and contractual jobs that are intended at preventing migrant workers of their benefits. The reliance on migrant skilled teachers in developed countries has

led to forceful recruitment approaches by governments, recruitment agencies, and the private schools themselves in developed countries. There have even been governments which have created special agencies targeting the recruitment of teachers from other countries.

Nhavoto (2010, p. 1) explained that at international level, few countries have indicated that a teacher shortage problem is experienced when countries send and receive migrant teachers. He commented that receiving countries decide on the possibility to hire teachers from other countries because they are unable to meet the local demand for teachers. He, similar to Kader Asmal (Ex Minister of Education of SA) uses the analogy of "poaching" to describe how sending countries might complain that global recruitment is poaching (in the sense of stealing) teachers who are skilled by their home country (sending country) and yet recruited to other countries to meet their needs and that this will intensify the scarcity of teachers in their home countries.

It is as a result of complaints at Commonwealth level by developing nations about this "poaching" of teachers and their exploitation in receiving countries that Commonwealth countries embarked on developing a teacher recruitment protocol.

The Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP)

The CTRP was a document crafted in 2004 (Commonwealth , 2004). This document was a response to the loss of teachers from developing countries to developed countries. A survey conducted by Ochs (2011, p. 24) revealed that majority of teachers knew about "the opportunity to teach in a foreign country through newspaper articles, friends and information on the internet". Spreen and Edwards (2011) explain that the aim of the CTRP in paragraph 2.3.1 is to: "balance the rights of teachers to migrate internationally on a temporary or permanent basis, against the need to protect the integrity of national education systems and to prevent the exploitation of scarce human resources of poor countries" They however indicate that the CTRP is a not a legal mandatory document. It only holds ethical authority for both the employing and home countries and sets out the constitutional rights and tasks for countries and educators (Spreen and Edwards, 2011, p. 33). Hence, there is no repercussion for the unethical recruitment of migrant teachers since the CTRP is not a legally binding document.

Teachers have continued to move before and after the development of the protocol. There have been particular trends in the movement of teachers from the 1990's until present. A

discussion now follows on the supply and demand for teachers worldwide with the following trajectories: Filipino teachers migrating to the U.S; Teachers from India migrating to the UK and US; Caribbean teachers moving to the UK; and South African teachers to the UK (unfettered migration only till 2007) will be elaborated upon below. In each of the subsections, two additional questions will be addressed. Firstly, why are they moving out of their home (origin) country and secondly, what are their experiences of the host (destination) country as these have significance for this present study.

2.9.1.1 Filipino teachers migrating to the US

According to Geron (2009), the demand for teachers across the United States (U.S) continues to remain high even if the country's economy is in a deep recession. She stated that the U.S will need to hire an approximate two million extra teachers in the upcoming decade in order to sustain the present level of education and acquire nearly three million teachers if they wish to improve themselves by being internationally competitive at the same level.

Why are they moving to the US?

Geron (2009) stated that more than 10,000 migrant teachers are recruited by the U.S each year to fill its demand. A huge demand for newly graduated mathematics and science teachers are also needed in the U.S. More Filipino teachers are taking jobs out of their home country. Geron (2009) explained that the emigration of Filipino teachers to other states is anticipated to endure in the future. The Public Services Labour Independent Confederation mentioned two places which were the likely magnets for Filipino teachers—the United States, which would need two million teachers in the coming decade, and Arab countries, which would need at least 450,000 teachers. Geron (2009) further stated that almost 4,000 Filipino teachers with specialisations in mathematics, science, English, and special needs education teachers left for the U.S. These teachers were only fresh recruits for teaching posts and excluded those who exited for the U.S for work besides teaching. Their favourite destinations were the United States, Saudi Arabia, Japan and the United Arab Emirates.

According to a UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (Unesco) study, Geron (2009) said, "the Arab states will face the greatest teacher shortage in the drive to provide every child with a primary education by 2015 as the region will need to raise the current stock by 26 percent and create another 450,000 teaching posts in less than a decade." She explained that as further established countries face a 'greying' (ageing) labour-force; they are

progressively choosing to opt for the recruitment of more skilful teachers from less established countries to save costs. Geron (2009) maintains that "more than 60 percent of all primary teachers are over 40 years of age in Canada, Italy, and the Netherlands; and more than 40 percent are over 50 years old in Germany and Sweden".

Since the 1990's, the European countries had already predicted that this occurrence might in due course cause teacher shortages. Lederer's (2011, p. 44) study on the recruitment of Filipino teachers to the U.S corresponds with Geron (2009) where she stated that "teacher migration is an important trend for the United States education system that has been emerging rather quietly over recent decades. Unwilling or unable to address the root causes of increasing teacher shortages, school systems around the country have begun importing teachers to meet their staffing needs.

Apart from an ageing teacher force, another reason causing teacher shortages in very developed countries was the diminishing interest of their citizens in choosing the teaching career. Lederer's (2011, p. 44) study enunciates this point by using the example of migrant trained teachers from all over the world who are recruited for the sole purpose of filling in teaching positions in subjects such as Maths, Science and Special education in areas that are "hard-to-staff inner city or very rural schools". She explained that the U.S has imported migrant teachers to fulfil their staffing needs. Hence, the U.S experiences shortages of teachers in scarce skills subjects such as Mathematics and Science, just as South Africa also experiences the same shortages in these subjects.

What are Filipino teachers' experiences in the US?

Many Filipino teachers who were recruited to the US were exploited by the recruitment agencies who hired them. The "teachers were housed in unfinished properties"; "forbidden to own any form of transportation"; and the recruiters even went to the extent of taking away "teachers' original transcripts, certifications and credentials so that teachers could not find jobs on their own" (Lederer, 2011, p. 46). Another participant in Lederer's (2011) study explained that they had to pay a huge amount to the recruitment agencies in order to teach in the US, however, upon arrival in the country they were informed that their employment contracts would be terminated if any of the migrant teachers decided to query anything that was unclear in their employment contract. This led to an autocratic agreement between the recruitment agency and the Filipino teachers who opted to teach in the US.

2.9.1.2 Teachers from India to the UK and US

Sharma (2011) who examines teacher migration in an Indian context explains that many teachers from India have been hired to teach in American and British schools. Thus like he Filipino teachers, teachers from India and also being recruited to meet education needs in the US.

Why the UK and US?

In the USA, there is a "shortage of Maths, Science and English teachers" (Sharma, 2011, p. 100), since many teachers from the USA are also emigrating in search of better jobs in other segments of the economy as stated above. Therefore there is an increase in the number of teaching positions available and recruitment agencies have targeted teachers from India to occupy the posts. One of the significant benefits of teaching in the USA compared to India is the attractive salary package in dollars compared to the weak Rupee currency in India. Similarly, teachers from India opt to teach in the UK due to the Pounds earned. Thus currency exchange rates are a powerful reason propelling migration to the USA and UK.

What are the experiences of teachers' from India in UK and US?

Many of the migrant teachers' described their emigration to the UK and US as "economically and professionally" nourishing (Sharma, 2011, p. 102). Sharma (2011) also explained that there is a wide range of opportunities offered in these developed countries which provide worldwide acquaintances, professional and personal growth as well as an improved lifestyle when compared to the home country.

2.9.1.3 Caribbean teachers to the UK

Miller (2009, 2011) studied Caribbean teacher's migration to the United Kingdom and in a 2011 paper; he described Caribbean teachers' struggles with teacher identity in the UK which is explained below.

Why the UK?

Miller's (2011) study on Caribbean teachers in England (UK) revealed that there was an intense shortage of primary and secondary school teachers in the UK which led to recruitment agencies hiring Overseas Trained Teachers (OTT's) from the Caribbean states. However, his research concentrated on Caribbean teachers in secondary schools only. Miller (2011, p. 74)

describes the term 'OTT' as "bridge builders" which highlights two essential features, on the benefits that OTTs provide in the UK in terms of the quality of their teaching and pupil control in the British classrooms.

What are Caribbean teachers' experiences in the UK?

As discussed in section 2.8, Caribbean teachers experienced many shifts in identity upon arrival in the UK. Miller (2011) explained that OTTs in the UK had to find ways of blending in with the local's professional identity. This included a variety of "circumstances, mastering several discourses, becoming aware of and being immersed into localised customs, ideologies and knowledge's" (Miller, 2011, p. 81). The migrant teachers described their experiences in schools and society as both stimulating and valuable.

2.9.1.4 South African teachers to the UK

Manik (2005) conducted a study on South African teachers' emigrating to the UK, their experiences abroad and the return of a cohort of teachers. A discussion on why migrant teachers have chosen to teach in the UK and their teaching experiences in the UK is discussed below.

Why are South Africans opting to teach in the UK?

Manik (2005; 2012) explained that teachers from SA were enticed by recruitment agencies to teach in the UK due to improved job contexts, better salaries and travel opportunities. Teacher shortages in the UK were solved through the recruitment of SA teachers. However, upon arrival in the UK, SA teachers experienced identity challenges such as a culture shock which was discussed earlier.

What are their teaching experiences in the UK?

Teachers' experiences in the UK which had a major effect on South African teachers was a lack of discipline from the learners which South African teachers were not used to given their classroom experiences in South Africa (Manik, 2011a). The migrant teachers also underwent emotional trauma in the UK classrooms. Other teaching experiences included "physical abuse, promiscuous behaviour and racism and discrimination" by the learners (Manik, 2005, p. 131). However, migrant teachers also described the support they received in schools by management which helped develop them professionally whereas, in SA schools migrant teachers indicated negative professional cultures that slowed down their progress.

It is valuable to this study to also understand the nature of teacher supply and demand in the South African context as this has an impact on teacher migration.

2.9.2 Teacher demand and supply in SA

Teacher supply and demand are critical aspects in SA education due to the country's shortage of teachers and the urge of local teachers to emigrate for a better standard of living in developed countries. It is important to gain an understanding of the statistics of teacher supply and demand in SA; from which countries are people emigrating to SA; the dilemma of the shortage of teachers experienced in SA; the demand for teachers in scarce skills subjects in SA; as well as the low pay of South African teachers motivating them to relocate. The above will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Statistics of teacher supply and demand in SA

The shortage of educators is a global challenge and the challenges specific to South Africa are un/under qualified educators; a shortage of mathematics and science educators and a general lack of interest in teaching as a profession. Mda and Erasmus (2008, p. 12) "shed light on the fact that the number of educators needed in South Africa is informed by the need to maintain predetermined levels of educators relative to the learner population." The Department of Education (2005, p. 35) explained that their present aim is the ratio 1:40 where one indicates the educator and forty represents, every 40 learners in an ordinary primary school and one educator for every 35 learners in ordinary secondary schools. The fewer learners in a classroom, the better classroom contact the teacher is able to have during teaching periods. Therefore, the DoE prefers a lower ratio learner to educator ratio. However, Morgan et al (2006) have stated that unfortunately, South Africa is placed in a position where the degree of teacher 'attrition' presently exceeds the degree at which newly qualified teachers are being produced. Manik, Maharaj, Sookrajh and Gilbey (cited by Bhengu 2011, p. 8) revealed that "in the year 2006, the statistics showed that about 17 500 educators were lost through attrition, while only 2 500 teachers were being trained". They also added that during 2000-2004, South Africa experienced "an estimated teacher attrition level of just over a third, that is, about thirty-four percent (34%). About 8.6% of teachers left to work overseas in this same period, with an estimated 4% of teachers were working abroad in the year 2006".

Source countries supplying teachers to SA and teachers' experiences

A recent study by Manik (see Keevy et al, 2014) which was undertaken in 3 provinces in SA indicated that migrant teachers were from the following African countries: Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ghana and Nigeria. Findings from the above research revealed that most of the participants were "located in rural areas teaching scarce skills subjects" (Manik, 2014). Her findings on the professional experiences of foreign teachers in South Africa was that their experiences were extensive and "varied and included their bureaucratic experiences of gaining legal entry into the country and teaching profession, their strife to achieve secure teaching posts and need for career success and their emotive interpersonal relationships with their principals, colleagues and learners at the level of the school including xenophobia". She thus reported that there were teachers from largely African countries emigrating to SA, but Zimbabwean teachers were in the majority.

Zimbabwean teachers to South Africa

Sisulu et al (2007), assume that the same reasons that health professionals provide for exiting Zimbabwe, namely economic, political, professional and educational apply to teachers. They state that teachers in SA are in immensely "manipulative settings in private schools and universities" either by not being paid on time or getting a low income with a little "option for legal action as they do not possess legal status" (Sisulu et al, 2007, p. 556). The study by Sisulu et al also suggests that some are disadvantaged, "either occupying menial jobs, unemployed and destitute". The interim chairperson of The Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) in SA has commented that "in 2006 that an average of 4 000 teachers left Zimbabwe per annum since 2000 and that majority are in SA". This means that there could be more than 40 000 Zimbabwean teachers in SA. However, the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA, 2008) said that there are in excess of 1 000 Zimbabwean qualified teachers in SA. Either way, Zimbabweans count for the largest cohort of foreign teachers.

Manik (2012) reporting on a 2011 study that she undertook amongst Zimbabwean teachers stated that there has been an overabundance of studies embarked on in South Africa, emphasising the dilemma of Zimbabweans, enthusiastic to gain employment "as there are large numbers of Zimbabweans in Gauteng, Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal and western Cape". However, those studies have been restricted to unskilled migrants such as plantation workers or skilled migrants such as doctors or nurses. Thus, she feels that there is a lack of research

unpacking South Africa as a receiving country for migrant teachers. She also pointed out that there has been little research on Zimbabwean teachers in SA.

Emigrating teachers compromise developing countries

Thus whilst it appears that many immigrant teachers have belittling professional experiences in host countries, source countries which are developing countries, also appear to be negatively affected by the loss of its teachers. Bhengu (2011, p. 23-24) in a South African Council for Educators document revealed that the space produced by emigrating teachers "compromises the developing countries' ability to provide quality education to future generations in their own countries." The phenomenon of teacher migration should thus be understood within this bigger setting. Thus, it appears to be vital that SA needs to develop approaches when addressing the scarcity of teachers, particularly mathematics and science teachers who are presently in great demand worldwide. An evaluation of continental tendencies in teacher migration showed a rising number of teachers from countries in the continent of Africa who are arriving in South Africa to be employed as teachers due to the country's relative economic and political stability. However, the outward movement of migrant teachers will have severe adverse effects on the excellence of education in their home country as Bhengu (2011) has alluded. A lack of continued teacher migration statistics into and out of SA will also hinder the capability to understand the trends as they develop and to be responsive to the educational demands in SA. Hence, a system for collecting regular longitudinal data should be endorsed for use at decision-making level (Keevy et al, 2014) in order to assess the extent to which emigrating teachers are compromising education in their home countries.

SA producing insufficient teachers

In 2006, there was the view that South Africa had a significant amount of available teachers at their disposal (Kganyago, 2006, p. 66). More recently, according to Zhuwakinyu (2011), South Africa is producing too less teachers, particularly in scarce skills subjects such as maths and science. He voiced that "South Africa needs to produce some 15 000 more teachers a year to reach the necessary annual number of 25 000 new teachers". The profile of the age group of teachers proposes a future scarcity and a rising necessity for bigger numbers of newer teachers. A challenge encountered is that of enticing new recruits into the teaching vocation and the other challenge is of how to keep those who are presently in the education system. Thus there is this view that at present the country is not producing enough teachers to

balance out the effects of annual attrition. Nzimande (the Minister of Higher Education) in Masinga (2013) stated that "the South African Government is on a drive to produce more than 14 000 teachers by 2014". He also explained that this will help to improve the government's lack of teachers which is the gap that presently exists between teacher supply and demand.

However, Kganyago (2006, p. 66) explained that although attempts are being made to encourage students to choose a career in teaching, there has been a decline in undergraduates enrolling for the Initial Professional Education of Teachers (IPET) qualifications, namely the undergraduate Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) as well as the Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). He stated that information from the Deans' Forum in 2004 indicated that "education institutions are producing at best approximately 9 000 graduates of whom at least about 3 000 may already be practising educators". The "drop in registration is noteworthy amongst black Africans in South Africa. He also explained that better job prospects for African applicants have not only reduced the number of applicants who enter the education sector, but have also had an impact on the supply of educators because even the small pool of education graduates may not necessarily pursue teaching as a vocation. He elaborated that they possibly find jobs in other fields which uses their education expertise, such as in training-related vocations or sales" (Kganyago, 2006, p. 66).

According to Alaneme (2009), the education minister in Nigeria has stated that "the South African educational system was in dire need of teaching personnel particularly at the basic education level". His study revealed that there was a plan to support the South African Government in recovering its educational system by proposing to recruit some teaching staff from Nigeria that would be involved in going to the country to teach in the near future. He also stated that South Africa has appealed to the Education Minister from Nigeria in writing to help in terms of their shortage of teachers, predominantly in the following subjects: science and mathematics (I discuss the specific needs in particular subjects in the next section in detail), for which advertisements will soon be placed in national newspapers to employ Nigerians who are qualified and interested in going to teach in South Africa.

Thus SA is commencing with the active recruitment of foreign teachers to meet the demand for teachers. The recruitment of foreign teachers is part of a strategy to address the shortage of mathematics, science and technology educators. It also forms part of the broader recruitment strategy. The initial focus by government was to recruit 1000 educators for

under-served or rural areas. In 2008 there were 1443 foreign teachers teaching in SA in public schools who were recruited directly by schools (Department of Education, 2008). It is estimated that 20 000 teachers are needed annually and higher education institutions have not been producing sufficient graduates (DBE and HET, 2011). The Integrated Strategic Planning Document (DBE and HET, 2011) notes that the following areas in primary schools are in need of teachers: Intermediate Phase (IP) mathematics; IP natural sciences; IP arts and culture; IP economic and management sciences; IP technology; and Foundation Phase (FP). The document calls for migrant teachers as a solution to fill the existing labour gaps.

It is of concern that according to Manik (2010), the quality of teachers recruited before 2007 to the UK was of significant because it was targeting those teachers who specialised in critical areas such as math and science, and who were equally in demand in rural areas in South Africa. A recently published study undertaken by Keevy et al (2014, p. 81-82), revealed that "the subjects listed most frequently as teaching specialisations by employed migrant teachers in South Africa include English, mathematics, Afrikaans, physical science and geography" which would explain that there are teachers specializing in other subjects who are also now dearly needed.. Their study indicated that the majority of migrant teachers employed by the State in SA in 2010 were employed in secondary schools (1 111) followed by primary schools (264) (Keevy et al 2014, p. 77).

Demand for 'scarce skills' subject teachers in SA

Manik and Singh (2011, p. 59) noted that there still remains great concern in South Africa for the inadequate supply of teachers. They added that this shortage is limited to particular subjects, phases and provinces. Their findings revealed that South Africa has a dearth of mathematics, science and language teachers in urban and rural government schools. However, a sample study referred to by Kganyago (2006, p. 11), highlighted the findings mentioned above by Manik and Singh as it was revealed that in the category of secondary teachers, the subjects in which most qualified teachers specialise are English, Mathematics, Natural Science, Life Orientation and Technology. Kganyago's (2006, p. 11) comparison between the figures presented in the research findings and the subjects identified by the DoE as 'scarce' subjects, indicated that institutions are trying to address these needs. Morgan, Sives and Appleton (as cited by Cox, 2007, p. 86) indicated that the issue of shortage of subjects is less applicable to primary schools, where teachers seldom specialise in teaching specific academic disciplines.

Kganyago (2006, p. 66) notes that a majority of the teachers emigrating are the most skilled recruits, mainly those coming from formerly privileged and white schools, who have the expertise for teaching mathematics and science subjects, however, this cluster of teachers also includes a substantial amount with skills in the Foundation and Intermediate phase. Importantly, these expert subject teachers are also the toughest to substitute, making it difficult to meet Education for All (EFA) targets if such teachers with scarce skills are not replaced. As various scholars have stated, South Africa is in need of migrant teachers since many highly qualified teachers are emigrating.

The Department of Education (DoE) (2008, p. 5) in South Africa does acknowledge the need for migrant teachers in its explanation that the "criteria of placement for foreign educators is specific to rural and remote areas; schools without qualified mathematics and science educators; schools with a perpetual poor performance; and an allocation to district or circuit offices to support more schools". According to the DoE, they have appointed a recruitment organization to manage the method of employing and home affairs has made "provision for 4000 quota permits" (DoE, 2008, p. 6). To South Africa's benefit, employment favoritism would be given to South African teachers and the recruitment of migrant teachers will be a temporary solution. The first intake of migrant teachers took place in October 2008 and special focus was given to Limpopo, Kwa- Zulu Natal and Eastern Cape (DoE, 2008, p. 7). Degazon-Johnson (2010) has argued that efforts should be made by authorities to ensure that the employment status of a migrant teacher is as similar as possible to that in their home country to prevent the exploitation of teachers in foreign destinations.

The May 2011, figures taken from the government employee database Persal revealed that 5400 foreign teachers work in public schools consisting of 3796 teachers originally from Zimbabwe which comfortably makes up the majority. 501 are from India, 500 from Ghana and 90 from Namibia (Grobbelaar, 2011, p. 1). Most research studies indicate an impending shortage of teachers in SA, although its exact magnitude and timing is a matter of debate. There is clearly a lack of fit between overall demand and supply for particular skills in particular schools. There is an oversupply in some subject areas, and an undersupply in others, and also imbalances in the deployment of teachers. Rural schools are particularly badly affected. Shortages are being experienced in scarce skills areas such as Mathematics, Science and Technology, in Languages and Arts, and in the Economic and Management

Sciences. Shortages have also been reported for the Foundation and Intermediate Phases of the system previously (Department of Education, 2006, p. 11) and presently as stated above.

Mokgatlhe (as cited by Grobbelaar, 2011, p. 1) concurs with the Department of Education. However, Grobbelaar made reference to the May figure in the government employee database Persal indicating that although South Africa is in dire need of teachers who teach Mathematics and Physical Science most of the foreign teachers are appointed to teach these subjects to pupils from grades 7 to grade 12 and work in Gauteng (1286), Eastern Cape (975) and Limpopo (934). Since the beginning of the 20th century, Indian teachers have been well known in Ethiopia, particularly in maths and science. Even today, a large number of professors teach in Ethiopian universities. Ethiopia also recruits hundreds Nigerian university instructors. This indicates that Ethiopia has been facing a shortage of qualified teachers, especially in certain subjects, and it has been willing to offer an incentive to attract foreign teachers (Nhavoto, 2010).

In addition to needs in specific areas such as Mathematics and Science, there is a deficit of primary school teachers in SA as well. This is not new news as it was revealed in the Report on the foundation phase conference in SA in 2008 that the purpose of the conference was "to foreground FP education unambiguously as a critical area for development and growth in South Africa." Green, Parker, Deacon and Hall (as cited by Manik, 2010, p. 84) investigated FP teacher provision and concluded that there is a dire shortfall of new FP teachers in South Africa. Hence, it would be interesting to see if there are migrant teachers' teaching Life Skills, Numeracy and Literacy (English) in the Foundation Phase.

2.10 The impacts of teacher migration for South Africa

The impacts of teacher migration for SA are discussed below such as the loss of teachers.

Loss of teachers or Not?

According to Appleton et al (cited by Bhengu, 2011), the impact of teacher migration is based on how well the affected education system adjusts to the loss of teachers. The period of teacher migration (depending on whether it is temporary or permanent) has significant implications for policy. Kok et al (cited by Bhengu, 2011) states that "while teacher

migration occurs frequently and in large numbers", many migrants in search of work from developing countries intend on going back to their home countries before retirement.

International teacher mobility is a temporary, a short-term approach for South African teachers. Bhengu (2011) explained that return migrant teachers interviewed indicated that they had taught for short periods of less than two years. Newly qualified teachers who were interested in teaching abroad indicated that they planned to teach overseas for the same amount of time. Therefore, temporary migration would then be useful in giving national education systems an opportunity to return balance to the demand and supply of teachers. This is in accordance with the argument that the movement of teachers out of South Africa, translates into reduction in unemployment levels in the country as teaching posts become vacant for others to fill. If migrant teachers are replaced, adverse effects can be avoided. According to the research produced by Appleton (cited in Bhengu, 2011), international migration is not found to have a direct or harmful impact on teacher shortages in South Africa. However, Duncan Hindle, former Director-General in the Ministry of Education, argued that there is no general shortage of teachers in public schools in South Africa "with a pool of 240 000 unemployed teachers available".

Appleton, Sives and Morgan (cited by Bhengu, 2011, p. 20) explained that difficulties in occupying available teaching posts in schools were due to administrative interruptions or the limited amount of appropriate applicants for the necessary positions. Administrative interruptions comprised the requirement by the Department of Basic Education that available teaching posts should be publicised in government reports and the mistakes that this process involves, such as the teaching post being omitted from a report are there. But there was a different view expressed by Manik, Maharaj and Sookrajh (2006, p. 2) who revealed that because mostly South African teachers were employed in British schools before 2008 compared to all other migrant teachers, there are costs to be borne by SA. They have a considerable amount of apprehension about the influence of teacher migration on the future outcomes of education in South Africa. They cite Gilbey (as cited by Manik, Maharaj and Sookrajh, 2006, p. 16) who stated that "each year 17,500 educators are lost through natural attrition and only 2,500 people are being trained as teachers", so there is a general need for teachers. They have explained that the consequences of a decrease in the quantity of teachers are severe for South Africa, particularly with regards to the improvement of the economy.

In terms of private schools, it appears that previously white schools and private schools generally do not experience the challenge of the shortages of teachers, and that is because of their attractive working environments for teachers making teacher replacements quite easy to come by Appleton (in Bhengu, 2011). However, all schools generally experience problems in finding suitable teachers for specialist subjects such as mathematics and science. Specialist subject teachers may migrate in large numbers or, with the introduction of compulsory mathematics and science as subjects, the number of teachers produced by the country in these specialist subjects, may be lower than the current demand. Government policies may therefore be contributing to the scarcity of teachers teaching certain subjects. Current and future policies aimed at introducing grade R as compulsory by 2010, and internet in all schools by 2013, are seen as policies that will lead to a shortage of teachers which could result in importing teachers as there is no internal capacity to give effect to policy.

2.10.1 Brain Drain, Gain, Circulation

Oberoi and Linn (2006) explain that the phenomenon of a brain drain is the result of a loss of skills from the host country. They argue that this has mostly occurred from developing countries to developed countries. Bertram, Appleton, Muthukrishna and Wedekind (2006, p. 1) enlightens that the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) has raised the matter of how a 'brain drain' is defined. However, Crush, McDonald & Williams (as cited by Bertram et al, 2006, p. 1) defined a 'brain drain' as a "period of more than two years as a permanent move (emigration)". Hence, they also argued that if migrant teachers or other professionals who leave are returning after two years, this may not create a brain drain, but rather a 'brain circulation'.

Similarly, Fourie (2006, p. 21) concurs with Bertram et al by clarifying that brain circulation refers to "professionals leaving their home country to work and live in another country, but who return permanently to their home country at some point in time". She also pointed out that with the brain circulation pattern; both countries are at an advantage. She added that the receiving (host) country gains from the emigrant, but when the emigrant returns to his/her home country, new expertise and information are brought in from the host country which in turn benefits the home country's job market and economic situation. From the discussion above it is clear that brain circulation involves an exchange and inheritance of skills and knowledge between countries which are valuable to the receiving country.

De Villiers (2011) states that, "South Africa is funding the training of teachers who serve in other countries. The shortage of teachers remains a great concern for South Africa. South Africa has a shortage of mathematics, science and language teachers in both urban and rural public schools". Hence, Lawrence (2013) argued that by enticing the finest and most intelligent people from foreign countries, the U.S. causes a brain drain from within the receiving country. Instead of improving the quality of its own math and science programs, it rewards a less educated population by importing migrant workers from other countries. Furthermore, he explained that it damages foreign countries by taking away smart and talented individuals who could help develop their technological sophistication and economic competitiveness (Lawrence, 2013).

The term brain circulation, for the purpose of this study suggests that migration between places around the world is now more intense. In South Africa, brain circulation is also evolving. Teachers are leaving SA to go to the Middle East at present and the UK in the past. Teachers are also flowing in from largely, other parts of Africa to teach in SA. For example, "large numbers of teachers migrated to neighbouring South Africa, where wages were significantly higher for those filling teacher shortages in science and mathematics" (Caravetti, Lederer, Lupico, Meter 2014, p. 80) . Fourie (2006, p. 130) explained that the brain circulation pattern is particularly relevant to South Africans living in the United Arab Emirates where migrants are not permitted to become UAE citizens. Brain circulation provides benefits to both the country of origin (South Africa) and the host country (UAE). Hence, the migrant teachers that form part of the brain circulation drive can bring back valued experiences and knowledge to South Africa, the local economy (Fourie, 2006, p. 130).

People migrate for good work opportunities and as the economy has globalised, people from around the world find attractive opportunities that may inspire them to cross intercontinental borders. From the above literature it appears that because South Africans are unable to become UAE citizens, they are forced to return, and in the process South Africa benefits with a 'brain gain'. Hence, there will always be a circulation of skills internationally which must looked at in a positive light, since we learn better and new ways of teaching according different school contexts.

2.11 Conclusion

Studies have indicated that there is a greater flux of teachers migrating into South Africa with many located in border provinces and urban hubs. Majority of the teachers migrating into South Africa are of Zimbabwean descent and the push and pull factors that triggered this move was a desire for political, socio-economic and educational advancements. Gauteng was not researched enough or as thoroughly as information regarding this topic was scarce. Studies also indicated that research focused primarily on migrant teachers who teach in the Senior and FET phase (high school). I therefore found it valuable to see if there were migrant teachers in primary schools that do not only teach Mathematics and Science but other subjects as well and what are their experiences in primary schools and whether they mirror or deviate from migrant teachers experiences that have already been documented in SA.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the literature, core concepts and theories to establish a basis to understand the experiences of immigrant teachers based in primary schools in Johannesburg, South Africa.

This chapter commences with an explanation of the context of the study, followed by a discussion on the methodological approach chosen to conduct the research. The discussion in this chapter includes the use of particular research instruments in addressing the overall aim and objectives of the study. The research design is discussed with prominence given to qualitative methods which is where this research positions itself. A qualitative research design was used as it was found to be most appropriate in meeting the objectives of the study. The research tools chosen gave the immigrant teachers an opportunity to freely discuss their feelings about their experiences of teaching in a primary school and their reasons for choosing the Johannesburg area. The chapter concludes with detailing the limitations to the study.

3.2 Context of the study

The study was undertaken in Johannesburg, South Africa amongst primary school teachers located in both public and private schools. Gauteng is one the 9 provinces that make up SA. There are 480 public primary schools and 180 independent primary schools in Johannesburg (DBE, 2012, p. 6). Johannesburg is the largest urban hub and most densely inhabited of all South Africa's cities and is located within the province of Gauteng. Johannesburg is also the provincial capital of Gauteng. Presently, the city's population is estimated to be five million people, which has led to a fairly significant transport infrastructure which is now in place (Johannesburg Maps and Orientation, 2014). The map which shows the location of Johannesburg in Gauteng is shown below (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Location of Johannesburg in Gauteng

(Taken from http://www.findtripinfo.com/south-africa/gauteng-province.html)

This study draws on a convenience sample of migrant teachers from primary schools. There was very little statistical knowledge on immigrant teachers in SA until a recent study by Keevy et al (2014, p. 76) revealed that "there is a total of 1633 migrant teachers which appeared on the PERSAL system of the DoE in November 2010. In the same year, a total of 389 369 teachers were employed in public schools (DBE 2012)." It must be noted that their study only accessed statistics in public schooling and it did not access immigrant teachers who were employed outside of the department of education on contracts, that is, it does not for example include school governing body employees or private school employees. This therefore means that there are in fact a number of immigrant teachers in SA who are not accounted for in the Keevy et al (2014) study.

The Keevy et al (2014) study revealed that 28% of migrant teachers were located in Gauteng province and that there was also 264 (out of the total 1633 migrant teachers = 16% of the total) migrant teachers employed at state primary schools across the country in 2010 (Keevy et al 2014, p. 77). Hence, migrant teachers in primary schools are also in demand but not as much as high school teachers. Table 2 below shows the number of migrant teachers employed by the State in different categorises of schools/institutions as at November 2010.

Type of school	Total
Primary School	264
Secondary School	1111
Combined School	39
Other Schools[1]	6
Adult Education Centre	52
FET College	49
Provincial and National Departments	32
Unknown[2]	80
Grand Total	**1633**

Table 2: Number of migrant teachers employed in different school/institution types in 2010 as per DHET 2013. (Keevy et al, 2014, p. 93)

3.3 Aims and Objectives

This study aimed to explore migrant teachers' experiences in primary schools in Johannesburg, Gauteng. Hence, the research targeted the Johannesburg area and the experiences of migrant teachers in primary schools there. In order to achieve the aim of this study, there were two objectives. These illustrate the focussed areas of the study.

More specifically, the objectives were:

3.3.1 <u>To explore the reasons for migrant teachers teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg.</u>

This objective aimed to explore the possible reasons for the settlement of migrant   teachers in the Johannesburg area. I was interested to also gather information from the teachers which would reveal if their school placement matched with their qualifications and subject specialisations. This information can help to determine if the South African education system is prone to certain features; or if migrant teachers merely see Johannesburg as a hub of

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[1]Other schools include finishing schools, international schools, music schools and community schools.

2. In these cases the institution type could not be derived from the name of the school on the PERSAL system.

employment; or perhaps joined their family members who moved to Johannesburg prior them.

3.3.2 To examine migrant teachers' experiences in primary schools.

I wanted to probe whether some of the themes that had been illuminated in previous research on teacher migration such as xenophobia, the instability of employment contracts and the level of satisfaction as a result of the phase or subjects allocated to migrant teachers in their teaching workloads were also prevalent amongst teachers in primary schools. In-depth research and insight was necessary to develop a better understanding of migrant teachers' experiences in their working environment in primary schools.

The critical questions that informed the objectives above were as follows:

i) Why are migrant teachers teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg?

Migrant teachers who were working in primary schools in Johannesburg, Gauteng province were the data source in this question and the next.

ii) What are migrant teachers' experiences in schools in South Africa?

For the above question, information on migrant teachers' experiences were collected from migrant teachers who emigrated from various countries.

3.4 A Qualitative Approach within an Interpretivist Paradigm

Schmidt (2013) explained that a paradigm can be seen as a framework for how we interpret the things we observe or learn. There are several different ways of describing and categorizing paradigms depending on the field of research, including interpretivism (Schmidt, 2013). The latter resonated with my approach. I chose the interpretivist paradigm because it stresses the importance of understanding each individual's perception of their reality, that is each migrant teachers experiences and the reasons for coming to Johannesburg was seen as valuable to the study and to understanding migrant teachers being in SA.

Creswel (2008, p. 37) defines qualitative research as research which "begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research

problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem". Kumar (2010, p. 4) added that "qualitative research seldom involves samples with hundreds of respondents. Instead, a handful of people are usually the source of qualitative data. This is perfectly acceptable in discovery-oriented research". On the other hand, quantitative researchers concentrate their study towards evaluating ideas with scales that directly or indirectly deliver numbers/ statistics. These number values are significant for the statistical calculations and hypothesis testing methods. This research study was suitable for a discovery-oriented approach in the interpretivist paradigm because I aimed to gather an in-depth understanding of migrant teachers' individual reasons that lead to their migration to Johannesburg and their experiences in this contextual situation.

Denzin and Lincoln (as cited by Merriam 2009, p. 13) suggest that "qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world." They conclude by stating "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" and this is what I aimed to do in the study – to understand migrant teachers' experiences from their perspectives. Van Maanen (as cited by Merriam 2009, p. 14) concurs with Denzin and Lincoln and states that "basically qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world". Hence, I decided to use a qualitative approach in undertaking this research because it is sensitive to the experiences of migrant teachers in their context in primary schools in the Johannesburg area.

Schmidt (2013) argues that research must include how individuals experience the world, and each of these experiences is considered valid truths. In this study, each of the research participants' views, attitudes and experiences were carefully recorded to understand how each of them explained their migration and to makes sense of how they articulated their experiences.

3.5 Research Design: Case Study

Harwell (2011, p. 2) explained that recognising a study's research design is significant because it connects data about the main features of the study, which can vary for either qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods studies. He, however, pointed out that one notable feature across research designs is that at various parts in the research process,

information is collected (numbers, words, gestures, etc.), even if in different ways and for different purposes. Therefore, qualitative studies gather and examine qualitative information. My choice of a qualitative research design lay in its strength of discovering more about migrant teachers' explanations for coming to Johannesburg and their experiences in Johannesburg primary schools as earlier stated.

There are many different types of qualitative research, such as, ethnographic studies, phenomenological studies, grounded theory studies, historical studies, case studies and action research studies (Daymon and Holloway, 2011, p. 121). Case study and ethnography are two of the most popular qualitative research approaches (Suryani, 2012, p. 1). While "ethnography is the art of describing a group or culture, a case study is an in depth analysis of a particular instance, event, individual, or a group- in this study that of migrant teachers. A case study is outward looking while ethnography is inward looking. An ethnography takes a longer time than a case study as well" (Difference between case study and ethnography, 2011, para. 4) and because it has its tradition in Anthropology, it requires in-depth immersion in the research context for lengthy/prolonged periods of time. I, the researcher, did not intend on doing ethnographic work in this study as it was not necessary given the aim of the study.

Stake (in McMillan and Schumacher, 2014, p. 370) in his definition of a case study describes it as "an in-depth analysis of a single entity" whilst according to Leedy and Ormrod (2010, p. 137), in a case study, "a particular individual, program, or event is studied in depth for a defined period of time. A case study may be especially suitable for learning more about a little known or poorly understood situation" as is that of migrant teachers in primary schools in Johannesburg. Zainal (2007, p. 1) expands on the above definition by stating that "a case study method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context", as I have undertaken in the primary schools in Johannesburg. In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. I opted for the case study as my study did involve a bounded period of time and a small sample size in only primary schools in the Johannesburg area.

It should be noted that although various scholars explain their understandings of a case study, my research, leans towards Zainal's (2007, p. 1) and Yin's (1984) definition. Case studies, according to Zainal's definition, "in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships". This definition is similar to that of Yin (1984). Yin

(1984, p. 23) in her definition of a case study research method explains it as an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context… and in which multiple sources of evidence are used". I am examining the migration of teachers into SA which is currently unfolding and I did use multiple research tools (that I discuss later in this chapter) to understand this phenomenon. Interestingly, Creswell (2008, p. 476) refers to a case study as "an in-depth exploration of a bounded system (e.g. an activity, event, process, or individuals) based on extensive data collection", a feature of case study research that Yin (1984) had also noted. In addition, McMillan and Schumacher (2014, p. 370) explain the term 'bounded' as "being unique according to place, time, and particular characteristics". In this study, data was extensively collected in 2013 in Johannesburg.

Stake (in McMillan and Schumacher, 2014, p. 371) distinguishes between two types of cases, namely: intrinsic and instrumental cases. In an intrinsic case, the focus is on the case itself, for example, an unusually gifted singer. However, an instrumental case provides insight into a specific theme which correlates more with my study. The instrumental case study is used to illuminate migrant teachers by investigating their experiences in Johannesburg primary schools and their reasons for being in Johannesburg.

In summary, due to time constraints and not being able to observe the daily routine and experiences of the participants, a case study, against an ethnography approach, was found to be most appropriate for this research study. In addition, this study has made use of a case study approach given the complexities of teachers' experiences in primary schools. It was also the all-encompassing approach favouring an expression of migrant teachers' thoughts about teaching in a primary school and their reasons for migrating to Johannesburg. Therefore the study leaned towards a qualitative approach and a case study was selected to be the design which resonated with the aim of the study.

Two prime means of gathering data (face-to-face interviewing and a focus group discussion) was used to unpack the reasons that teachers decided to migrate to Johannesburg and to detail their experiences in primary schools.

3.6. Research tools and Data Collection

The correct research tools are important in conducting an efficient research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 137). They suggest four primary methods of qualitative research, namely: participating in the setting; observing directly, interviewing in depth and analysing

documents and material culture. I have used interviews and a focus group discussion in this study as my research tools.

Table 3 outlines the details of the research design of this study, the different instruments used and a justification for the use of each tool that I have selected. This is discussed in the next section.

3.6.1 Interviews

According to McNamara (as cited by Valenzuela and Shrivastava, 2002, p. 2), "interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic". The different types of interviews will be discussed below with an explanation of the type of interview that I opted for and my reasons for this.

There are three types of interviews:

i) Structured interviews
McLaughlin (2006, p. 1) defines structured interviews as interviews that are done in a "face-to-face format or via telephone using a standard set of questions to obtain data," that could be combined since the same questions have been probed for each participant." Stuckey (2013) elaborates on this by stating that the questions asked during a structured interview, controls the information prompted by the participant. She also adds that the interview is structured because the "researcher follows a specific set of questions in a predetermined order" (Stuckey 2013, p. 56) with a restricted amount of answer categories. In my study, I did not want to restrict the responses of my participants as I felt that this would prevent me from accessing the complexity of the phenomenon under examination, so I did not chose to use structured interviews.

ii) Semi-structured interviews
Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick (2008) explains that semi-structured interviews involve numerous crucial questions that make it easier to discover the parts that give meaning to the research and it also allows the interviewer to chase an impression of the interviewee or get them to explain a response more thoroughly. He also stated that there is flexibility in this method which allows for the expansion of data that is valuable to the participants but it may not have been considered beforehand as relevant by the researcher. Semi-structured

interviews resonated with my study's objectives - I wanted the participants to freely speak about their reasons for coming to Johannesburg and their experiences in primary schools with ease, but I also wanted to pursue some of the ideas that were expressed in other studies on migrant teachers' experiences in schools in host countries. In addition, I wanted to be able to probe further the migrants' articulations as they responded to the questions.

I chose semi-structured interviews because unlike the structured interviews, where detailed questions are formulated ahead of time, semi-structured interviewing starts with more general questions or topics that the interviewer can pursue a line of questioning and then it allows the interviewee to slowly be drawn into the more in-depth questions.

Case (1990) reveals that in the beginning, relevant themes are recognised and the significant connections between these themes and critical concerns become the foundation for more detailed questions which will have to be ready well in advance of the interview. He also explains that not all the questions are constructed and expressed in advance. Most of the questions are formed whilst the interview is in progress, allowing both the interviewer and the participant with some flexibility to seek an enquiry for further details (Case, 1990). The role of probing, as stated by McLaughlin (2006, p. 2), is "to get the participant to expand upon their answer, give more details, and add additional perspectives to construct of interest." Semi-structured interviews were used as probing teachers on their reasons for being in Johannesburg and their experiences of teaching in primary schools would have been accomplished with some ease.

Also, one of the major benefits that prompted the use of this research tool (the semi-structured interview) is that it is less intrusive to those being interviewed as the semi-structured interview encourages a two-way communication. Those being interviewed can ask questions of the interviewer. In this way it can also function as an extension tool whereby it confirms what is already known but it also provides the opportunity for learning more in-depth information about migrant primary school teachers' experiences. Often the information obtained from semi-structured interviews, according to Case (1990), will provide not just answers, but the reasons for the answers, which was a critical aspect of this study. When migrant teachers' are interviewed via a semi structured interview, they may be more willing to discuss sensitive issues, for example that of xenophobia in the field of education.

iii) Unstructured interviews / Non-Directive Interview

Kothari (2004, p. 98) explains that unstructured interviews "do not follow a system of pre-determined questions and standardised techniques of recording information". Furthermore, he stated that in a non-structured interview, the interviewer is allowed much freedom to formulate additional questions, if need be or sometimes he may choose to overlook certain questions if the circumstances allow for it. The unstructured interview was not a tool that I was keen to use, given my objectives and I am also not a seasoned researcher (having not undertaken empirical research in my honours degree) and I felt that this tool required the interviewer to have much experience in interviewing.

3.6.2 Face-to-Face In-Depth Interviews

When I conducted face-to-face interviews, I observed much more than the behaviour and attitudes of the research participants. Face-to face interviews gave me access into my participants' facial expressions and body language which was important in providing insight into their thinking and allowed me to then formulate questions based on what I was observing. Like most researchers, my scope went beyond the verbal responses to my questions or the behaviour of migrant teachers', but it incorporated much more detail such as participants' thoughts or movement decisions.

Interview Details

Ten migrant teachers who were nationals from the following countries: Zimbabwe, India, America and Zambia were interviewed. The participants were questioned at their schools where they taught because it was more convenient for them. However, one teacher from Zambia was interviewed in the comfort of her home because she had finished work early as school had closed early on that day. The interviews were approximately 25 minutes long on average. All the interviews were tape-recorded after the participant's consent was given. The interview schedule consisted of many open ended questions because it allowed the respondents the freedom to talk about their experiences and it also allowed the researcher to pose follow-up questions to better access the participant's true feelings about an issue of concern.

I contacted the interviewees two weeks before interviewing them to find out if they were willing to participate in the study. All the participants were keen on being interviewed except that they did not have transport to meet me. Arrangements were made to interview the

participants after school hours and have the interview conducted at the school where they taught as they felt that this was convenient for them. A weekday was most suitable for all the participants since their weekends were busy due to family commitments. Permission was first granted by the school principals for me to meet the participants on the school property. The participants granted me permission to record them without hesitation because they were informed that names and school names will not be mentioned in the research report. This made them feel more comfortable to 'open up' to me and share their experiences of teaching. During the face-to-face interviews, the migrant teachers freely expressed themselves in the familiar surroundings of the schools. They expressed feelings of happiness at being employed but mostly they discussed their negative experiences.

Table 3 Research Imperatives and Strategies used in the Study

CRITICAL QUESTIONS	REASON FOR DATA BEING COLLECTED	RESEARCH STRATEGY	DATA SOURCE	NO. OF SOURCES	SITE OF DATA SOURCE
Why are migrant teachers' teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg?	To explore why migrant teachers are teaching in primary schools in the Johannesburg.	Semi structured interview Focus group discussion	Migrant teachers	10	Primary schools in Johannesburg
What are migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in primary schools in South Africa?	To examine what are migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in primary schools.	Semi structured interview Iterative dialogue	Migrant teachers in the Johannesburg area	10	Primary schools in Johannesburg

3.6.3 Focus group discussion and Virtual Participation

A researcher may want to interview several participants simultaneously and this can be undertaken in a focus group. Creswell and Neuman (cited by Leedy and Ormrod, 2010) explain that in order to conduct a focus group, the researcher gathers several people (usually no more than 10 or 12) to discuss a particular issue for 1 to 2 hours. They also stated that "focus groups are particularly valuable when time is inadequate; participants feel more at ease speaking in a group than alone; communication among participants may be more edifying than independently conducted interviews; and the researcher would like other participant's help in understanding something he or she has observed" (Creswell and Neuman cited by Leedy and Ormrod 2010, p. 148).

One focus group session was conducted. The focus group discussion was held at a boardroom at a primary school in Johannesburg and the duration was one hour. I hoped that richer information on the same common topics between participants would strengthen and enhance my understanding of migrant teachers' experiences in primary schools in the Johannesburg area. An open ended conversation was also necessary to verify the data in the interview on teachers' experiences of teaching in a primary school and the reasons why they were teaching in primary schools in the Johannesburg area. The focus group discussion was appropriate in that participants in this study spoke about critical common issues for example how temporary contracts made them unhappy, an aspect they also alluded to during their personal interviews that I was keen to explore further via a focus group discussion.

The focus group discussion was also used to explore other common issues that were flagged by most of the participants for this study. The participants expressed their elation at such an opportunity to share their experiences in the sense that they felt free to express themselves amongst their co-workers for the first time. The focus group discussion began with a general discussion on their professional experiences at school and then it led on to their personal issues which they also flagged. The objectives of the focus group discussion was to allow the participants to openly discuss the issues that were of major concern to them and to clarify views and add depth to certain responses from their interviews.

The focus group discussion questions had been previously formulated based on the face-to-face interview responses and the participants were informed a week prior to the discussion, to avail themselves. I also intended on formulating questions given the discussion as it would unfold on that day. The focus group discussion was intended to consist of five physically

present immigrant teachers, however, four immigrant teachers arrived and the fifth was called to a subject meeting. I was informed by Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national), a day prior to the meeting that he was unable to attend, I then emailed him the focus group discussion questions as he was eager to participate and have his voice heard. His responses were captured for each of the questions in writing and provided to another participant whom he briefed about his ideas. In this way, Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) became a 'virtual' participant in the focus group discussion. Virtual participation means not interacting physically but by being a part of the event at the same time as it is happening (Conference2011 – Virtual participants, 2011). Therefore, a virtual participant is someone who is not physically present but gives their ideas to be voiced publically without having to be at the event in person.

In this study, the virtual participant was not initially conceptualised as part of the original focus group discussion.

3.7 Sampling

Merriam (2009, p. 77) explains that there the two basic types of sampling are probability and nonprobability sampling. She explained that "probability sampling allows the investigator to generalise results of the study from the sample to the population from which it was drawn". Since generalisation in a numerical sense is not a goal of qualitative research, therefore probability sampling is not essential or even permissible in qualitative research. Thus, non-probability sampling is the method of choice for most qualitative research. An appropriate sample size for a qualitative study "is one that adequately answers the research question" (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). In this study, I found the best sample size of 10 participants was adequate to be able to answer my two research questions. There are different sampling techniques but I have chosen to focus on purposive sampling which steered me towards snowball sampling. Purposive sampling, as defined by Punch (2005, p. 187), is sampling in a "deliberate way, with some purpose or focus in mind". However, snowball sampling is a "nonprobability-sampling technique which can be considered to be a form of accidental sampling", according to Babbie (2009, p. 208). This procedure is appropriate when the participants of a special population are difficult to locate, such as homeless individuals, migrant workers, or an undocumented immigrant which is why I used non-probability sampling.

Purposive sampling was first selected for its appropriateness in locating migrants in the teaching population. I am a teacher in a combined school so I had colleagues who had immigrated to South Africa but they teach in high school. Snowball sampling was then used as the teachers from my school stated that they could assist me in the location of primary school teachers in other primary schools in Johannesburg because some migrant teachers who I initially approached were reluctant to be interviewed. The sample procedure consisted of my colleagues providing me with the contact details of their friends and other colleagues who knew migrant primary school teachers in the Johannesburg area. I then engaged in an in-depth study using a sample of 10 participants from Johannesburg who participated in the interviews and a focus group discussion. They were questioned regarding their demographic details, professional level and their experiences of teaching in a primary school/s in Johannesburg, SA. The sampling included both male and female teachers from a host of foreign countries. The participants were from Zimbabwe, India, United States of America and Zambia.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with the respective teachers and I then probed specific issues commonly flagged by the participants for in-depth exploration in a focus group discussion. The focus group session proceeded with ease as the participants, being migrants and teachers in the same geographic location knew each other and this facilitated pleasant interactions between one another. Participants openly expressed their primary school experiences and found that there were many common issues that they had experienced.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the data generated. Initial broad categories were determined by the objectives of the research and the literature (a priori categories). Specific categories were then developed from a detailed examination of the data and identification of frequent or significant themes, words and phrases. Labels were assigned to categories to identify their content & meaning. The themes that I developed from the data included: Job opportunities, transport accessibility, migrants as tied movers, social networks; instability of temporary contracts, inefficiency of the Department of Home Affairs, ill-disciplined learners, and xenophobic occurrences.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) explain that content analysis is widely used in the qualitative research method. Instead of being the only method, existing content analysis demonstrates

three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, or summative (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). They explained that these three approaches are used to construct meaning from the content of written information and that it falls comfortably within the 'naturalistic paradigm'. They explained that the key dissimilarities among the three approaches stated are the following: coding schemes, beginnings of codes, and trustworthiness in jeopardy. An example provided indicates that in the conventional content analysis, coding groups are the results from the transcripts. In a directed approach, investigation begins with a theory or applicable research findings as a source of direction for the original codes. A summative content analysis involves the differences found, usually consisting of main words and an understanding of the setting of the research study (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). The data generated from the sample of 10 participants in the interviews and focus group session was transcribed verbatim from the audio tapes. A directed approach for the analysis was appropriate at the beginning of the data analysis to examine the experiences of migrant teachers' teaching in the Johannesburg area since I drew on existing migration theories to develop coding for the categories. Thereafter, I developed categories from the data which were not derived from the theories used in the research study, for example: job opportunities; transport accessibility; tied movers; social networks; instability of temporary contracts; inefficiency of the Department of Home Affairs; ill-disciplined learners; and xenophobia

Themes were generated after transcribing the interviews and the focus group session which focused mainly on four common issues/themes experienced by five participants. Thus a guided analysis was generated from multiple approaches that fell within content analysis.

3.8.1 Presentation of results

The data for this study is presented as a response to each of the critical questions but before this, I begin with a brief discussion of the biographical details of all the participants to create visual images of each of the participants. The source of data is demarcated within brackets for each critical question (refer to table 3 for detailed research design). Themes relevant to each critical question are also captured in the textboxes below.

i)   Why are migrant teachers teaching in Johannesburg?

a. Migrant Teachers (interviews)

> Job opportunities, transport accessibility, migrants as tied movers, social networks

ii)   What are migrant teachers' experiences in schools?

a. Migrant Teachers (interviews and a focus group discussion)
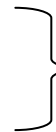
> Instability of temporary contracts, inefficiency of the Department of Home Affairs, Ill-disciplined learners, xenophobic occurrences

3.9 Limitations of the Study

A major weakness of case studies is that "we cannot be sure that the findings are generalisable to other situations" (Leedy and Ormrod 2010, p. 137). Since this is an interpretivist study and a small sample was used of migrant teachers from a host of different countries, I was therefore unable to generalise.

This research was limited to some primary school teachers in the urban area of Johannesburg only. Therefore, the results are confined to this micro location and not to all primary schools in the whole of Johannesburg. The study was not undertaken in a rural/ peri-urban context nor was it amongst high school teachers.

The findings nevertheless provide an understanding of the experiences migrant teachers who are in primary schools in Johannesburg in the province of Gauteng, SA.

There were many disruptions encountered in the data generation process and these are explained below.

Disruptions to the Data

Data was generated from migrant teachers located in public and private schools. Telephonic contact was made to two different private schools which employed migrant teachers in Johannesburg. Firstly, I was referred by the principal to speak to the directors of the private school. Upon speaking to the Directors, they refused me access to interview the Nigerian primary school teachers citing victimisation: the directors stated that the teachers feared being victimised. I explained the purpose of the research in detail, and provided them with the ethical clearance forms from both the Department of Education, the South African Qualification Authority and the University of Kwa Zulu-Natal but the Directors stated that they could not give me permission to conduct the interviews because the Nigerian teachers were not in favour of being interviewed. All of this occurred despite me indicating that this study was a sub-study of a collaborative study on migrant teachers in SA. Thus private schools were not obligated to participate in the study and thus only one migrant teacher from a private school featured in this study.

Secondly, I contacted a private Islamic school to conduct face-to-face interviews with the primary school's migrant teachers. The secretary informed the appropriate teachers of my research and then contacted me to inform me that I was not allowed to interview the participants. The reasons given were that the teachers would not feel comfortable being interviewed by an outsider, someone who was non-Muslim, so they could not grant me permission. Hence, religion impacted on who were the participants for this study as well, in addition to claims of possible victimisation.

3.10 Ethical Considerations of the Study

Ethics can be defined as "a set of moral principles and rules of conduct": ethics in research, as one author has put it, relates to "the application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respectful and to be fair" (Sieber, 1993, p. 14). According to Webster, Lewis and Brown (2014), it is vital that researchers respect the constitutional rights, privacy, dignity, and emotional state of their participants and also the integrity of the organisation within which the research occurs which is what I as the researcher sought to do. They also articulated that there are two types of consent: informed and written. Informed consent means making sure that the participants have the necessary information that they require to decide whether they would like to participate in the research

including the "aims, funders, researcher, what will be involved and anonymity and confidentiality" (Webster et al, 2014, p. 109). On the other hand, they explained that a written consent is a paper signed by the participant accepting the agreement to participate in the research study, which is what I used.

I explained the purpose of the study to the participants before the interview and I then read the consent form slowly. Unclear issues were clarified before the interview and the participants then approved of their participation in the study by signing the consent form. The consent form contained the purpose of the research and the role as well as the contributions that participation entails. Anonymity of the respondents was ensured as all the participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity. Confidentiality is important to protect the participants against harm and to ensure their right to privacy. The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any point if they felt uneasy with their involvement in the study. After a period of five years, the research data will be disposed of by means of shredding all the documents of the study. Any voice recordings will be permanently deleted and cassettes destroyed as well.

3.10.1 Validity

According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), the accuracy of interpretations that scholars make about their information refers to validity and reliability in qualitative research. They also elaborate that it refers to the dependability of interpretations scholars make about their information (i.e. over time, location and conditions). Johnson and Christensen (2003, p. 300) states that, in qualitative research, there are three types of validity that can be used: descriptive validity, interpretive validity and theoretical validity. First, "descriptive validity refers to the factual correctness of the account as described by the qualitative researcher. Second, interpretive validity is attained to the extent that the participants' views, ideas, intentions, and experiences are correctly understood and conveyed by the qualitative researcher. Third, theoretical validity is acquired to the point that a theory or theoretical description is developed from a research study which is aligned to the data and is, therefore, credible and can be defended" Johnson and Christensen (2003, p. 300-302). All three types of validity were applied to this research study. Furthermore, in the research, interpretive validity was utilised during the focus group discussion by asking the respondents to comment further

on certain responses that were made during the face-to-face interviews to see whether they thought it was a true reflection of what they had stated.

Trustworthiness of the data was ensured as all the interviews and the focus group discussion were recorded using a dictaphone. The transcriptions of the interviews were not shared with the participants after it was completed. This was done so that the participants could not change their responses; however, a peer undertook a random check of recordings and its transcriptions. Triangulation of method was ensured in the following way: the focus group discussion commenced with issues that were commonly expressed in the interviews, thus verifying earlier data.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter commenced with a discussion of the study being located in the interpretivist paradigm and the relevance of qualitative research given the nature of the aims and objectives in the study. Purposive sampling was utilised, specifically the snowball sampling technique to locate possible participants. This was embarked on by searching for primary school migrant teachers' from a host of different countries. A case study approach was used to understand the reasons for teachers relocating to Johannesburg from their countries of origin and reporting on their experiences in a primary school/s. Two research instruments were utilised in the data generation: namely interviews and a focus group discussion. Unforeseen circumstances in the focus group discussion led to a new form participation in the focus group discussion, namely, that of a virtual participant.

The following chapter begins with a presentation of the findings from the study according to the format described in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

A NEW HOME ON SOUTH AFRICAN SOIL

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings for the study amongst primary school teachers located in both public and private schools. There are two critical objectives in the study. Firstly, the study explored why migrant teachers are teaching in primary schools and in the Johannesburg area in particular. The second examined what are migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in these primary schools in respect of their relationships to staff, learners and their engagement with the curriculum. This chapter thus responds to two questions: why are migrant teachers teaching in primary schools in the Johannesburg area? And what are migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg, South Africa? The data for these two questions are presented thematically below.

Prior to answering the above two critical questions, I provide a biographical profile of the participants. Thereafter, I discuss the reasons why migrant teachers are teaching in primary schools and in the location of Johannesburg. This is followed by migrant teachers' experiences of teaching.

4.2 Biographical Profile of Migrant teachers and Source country

This section presents a profile of the migrant teachers who participated in the research study.

Table 4 Biographical Details of Migrant Teachers

Biographical variables	Divisions	No. of Teachers	Percentage %
Age Group	30-39 years	1	10 %
	40 - 49 years	6	60 %
	50 – 59 years	3	30 %
	Total	10	100
Gender	Male	2	20 %
	Female	8	80 %
	Total	10	100
Race	African	8	80 %
	White	1	10 %
	Indian	1	10 %
	Total	10	100
Marital Status	Currently Married	8	80 %
	Single (Never Married)	1	10 %
	Widow	1	10 %
	Total	10	100
Country	Zimbabwe	7	70 %
	Zambia	1	10 %
	India	1	10 %
	America	1	10 %
	Total	10	100

<u>Age group</u>

The majority (60%; n=6) of migrant teachers' in this study belonged to the age-group 40-49 years. This is clearly not a youthful sample. Amongst this specific age-group, 4 out of the 6 participants were seasoned educators, possessing 6-10 years of South African teaching experience whilst the remaining 2 were novice teachers possessing 1-2 years of South African teaching experience. Novice teachers consisted of teachers who were "new" to the teaching fraternity (Manik 2005). This clearly indicates that the age of the participants does not necessarily guarantee that they will be seasoned teachers. 30% (n=3) of participants accounted for the age group between 50-60 years. Amongst the 3 participants, one had 6 years of experience, the other 7 years and the remaining participant from this age group had the greatest number of years of experience as a teacher, 20 years. It is evident that the sample consists largely of older teachers and seasoned teachers with the majority having taught in excess of 5 years.

<u>Gender</u>

Majority of the migrant teachers' were female (n=8). This is understandable because primary schools and teaching as a profession in South Africa historically (the past 15 years) and currently attracts females rather than males. This was reiterated by the findings of Kganyago (2006, p. 42) who declared that in South Africa, women dominate the profession with respect to numbers. Moser (1993) also alluded to women occupying careers where the roles are traditionally associated with child rearing as is the case of teaching as a career. Seventy one per cent of all teachers in South Africa are women. Most significantly, Kganyago (2006, p. 42) states that "the dominance of female teachers in the public sector, features particularly in primary schooling (Foundation and Intermediate phases), as this mirrors gender defined roles in the society." Thus there is a close alignment between the national gender statistics in the profession and the sample statistics.

<u>Race</u>

An overwhelming number of migrant teachers were of African descent (80%; n=8) in Johannesburg. This is also not unusual, given that Gindrey (cited by Mazars, Matsuyama, Rispoli, and Vearey, 2013, p. 13) states that South Africa is located in Africa and migrants have a tendency to migrate to neighbouring countries which would explain the dominance of Africans in the sample.

<u>Marital status</u>

80% (n=8) of the migrant teachers were married and 50% moved to South Africa because of their marital obligations. According to Compton and Pollak (2007, p. 475), a person who moves with his/her partner is referred to as a 'tied-mover'. Hence, the 50% of migrant teachers who have moved to South Africa due to marital obligations are categorised as 'tied-movers.' These female teachers (with sole reference to this study) have moved with their husbands, for the benefit of the family, to live in South Africa the host country, even though they revealed that they were employed in their home country prior to their emigration.

<u>Major Source Country</u>

Majority of migrant teachers teaching in South Africa are from Zimbabwe (Keevy et al, 2014). In this study, 70% of migrant teachers that participated were Zimbabwean by nationality. In addition, as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.8 of the literature review, older findings by Grobbelaar (2011, p. 1) which was taken from the government employee database Persal, indicated that 5 400 foreign teachers work in South African public schools consisting of 3 796 teachers originally from Zimbabwe which comfortably made up the majority. My sample profile therefore correlates with Grobbelaar's (2011) research study and the recent Keevy et al's (2014) study, which shows a smaller number of migrant teachers, almost half of that revealed by the 2011 statistics, but still the majority of migrant teachers in SA are Zimbabwean, as is also in this study and they clearly feature prominently in teacher migration studies.

Collectively, the majority of my participants in this study were married, Africans, from Zimbabwe and they were seasoned teachers.

4.3 Reasons for teaching in primary schools and in the Johannesburg area

The common reasons for migrant teachers migrating to the Johannesburg area included a spatial dimension to their decision-making namely distance, transport accessibility and other job opportunities besides teaching. The above are not mutually exclusive reasons. Migrant teachers revealed multiple, sometimes intersecting reasons that led to their decision-making.

4.3.1 Migrant teachers in the Johannesburg Area

This section commences with a discussion of the information gathered from ten migrant teachers' interviews (I) and a focus group discussion (FGD) with 5 migrant teachers (4 physically present and one virtual). Within the Gauteng Province, majority of the migrant teachers were located in the Johannesburg area, a location which is well known not only by Zimbabweans, due to it's to proximity to Zimbabwe but also internationally as Rachel (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national)[3] states, "…most foreign teachers migrated to Joburg, so you find a lot of foreign teachers in Joburg". The explanations for this are discussed below.

4.3.1.1 Wider range of job opportunities

One of the reasons that led migrant teachers moving to this destination was the view that there was an ample number of employment opportunities in the Johannesburg area.

Rachel felt comfortable to migrate because there were other Zimbabwean migrants that had relocated to Johannesburg. She believed that it is a 'hot spot' for foreigners with regards to job opportunities. I discuss this idea further later on in this chapter. Although Rachel (I, 1) is a qualified high school teacher and teaches at present in a combined school, she was placed in the primary school when she arrived at the school where there was a vacancy. When management realised that she was a competent teacher and they were impressed with her level of expertise in the primary school, they decided to retain her. She stated:

"sometimes your principal, you know, sees you as a hard working teacher and doesn't want to lose you. So she will make an effort, the principal will make an effort to keep you until…to keep you and place you where there's a post whether Foundation Phase, Intermediate Phase."

It is therefore evident from Rachel's articulations that there was no need for her to seek another job or travel outside of Johannesburg when she completed her contract at this school in Johannesburg as the principal sought to retain her for her hard work and dedication.

In any case, Rachel (I, 1) also felt that there is wide range of job opportunities in the Johannesburg area as opposed to other areas. In addition, migrant teachers articulated the view that they were prepared to take any type of job if a teaching post was unavailable to them. Three participants (n=30%) in this study took interim jobs before they could be

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[3] All participants have key information regarding their profile, captured in brackets. For example, I, 1 refers to the instrument from which this data is cited (in this case, an interview) and the number 1 refers to the coding of the transcript, that Rachel was the first interviewee.

employed as teachers. Cathy (I, 3) accepted the post as a receptionist for six months whilst awaiting a teaching post. Jane (I, 7) as well, occupied a job in a related field before accepting a teaching post- she was a trainer in two companies. Happy (I, 5) taught at a pre-school for three months before she could get employed as a Grade 2 teacher. It is clear that Johannesburg provides interim positions that migrant teachers can occupy whilst awaiting a positive response to their teaching applications in the Johannesburg area.

Tony (I, 6) indicated that his reason for relocating to Johannesburg from Zimbabwe was based on an acceptance of his application to teach at a primary school in the Johannesburg area. He is a primary school trained teacher and is of the opinion that discipline and control are more easily maintained in a primary than in a high school due the age gap.

This clearly indicates that Johannesburg is the 'hub' of employment in South Africa because in the midst of economic struggles in different neighbouring countries, individuals choose the Johannesburg region as their place of settlement rather than other provinces or places because there is a range of jobs that are on offer apart from teaching which offers a source of income whilst teachers are awaiting responses to their teaching applications.

4.3.2 Transport accessibility

Many migrant teachers cited ease of transportation between their school and their residence as one of the reasons for their settlement in Johannesburg.

The explanations supplied by Rachel (I, 1), Sikana (I, 2), Jane (I, 7) , Cathy (I, 3) and Michael (FGD, virtual participant) who are all of Zimbabwean nationality concurred revealing that transport accessibility to and from work played a secondary role in their decision to teach at their current primary school. Rachel mentioned,

"I think it's also nearer home; where you get transport back home other than far away areas".

Michael stated, *"Joburg is most accessible, example transport wise…has all the facilities, example, the Home Affairs offices, study facilities"*.

It is thus evident that transport to and from school, access to government departments especially the Home Affairs which is important for foreigners to secure their visas was also an influencing factor. Interestingly, Johannesburg was also seen to be a location where

migrant teachers could find libraries where they could study, indicating their willingness to want to improve their qualifications whilst in South Africa.

Their primary reason, however, for settling in the Johannesburg area was largely influenced by other factors such as relocation by the migrant teacher's spouse or family members.

4.3.3 Migrant Teachers as Tied-Movers

Fifty percent (n=5) of the participants can be deemed to be tied-movers, that is "tied movers participate in geographic moves that result in a net loss for themselves but positive net returns for the family" (Compton and Pollak 2007, p. 475).

Cathy (I, 3) came to Johannesburg by accompanying her husband in search of a job. She was thus also a "tied mover" (Compton and Pollak 2007, p. 475). Her priority was to earn money regardless of the job description. Although she is a qualified educator in a job before her migration, she was unable to find a teaching post and therefore settled on another job opportunity entailing administrative duties, accepting the title of being a receptionist at a Christian, independent primary school. This would have given her a foothold into the school and she accepted the post, so that she would be on site and easily accessible when a post became available. During the focus group discussion, Cathy (FGD, 1)[4] was asked for her main reason as to why she chose Johannesburg which is situated in the Gauteng Province over any other provinces in South Africa. Cathy's reply to the above question was, "*In my case, it's because of my spouse. He is the main bread-winner and I'm staying where he's got his job.*" So Cathy's decision to move to South Africa was influenced by her husband's new job in Johannesburg.

Sikana (FGD, 2) concurred with Cathy's reply stating that she also followed her husband, and found a teaching post in the same area. According to Sikana (I, 2), she works in the Johannesburg area because her husband is working for a corporate and their head office is in Midrand. This is the primary reason for her relocation to Johannesburg. The secondary factor that stands as an advantage is that her home is very close to the primary school where she was later offered a position to teach. This school is approximately three minutes away from her abode. Hence, transport was easily accessible as stated above. When Sikana enrolled her daughter at a private primary school in the area, she had simultaneously submitted her

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[4] FGD, 1 refers to the instrument from which this data is cited (in this case, a focus group discussion) and the number 1 refers to the coding of the transcript, that Cathy was the first speaker.

curriculum vitae. Sikana was informed soon after of her acceptance as a grade 3, Foundation Phase teacher.

Jane (I, 7 – Zimbabwean national) shared the same reason as the above two participants stating that she had relocated to join her husband. Jane stated that her choice for relocation was influenced by her husband's new job in the Johannesburg area. With great appreciation for Johannesburg and the opportunities, she stated, *"So far, we like the province because of the opportunities that we've had!"* Prior to this past year of teaching, Jane was in the education sector as a trainer/facilitator .She has had the opportunity of accepting her first South African job which involved being a facilitator whereby she would train unemployed commerce graduates for 4 years. Thereafter, for the next 3 years, she went on to the corporate world by being a company trainer which entailed training staff pertaining to the company policies (Adult Basic Education and Training - ABET). Thus she was occupying jobs linked to education in the corporate world before her school based teaching job. The primary school at which she teaches is 15 minutes away from home. Jane revealed that they like the province of Gauteng thus far because of the job opportunities. Despite Jane being qualified to teach in a primary and high school, she has chosen to teach in a primary school this year. Section 4.4 explains why she opted specifically to teach in a primary school.

Sheila's (I, 8) spouse, who is now deceased, was also a teacher and he relocated to Johannesburg, South Africa, for better job prospects compared to India where he had previously taught. Her husband had thus weighed his global opportunities and had selected to migrate to Johannesburg rather than remain in India, which is a substantial physical distance away, to improve his career and Sheila accompanied him.

Kristen's (I, 9 – American national) spouse resides and is employed in the Johannesburg Central area and therefore Kristen felt obliged to find a teaching post in that area. Kristen does not have a teaching qualification; however, her Bachelor of Science Degree allowed for qualification recognition in a scarce skills area and it was approved and accepted by SAQA. She thus obtained a job to teach at one of the most prestigious private preparatory (primary) schools. She shared her reasons behind seeking employment stating that her husband works for a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) on a meagre salary which doesn't allow him to easily cater for all his family's needs. Kristen expressed her emotions in her explanation:

"We don't make tons of money... we were actually at the point last year that we were thinking we had to take the kids out because we couldn't afford another year of paying school fees for 4 kids."

She has thus become a teacher to top up her husband's earnings so that they can have a relatively comfortable financial life but her job is still inadequate in helping them be financially stable as her children are at the same private school where she teaches and the fees are high because she is paying for 4 children.

4.3.4 Social networks

Another reason why migrant teachers have chosen to migrate to Johannesburg is due to their social networks in Gauteng. They have family and friends who have previously migrated and Johannesburg is the location where they have moved.

For example, Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) stated,

"I arrived here in this area because there was a relative of mine who was staying in this area. So you see, I then looked around and found employment here and that's why I'm still here."

Michael's main reason for heading to the Johannesburg was socially influenced by the fact that he had a relative in the same area. He felt comfortable being in a new environment only where there was a familiar element; namely that of a family member.

Similarly, Happy (FGD, 3), a primary school trained teacher with 6 years of teaching experience stated, *"It was family that brought me, so they were looking after me during that time, so it was not like things were hard for me."* Her primary reason for coming to Johannesburg was similar to that of Michael's (I, 4). She had an extensive family network in the Johannesburg area that was able to take care of her, that is meet her daily needs, whilst she searched for employment in primary schools. Happy (I, 5) further explained that economic hardships in Zimbabwe had led her to search for greener pastures in South Africa, mainly in the Johannesburg area. She elaborated on the socio-economic hardships which prompted her migration to SA: that the living conditions, medical provisions, food and the salary in Zimbabwe were inadequate to maintain a comfortable standard of living. She further explained, *"At times you would have the money but you can't have anything to buy"* because the shops are inadequately stocked. This clearly reveals that her choice to relocate to South

Africa was influenced by her social networks and also SA's stable economy, which I elaborate on below, amongst other related reasons.

4.3.5 Socio-economic, political and educational reasons

The socio-economic, political and educational reasons for choosing Johannesburg as a destination country are discussed below:

Socio-economic reasons

Some migrant teachers viewed South Africa's economy as being stable in comparison to the home country (in the case of Zimbabwe) and they had therefore decided to emigrate to the closest urban centre, in SA, Johannesburg.

Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national) was firm in her decision that despite her feeling lonely and homesick in Johannesburg, she would not return to Zimbabwe:

"I think all of us are here for economic reasons because we know that if we go back, we are not going to be able to sustain our families as much as we can here. So we are only here in this country for economic reasons. If we had a choice, if things were good back home, we will all want to go back!"

The 'we' in Cathy's statements, indicates her view that all Zimbabwean teachers share the same feeling as her and the view that Zimbabweans are only in SA seeking financial stability to provide sustenance for their families. Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national) referred to herself as an economic refugee and the definition of the term 'economic refugee' was explained by Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national):

"…We want to be in our country but we can't because of economic reasons. We're not here because we don't like our country, so we call ourselves economic refugees because the reasons that brought us here are economic."

It is evident from the above that extract that Cathy refers to Zimbabwe as "our country" implying that Zimbabwe is still recognised as their home and not SA. She states, on behalf of all Zimbabweans, that economics is the reason for their emigration. It is well known that the economic down turn in Zimbabwe is as a result of the politics in the country.

<u>Political reasons</u>

Political turmoil in Zimbabwe had led to some Zimbabwean teachers choosing to migrate to South Africa.

Sikana (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) stated:

"I had businesses and they flopped...and also, I had already a daughter in South Africa. She was at Western Cape University and I couldn't afford to pay for her fees when the Zimbabwean dollar was tumbling down."

Thus Sikana explained that the politics affected businesses in Zimbabwe to such an extent that the many businesses that she had floundered, and she became financially unstable. In addition she needed to support her daughter in SA. She thus chose to emigrate to SA, as she couldn't see the politics improving soon.

<u>Educational reasons</u>

Sikana and her husband had to emigrate to South Africa to find employment just so that they could meet their own needs and to afford to pay for their first-born's university fees as she continued her studies in SA. A South African education is highly regarded in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. Her daughter who was in SA studying eventually achieved educational success and Sikana was optimistic when she left Zimbabwe that she would be successful in SA because her daughter was climbing the educational ladder successfully in SA. She went on to say,

"My coming to South Africa made everything possible because in 2010, she graduated with her PhD. That's why I'm so positive about South Africa...I'm very positive about South Africa because it has brought up my children. The other one went to UK and graduated...from here and she graduated at Oxford University in Finance: Accounting and Finance and it's all coming from South Africa. That's why I'm saying, I'm very positive about South Africa because it has educated my children."

Sikana's constant repetition of the word 'positive' indicates that she is clearly very thankful for the quality of education that her children have received from South Africa and she is indeed a proud mother of graduated children in critical skills areas.

4.4 Reasons for teaching specifically in a Primary School

Migrant teachers' in this study provided many reasons for teaching specifically in a primary school.

Reduced stress and Learner behaviour

There were teachers who believed that being located in a primary school offered less stress and also that the learners were more receptive to their teachers. For example, Kristen (I, 9 – American national) has stated that, *"…It's tiring up there to teach grade 8 up to matric"*. So Kristen seems more comfortable in a primary school where she feels the stress levels are reduced. However, she did say that she will consider taking up a high school teaching post as a French teacher once her daughter has completed Grade 7. She has been offered a high school teaching post as a French teacher and would love to be able to converse with the learners in French, which is not possible at the primary school as the French taught at her school is very basic. Similar to Kristen, Jane (I, 7 – Zimbabwean national), an English specialist, teaches at a primary school because the learners are subdued. She feels that their passiveness allows her to get more teaching done compared to a high school where learners are rowdy. Sikana (I, 2 – Zimbabwean national) stated, *"Yoh…I love little ones. It's a passion in me. I love them!"* She has the option of teaching in a high school but prefers it more at the primary school because she likes children. She stated that the learners listen and they show her their genuine love. Cathy had a slightly different view although she also enjoys teaching in a primary school. She (I, 3 – Zimbabwean national) stated that you need a lot of patience to teach in primary school, much more than you would need at a high school. Despite the learners testing her level of patience, she still enjoys teaching the Foundation Phase learners.

Availability of Jobs and associated Conditions

Teachers also taught at primary schools because it was the first teaching job that was successful although they were qualified in other phases of education. For example, Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) applied to various high schools and primary schools when he arrived in Johannesburg and successfully found employment at Freedom Primary School. Michael is a qualified high school Mathematics teacher and he stated boldly that the name of the school that he is teaching at is specified on his work permit and if he had to move to another school (example, a high school), he would need to have good reasons for moving. Michael therefore does not feel that it is worth it, also given that the salary remains the same

whether you are in a primary or high school. Of course, the teaching day ends early in a primary school whilst it is longer at a high school, yet primary and high school teachers are paid the same salary.

4.5 Experiences of migrant teachers in primary schools

Migrant teachers provided explanations for their various experiences of teaching in a primary school. Their experiences fell into the following realms: the nature of their employment status, their interactions with the learners and parents, their relationships with staff and the community.

4.5.1 <u>The nature of their Employment Status</u>

Out of the 10 participants, only 20% (n=2) of the migrant teachers are permanently employed, which is a minority. Sheila (I, 8 – India national) a Natural Science teacher, aged 60, had become permanently employed by the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) in her first year of teaching in South Africa. She has been teaching at a public school for the past 20 years. Kristen (I, 9 – American national) a French, Drama and EMS teacher, aged 48, has been teaching at a private school for the past 10 years but has only become permanently employed in January 2013. Before she could become permanently employed, she felt very undervalued because there are many perks for permanent staff that she was unable to access. The head office which manages her private school did not offer her a permanent post because she did not own an Identity Document (ID) from the South African government until June 2012. Home Affairs was one of the reasons that caused her delay in obtaining her ID book which will be discussed further in section 4.5.3.2. This impacted on her eligibility to be viewed for a permanent post. Tony (I, 6 – Zimbabwean national) is in a similar situation. He is teaching for the past six years in the Intermediate and Senior Phase. Although he teaches a scarce skills areas such as Natural Science and Technology (Department of Education, 2006, p. 11), he cannot get employed by the DoE until he gets his ID. He was informed that he would only get a permanent DoE post when he has a South African ID and unfortunately, he applied for his ID in January 2013 and is still awaiting a call from the Home Affairs Department.

80% (n=8) of the participants voiced their unhappiness and worries about the nature of their employment status due to their temporary contracts causing instability to plan for their future.

Of the 80%, 70% (n=7) of the migrant teachers are employed as School Governing Body (SGB) employees and only 10% (n=1) has a temporary Department of Education (DoE) government post. Thus the majority of migrant teachers in this sample were located as school governing body employees.

Happy (I, 5 – Zimbabwean national) is a Foundation Phase teacher and has been teaching at a public school for the past six years. She complained of challenges, even though she was teaching for six years in Johannesburg in the same primary school. She also reiterated that her SGB temporary post has prejudiced her in a number of ways, namely, the bank cannot offer her a personal loan and this has deprived her of owning a car and property. She has tried and her applications for a home and car loan had not been successful due to the nature of her employment. They can only give her a loan if she produces a contract that says she is permanently employed. When Tony (FGD, 4) arrived in Johannesburg in January 2007, his contract at the school was for one year and during that year he was able to get a loan through Absa. However, in 2008, the government changed his one year contract to a three month contract and since then, he is unable to apply for any loans which has negatively impacted on his financial stability.

There are other SGB employees who are similarly impacted. For example, Cathy (I, 2 – Zimbabwean national) is a Foundation Phase teacher for two years at Freedom Primary School and holds a temporary SGB post that is renewed after every six months. Cathy (FGD, 1) is under the impression that because she is a high school trained teacher and is currently teaching at a primary school, the Department of Education would therefore not make her a permanent employee although she has obtained her permanent residence but this is just an assumption that she has given, which management at school haven't verified. She angrily conveyed her irritation with the South African government because in the case of herself and Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national), she states that it was the SA government that brought their husbands to South Africa due to their special engineering skills. However, they as migrant teachers, are not being taken care of and yet the SA government is in need of their husbands. She thus believes that there should be special provisions made for spouses in host countries.

Cathy is of the opinion that the DoE is uncertain of employing more migrant teachers and she stated,

"If it was up to the schools, they would make us all permanent tomorrow. There is always talk of 'oh don't take more foreign teachers' from department officials visiting the school so they also are shaky about it. Maybe just now they will pass a law about no more Zimbabwean teachers. So it's up to the Department of Education".

She is thus fearful of her future which she thinks looks bleak given the behaviour of department officials. However, it is interesting that she has confidence in the leadership of the school, however, she believes that directives from the DoE are influencing principal's decisions.

Jane (I, 7 – Zimbabwean national) is located in the Intermediate Phase, and also an SGB teacher at a combined public school where she teaches the language of English and Arts and Culture. She was of the belief that she would get a permanent DoE post if she taught the subjects Mathematics and Science. She applied for a government post in English (senior phase) in 2013 and was not contacted after her interview. After interacting with her migrant teacher friends, she had come to the conclusion, that she was unable to get the post because migrant teachers will only be employed as government workers if they taught either Mathematics or Science which are scarce skills subjects. Jane commented:

"Actually, I'm frustrated because they are sort of discriminating and I feel that I do have the skills and I find this, discriminating foreigners if you are not teaching Math's and Science , you can't get a permanent post…it doesn't really make sense!"

She feels that the subject, English, is just as important as Mathematics and Science and therefore, her teaching specialisation should not make her disadvantaged as a migrant teacher since she is unable to get a permanent DoE post. She therefore suffers a loss of professional status and confusion after her one year of teaching experience in SA. However, she has no evidence for her contention that Mathematics and Science migrant teachers are receiving preferential treatment.

In the next section, I present the case of Michael as an exemplar of how migrant teachers experience temporary employment and the repercussions of such employment.

The case of Michael "living in limbo"

Martin (2014) elucidated the term 'living in limbo' as a state of being ignored and motionless with no possibility of migration to a healthier home. Similarly, Zamora (2012) stated that

limbo is that awkward place between where you are now and where you'll be soon. Limbo is also the origin of despair, unhappiness and loneliness and these are some of the feelings expressed by the migrant teachers in this study. Many migrant teachers feel that professionally they are stagnant, unable to progress in their work environment. Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) is a typical example of 'living in limbo'. He sacrificed his family life for the sake of being employed, which serves to be more beneficial to his family as opposed to him being in Zimbabwe. He, however, has to put his happiness on hold until his paperwork is sorted out at the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa so that he can become permanently employed by the Department of Basic Education.

Michael, who is 55 years, holds a temporary DoE government post at a public school and he has been teaching at the same school for the past six years. He teaches Mathematics and Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) to Grade 7 learners. As discussed in section 2.8 (of the literature review), shortages in education at schools are being experienced in scarce skills areas such as Mathematics, Science and Technology, in Languages and Arts, and in the Economic and Management Sciences. Shortages have also been reported for the Foundation and Intermediate Phases of the system previously (Department of Education, 2006, p. 11) and presently in SA. However, although Michael's skills are needed at the school, he has still not become a permanent employee for the past six years that he is teaching at the school. Every term his contract is renewed by the government and he is unsure at the end of each term as to whether he would be employed for the following term. He stated very sadly,

"So it's one term at a time. It makes it very difficult for you to plan ahead, you know! "

Michael (FGD, virtual participant) also expressed his feeling of loneliness since he is unable to relocate his family to South Africa because of his fear that his contract might not get renewed at some stage. He is also unable to buy on long-term credit from franchise stores ("*shops like Game*") or purchase a house or vehicle. Tony (FGD, 4 – Zimbabwean national) explained that Michael (virtual participant) was turned down when he tried to purchase a house and vehicle as they said that he needed a SA Identity Document (ID).

4.5.2 <u>Interactions with learners and parents</u>

Migrant teachers had mostly negative experiences with learners and their parents. Many complained about the disrespect and rebellious behaviour of learners towards their teachers which migrant teachers were unused to as a previous experience.

Ill-disciplined learners

Tony (I, 6 – Zimbabwean national) felt isolated in the year, 2007, when he first arrived in South Africa. The learners were disrespectful and did not pay attention to all his lessons because he was a foreigner teaching them. This he understood to be xenophobia. He also expressed his deep concern, that learners disrespected their teachers "*just to get attention*" and because they are not given enough punishment, he believes that they continue to rebel against their teachers. Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national) agreed with this view and reiterated that the learners do not respect authority and they "*cannot draw the line between when to play and when it is time to work*". Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national) a Foundation Phase teacher also voiced her opinion stating, *"...they don't have a culture of learning. They don't want to learn"*. This reveals that migrant teachers believe from their classroom experiences that local learners do not understand the value of learning and many take education for granted in SA. Sikana further stated that government is to blame for poorly trained teachers who can't handle learners:

"...it's the teachers that have not gone through that thorough, thorough, thorough training. It's not their fault...It's the governments! It should be training its teachers to be thorough and when you are like that, you know how to handle a learner. For instance, a learner can be impossible, like in Grade one with another teacher. But I think I've managed to carve some of them – to give them a learning culture."

In fact, a majority of the migrant teachers stated that they experienced a culture shock in Johannesburg, South Africa and they described the learners' behaviour as *"very disrespectful and playful"*. They also placed blame on the parents who they felt need to play a key role in their children's life at home by closely monitoring their homework and guiding them with their projects. Sikana attempted to explain why there were serious discipline issues and the reason for not having a culture of learning:

"At home watching TV, TV! Parents work till late. When they come in the evening, they just see them for an hour, they go to bed...children stuck in play stations..."

She thus feels that parents work long hours and their children are left to their own devices and watch television or play games – the TV has replaced the parent. Sikana also mentioned that children have no respect for their parents and therefore do not respect their educators. She stunned the participants during the FGD when she informed everyone of a Grade one

child who had shouted at his dad in her presence, *"Why are you so late? Is this the time to come and fetch me?"* The child stuffed his hands in his pocket and had a frowning face, and the father apologized to his son. This appeared to be a public display of anger and Cathy (FGD, 1) felt that it's probably a cultural thing in SA where children have started to 'back chat' to their teachers and rebel against their parents in public spaces. Sikana and Cathy experienced a culture shock when they first immigrated to SA due to the learner's poor behaviour in the classrooms.

Some migrant teachers felt that parents needed to inculcate in their children the principle that education is very important to avoid a culture of entitlement that is beginning to show in learners' attitudes. For example, Sikana (FGD, 2) stated that one day she walked into a class and asked the learners if they knew how important education is and if they do not get educated, they will not be able to afford to buy a car or a house. A child's reply was,

"You know, there are RDP houses, Mrs. Sikana. You don't have to go to school. You can get a RDP house".

She said that this is sadly the reality of how our children at school think and the extent to which they value receiving an education so that they can be independent and not dependent on government to provide for all their needs. Hence, experiences of migrant teachers in primary schools were revealing. Could this be the beginning of a social pathology, namely that of entitlement to government services that is being internalised in children from a young age?

During the FGD, the participants gave possible solutions that they thought would improve the behaviour of primary school learners in South Africa. Migrant teachers wanted to contribute to changing the status quo in primary schools where errant behaviour appeared to be becoming the norm. Cathy (FGD, 1) believed that a child should be punished if he breaks the school rules. She stated,

"I also had an example in my class, with those parents I had a meeting with yesterday. The meeting was about that, this boy won't write his work. He's a very bright boy, he just won't work. He'll just sit there, he doesn't want to do the work and so they came to the meeting with the child…and he was doing what he wants, running around and then I said, "You sit! I am having a meeting." The parent said, 'Oh no...he is like that, you know. He likes to run around. He wants to watch TV, what can we do?"

Cathy believed that children should be aware that although corporal punishment is forbidden, they should still fear their teachers and parents should co-operate but they were just accepting their children's bad behaviour.

School based Xenophobia

Many parents were very rude towards migrant teachers and migrant teachers expressed the view that there were parents who were 'anti-migrant teachers'. Many participants experienced xenophobic verbal attacks from learners' parents which made them feel very uncomfortable that they were in the teaching profession in Johannesburg. Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) stated that:

"*Parents speak to their children about me being a foreigner because the learners often misbehave and treat me as a 'poor' foreigner*".

The learners see all migrants as being refugees having fled from Zimbabwe and therefore see Michael as being a poor migrant teacher. Some learners even use the word 'makwerekwere' on him when he is outside of the school premises to provoke and upset him.

Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national) and Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national) have both encountered similar situations at the schools where they presently teach. Xenophobic behaviour was evident in the particular experiences that migrant teachers encountered. For example, a learner's father withdrew his child from Cathy's class and demanded that the child be placed in another class which was assigned to a South African teacher. The sole reason behind the movement was the parent's dissatisfaction with his child being taught by a foreign teacher and that he trusted the abilities of a South African teacher who he felt was more capable of speaking the home language of the child. The parent was judgemental of the migrant teacher on the basis that the migrant teacher was not au-fait with the child's home language.

This is not fair of the parent as the home language is promoted in primary school education, coupled with English or Afrikaans (depending on the area) and later, the medium of instruction will be either English or Afrikaans. Sikana (FGD, 2) was prompted to share her experience soon after hearing Cathy's story. She described the way in which a parent aggressively argued with the respective school headmaster demanding to know *"Who is this one, this foreigner teaching my child?"* Thus there appeared to be open xenophobia being

expressed by parents and school management was numb when this occurred because Sikana shared that the headmaster didn't allay any fears that the parent may have had, he just accepted the outburst which was emotionally unbearable for her as a teacher, especially being called 'one' as if she didn't have an identity apart from being 'foreign'.

Participants expressed the view that a small or minor mistake made by a migrant teacher is blown out of proportion and made public to both teachers and learners. Parents also add fuel to the fire, aggravating the problem. For example, , Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national) added to Michael's (FGD, virtual participant) comment about learners exaggerating a situation which gets them as migrant teachers into trouble with management. She explained that parents phone and complain about petty issues like their child getting a scolding for not doing their homework or specifically drawing attention to migrant teachers as being problematic as teachers. Tony (FGD, 4 – Zimbabwean national) added,

"Parents have been complaining, that at times with me, I tell them the truth, straight on. I tell them this is wrong, what you are doing is not right. The way they are treating me, in that they are putting their child as being right. It's not like we hit them or what".

Thus in Tony's case, parents don't want to be told the truth about their children, they find that offensive. They prefer the teacher to be more subtle in his criticism, but Tony feels that you have to be direct in explaining a problem that you as a teacher are encountering with the learner, if you think the parent needs to know. Hence, parents seem to instigate problems with migrant teachers for trivial issues which are uncalled for and this disheartens migrant teachers because they feel that they give off their best only to hear complaints from parents and this doesn't happen with parents for local teachers.

4.5.3 <u>Relationships with Staff and Community</u>

Whilst relationships with parents were generally strained, relationships at the level of the school were generally positive and encouraging for migrant teachers with some exceptions.

4.5.3.1 <u>Relationships with staff</u>

Majority of the migrant teachers' shared a good relationship with the staff at their school. Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national) happily stated that in their staffroom, all the migrant teachers mix together with the local teachers. However, Happy, Michael and Sikana have had good and bad experiences with their colleagues at work which are discussed below.

Supportive staff

Tony (I, 6 – Zimbabwean national) and Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) finds the staff at school very supportive. However, Michael (FGD – virtual participant) has had both pleasant and upsetting experiences with his work colleagues. He discussed that the Head of Department (HOD) showed him the ways of planning and assessing used in South African schools which he was very thankful for. The staff offered him transport when he needed to attend school evening functions and the school management was always willing to buy teaching resources that he requires such as an Over-Head Projector (OHP). He also mentioned that management is quick to process his contract renewal with the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE).

Happy (FGD, 3 – Zimbabwean national) was thankful of the support given to her by her work colleagues during the xenophobic attacks and stated, *"...I remember, I personally was given blankets and some groceries..."* She also mentioned during her face-to-face interview that,

"This is more like a home for me, it's more like a home because I'm always comforted and free and you know I don't feel like I'm in a foreign land".

South Africa feels like home to Happy because of the support and the caring attitude of the staff members.

Language barrier

Happy (I, 5 – Zimbabwean national)is unable to speak and share jokes with her South African colleagues in the Shona language, which she sees as marginalizing her communication with them and making her feel 'left out'. She shared that South African teachers were not familiar with her mother tongue and it made her unhappy when she was unable to be a part of the laughter when jokes are shared in local African languages. She stated,

"Well, it's a terrible experience. Because you sometimes, you express yourself and laugh and I also can't speak their South African languages, so I miss out on their jokes even when I am sitting around them. Because sometimes they speak in their own language and share jokes that I do not understand."

Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) also shared a similar feeling with Happy by stating that his South African friends would also not understand his jokes in the Shona language at his workplace and that makes him feel isolated.

Non-negotiable salaries

Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national) feels that South African principals know that migrant teachers are desperate to earn an income and therefore they are exploited in terms of being given low salaries without any possibility of an increase. She stated:

"Even salaries are not negotiable. You are just told this is what you're getting. Whether you work hard, whether you play, whatever you do, you are not rewarded for your work! You are just employed as a teacher and whatever you do, they will just say: 'Okay, she is here to work or he is here to work.' That's disturbing me alot because you end up not enjoying your work. Because you are doing it, they know you can't say: I'm leaving, I'm going!".

Sikana cannot request for an increase because the principal is aware that she will not leave even if he does not increase her salary as migrant teachers are desperate to have a job. In addition, no matter how hard she works, she will still earn the same salary. She is also a qualified teacher by Zimbabwean standards with a Diploma in Education and 32 years of teaching experience (7 years of which are spent teaching in South Africa) and feels she is not being rewarded justly. In South Africa, the minimum qualification to be recognised as a qualified teacher is a bachelor in education degree or a bachelor degree in school subject areas coupled with a post graduate certificate in education.

Xenophobia by colleagues

Most of the migrant teachers experienced xenophobia from the social community (as discussed in a previous section) in addition to some having experiences of xenophobia from their colleagues at work (professional community). Rachel (I, 1-Zimbabwean national) feels that most South African teachers are aggrieved and feel prejudiced when foreign teachers are being employed. However, Rachel has never experienced any direct xenophobic attacks from colleagues or the learners at school.

Lack of sensitivity

Michael (FGD, virtual participant) also pointed out that he often gets the impression that the South African staff always sees him as a 'foreigner'. Each time they come into contact with him, they start talking about what they heard on the News or television about Zimbabwe and its mostly negative things. He stated that there are so many other topics or issues that they could talk about without the mention of Zimbabwe. He is clearly sensitive about his home country. Similarly, Kristen (I, 9 – American national) dislikes it when the local South African staff at her school talks poorly of Americans. She feels that they are not sensitive to the fact that she is American. She smiled and said:

"…I as an American can say that Americans are arrogant, they're very ethnocentric, they think that they own the world. I can say that! It's very difficult when I hear other nationalities say it. I feel criticised."

However, she is also under the impression that her colleagues feel free to say how they feel about Americans because she has been teaching at the school for the past 10 years and they no longer regard her as an American which is positive because it implies that she is no longer perceived to be an outsider.

Other sore points that Michael touched on was that the South African teachers at his school talk to the learners about which teachers are foreigners, and as a result, the learners do not give the foreign teachers at the school the same level of respect as they would give to the local teachers. Thus local teachers appear to engage in unprofessional behaviour by discussing their colleagues with learners.

In the section below, I narrate Sikana and Macy's stories to exemplify the lack of sensitivity and professionalism displayed when schools interact with migrant teachers.

Sikana's story

Sikana (I, 2 – Zimbabwean national) shared her painful story about the private school where she taught at previously in Johannesburg for five months. Her daughter was accepted at the same private school with the knowledge that they had just arrived from Zimbabwe and her daughter had absolutely no knowledge of Afrikaans. As time went by, her daughter in Grade 4, experienced difficulty with Afrikaans as a second language. However, the teacher expected the child to be able to read Afrikaans story books and answer comprehension questions and it was not possible. Her daughter, pleaded to her to assist her in her Afrikaans homework but,

Sikana could not assist as she does not know Afrikaans and she knew that her daughter needed to be taught the basics of the language, like a Grade one learner.

Eventually the Head of Department (HOD) had to intervene and she was abruptly asked, *"…you brought her into the school knowing that we were doing Afrikaans, why did you bring her?"* This started a downhill spiral with some members of staff and it eventually took a toll on Sikana's relationship with the colleagues at the school as it was seen as her fault that her daughter was struggling to make progress. The principal of the private school also felt that she was not helping her daughter enough but Sikana was unable to speak in Afrikaans. She stated,

"I can only speak in English so wherever I could help her in English, I helped. But he thought I wasn't doing enough for her".

Sikana went to the extent of taking her child out of the school and sending her back to Zimbabwe to complete her Grade 4 in her home country. She was deeply upset and disappointed by the lack of professionalism of the principal who continued to give her a difficult time after her husband spoke to him about his daughter's intense struggle with Afrikaans and the detrimental effect that this had on her achievement at the school. One day she handed in her resignation to the school. She felt that the school accepted her daughter for the wrong reasons, as it was solely because she could afford the enormous school fees but there were no pre-screening questions about her daughter's level of understanding of the different languages before accepting her into the school or about extra tuition for struggling students.   However, there was a lack of sensitivity and arrogance when dealing with foreigners and especially since she had become their colleague.

Macy's story

Macy (I, 10 – Zambian national) who is 42 years and has a Diploma in Education with an English specialisation had chosen to leave teaching in Johannesburg because of the bad experiences that she has had over the years that she was teaching in the Gauteng Province at the time of being a participant in the study. The last school that she taught at was at the private school that Mrs. Sikana taught at in Johannesburg. She has 8 years of teaching experience in South Africa but was very unhappy at the way she was being treated at the private school where she taught at last. The teachers at the private school were mostly white and Macy was the only black teacher at the school. Macy shared with me that when Sikana

left the private school, a new principal had taken over and things didn't get any more pleasant. The principal of the private school would try to find the tiniest problem with whatever Macy attempted to do and it made her reach a point where she felt incapable of achieving and very demoralised. I asked her whether it was because she was a foreigner and her reply was, *"No, because I was Black...let me call it Black! I think that really matters"*. She sadly expressed that it was a hurtful time for her during the three and a half years and then she decided to leave. She experienced a loss of professional status because she felt that she was being judged on the colour of her skin and criticised by management. Macy stated,

"Then I remember the board member, I don't know whether it was a board member. A priest actually, a pastor. She is a pastor and she comes to me and tells me err...'Well you have breached the contract.' And so I tell her, it was supposed to be three terms, now this is about two months to December".

According to Macy, her race seemed to be the biggest problem since she was the only black employee and they probably wanted any other race except a 'black'. Again, this was her perception, because they had initially hired her and if her race was the problem, that would have emerged earlier and they were not obligated to have her. However, at the government school that she had taught for four and a half years, her unpleasant experiences stemmed from the learners' parents. She stated,

"And I might fall short once in a while, I'm human but at the end of the day. I know what I'm doing so there's ya...and I remember once my boss was telling one of the parents who reacted the first month when I taught. Do you want me to get her qualifications apart from Education? Some of the parents, I just remember one parent whose negative towards me and it wasn't a white person."

Clearly, Macy was beginning to judge people based on their race, given her racial experiences in SA.

4.5.3.2 <u>Interactions with the community</u>

Migrant teachers' experiences within the community included feelings of discomfort during interactions with the locals, xenophobia and challenges with the Department of Home Affairs.

Loneliness and homesickness

Loneliness stemmed from not having one's immediate family in SA and also not having close friends or religious/cultural groups for regular interaction. Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) stated that he gets homesick and feels lonely in Johannesburg even after six years of teaching experience in SA, despite him having relatives in the area. His immediate family, consisting of his wife and children are still residing in Zimbabwe because of the nature of his employment contract being temporary. He wishes he could bring his family to South Africa but circumstances do not permit this favourable decision. He conveyed the view that, *"…sometimes when there's so many people around you, there's this loneliness"*. When asked about how it makes him feel that he is employed on a contract basis, he stated:

"Ow, ow, ow! Naturally, you know what it feels. Like now, I don't know whether I'll be employed next term."

On the basis of his employment position as a temporary government worker with a three month contract that might be renewed at the end of each term, he sadly suffers from job instability. It's apparent from his articulations that immediate family has the ability to support the migrant and eradicate feelings of loneliness.

Xenophobia from the community

<u>**Social Community**</u>**:**

During the FGD, all the participants who were of Zimbabwean nationality, agreed that they have all experienced xenophobic attacks from the social community. Happy (FGD, 3) mentioned,

"In taxis, like me when I use taxis…at times I tell the taxi driver in English where you want to be dropped off or you ask them. They harass you or they drop you off at the wrong place because we didn't speak their language".

Happy uses the word 'we' because she says that this happens to other foreigners as well. Migrant teachers are blatantly treated with disrespect and vengeful behaviour because they can only speak one of the South African languages, which is English. Happy added that they would drop her off at the wrong place intentionally and then say in English, 'I don't understand English'. Sikana (FGD, 2) feels that because most of the taxi drivers are

uneducated, when they hear migrants speak in English, the taxi drivers get the impression that they are showing off. Macy (I, 10 – Zambian national) also experienced xenophobic behaviour when she travelled by taxi and feels that if you can relate well to the local South Africans, they would treat you well, meaning that if you can speak an African language.

Cathy (FGD, 1) explained that she experienced xenophobic attacks in shops:

"In shops, it's like…if you can't speak any of the local languages, it's like, you know, they ignore you, they don't want to serve you. Why can't you speak in the local languages?(they ask you)"

However, Sikana (FGD, 2) and Tony (FGD, 4) are fortunate in being able to speak a bit of Zulu so that allows them to communicate better with the local community.

Professional community:

Rachel pointed out that she felt isolated and confused when she started teaching in Johannesburg. She felt professional isolation and confusion when she tried to protect her rights like local teachers by trying to affiliate with the largest teacher union in SA: South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). They refused her, forcing her to affiliate with the opposing union, National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), who did not show any signs of prejudice against migrant teachers. To demonstrate the coarse attitude presented by SADTU staff, the precise words that she quoted in explaining why they were unable to accept her application was, *"You are foreign, you do not belong to this country, so we can't take you in. SADTU is for South Africans only"*. According to her, the word 'only' in her sentence refers to South African blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians only and not migrant teachers. This behaviour, she feels, is unbecoming of a national teacher union because it demonstrates a hatred of foreigners and is clearly xenophobic.

Challenges with the Department of Home Affairs

Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national) who has been in South Africa since 2005 is teaching in Johannesburg for seven years and has not yet obtained her permanent residence whereas Cathy (FG, 1 – Zimbabwean national) who has been in South Africa since 2008 has already obtained her permanent residence. Sikana went to a Department of Home Affairs (DHA) in Johannesburg and Cathy has been to the one at Springs. Cathy explained, *"That's the*

inconsistency of Home Affairs coz we went somewhere different". This laid back, inefficient service and lack of co-operation from the Department of Home Affairs could result in Sikana's husband's contract being terminated if he does not obtain his South African ID. The company has informed him to sort it out as soon as possible and yet Sikana and her spouse have not got any joy from Home Affairs.

There appears to be some DHA offices that are efficient and others were far from efficient. Sikana is disappointed at the manner in which they are treated and feels that South Africa takes advantage of them because they are desperate to be employed. She stated, *"They know we are economic refugees so they say we cannot go anywhere"*. The word 'they' in Sikana's statement reveals that the DHA and the migrant teachers' colleagues (principal and teachers) at school know that they are in South Africa out of desperation to earn money and therefore exploit them with low salaries and inefficient services by the DHA that does not allow them to get their paperwork sorted out.

Kristen (I, 9 – American national) explained that the process of being a foreigner in South Africa from getting a work permit, to becoming a permanent resident and then to getting a South African Identity Document (ID) was a nightmare for her as well. She has experienced financial constraints, confusion and uncertainty in the 10 years that she has taught in SA due to the tedious documentation processes. Although she has a South African ID now, she is still a citizen of America and owns a non-resident ID book. When she came to South Africa in 1988, it took her three years to become a permanent resident. When she left South Africa and returned in 1991, she had to re-apply for her permanent residence again after three consecutive years of being in South Africa. The Department of Home Affairs informed her that it would take six months for her to get her permanent residence but it actually turned out to be a three year waiting period, which was excessively long. When she finally got her permanent residence for the second time, Kristen applied for her ID and what the Home Affairs Department promised would take four months, took a year and a half. They had lost her ID application twice which caused her the inconvenience of re-applying twice with all the documents! She stated,

"I felt by head office like a number. I didn't feel they were concerned about me, I didn't feel like…coz the response I kept getting was that, 'but ya, there are illegal immigrants in the country' and I said, 'but I'm not an illegal immigrant. I am a permanent resident. I'll give

you all the documents, it's not my fault that Home Affairs is dragging their heels and taking so long!"

The extent of the Department of Home Affair's inefficiency and poor treatment of legal migrants is evident when she explained that she only got her ID in June 2013 after being in South Africa since 1991 upon her second arrival, which is a waiting period of 22 years.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter began with a biographical profile of the migrant teachers who participated in the study; their reasons for migrating to and teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg; and their experiences in primary schools. The study found that majority of the participants who migrated to Johannesburg were married, females between the ages of 40-49 years, African, and mainly from Zimbabwe. Half of the total number of participants were tied-movers which influenced their choice to relocate due to their husbands' brighter job prospects in Johannesburg. Other reasons were the availability of wider job opportunities in Johannesburg, social networks and the ease of transport to travel to useful amenities such as departments of home affairs and universities.

Many of the participants complained about poor learner discipline in primary schools, temporary contracts causing instability for them to plan for their future impacting on their family lives and the inefficient services provided by the Department of Home Affairs (some cited xenophobic attitudes by learners and their parents) in addition to their broader social experiences of xenophobia.

 The next chapter analyses the above reasons more critically with a discussion of the literature.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth discussion on the reasons for migrant teachers teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg and the experiences of these migrant teachers in primary schools. My discussion is largely dependent on the analytical frameworks mentioned in the theory section and on discussions in the literature chapter. For example, the very confined nature of Miller's framework on migrant teachers' experiences into categories based on years, differs to the findings in this study. Whilst there are some similarities, the nature of migrant teachers' experiences in Johannesburg, by and large are different. A discussion of the reasons for migration to primary schools in the Johannesburg area; and an analysis of migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in South Africa will be discussed below.

5.2 Pull factors: Reasons for immigration to primary schools in Johannesburg

In the present study, the migrant teachers were emigrating to Johannesburg, South Africa mainly for financial (economic), educational and political reasons which will be explained in more detail below. Whilst SACE (2011, p. 6) revealed that developed countries seek teachers from developing countries since there is a major shortage of teachers in the latter countries. South Africa a developing country, also has a teacher shortage problem. Sives, Morgan and Appleton (as cited by Bhengu, 2011, p. 5) argued that 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" because of SA's financial success, government's stability and the assurance of better employment environments and salary scales.

In respect of the majority of migrant teachers in SA, Manik (2013, p. 6) declared that Zimbabwean teachers have reported that they are in SA due to socio-economic, educational and political reasons. Her study did not specifically seek to examine why teachers were located in either high schools or primary schools, neither did her study seek to understand why they were going to specific locations (such as Gauteng) within a country. However, a previous study conducted by Manik (2005) which sought to explore South African migrant teachers in the UK found that they were being recruited to specific areas of need where there were skills shortages. These were generally schools which had a high turnover of staff and it

was difficult to attract local teachers to those schools. It's also important to realise that in her study migrant teachers were recruited by agencies. In this study on migrant teachers in Johannesburg, the migrant teachers have not been recruited by either agencies or government departments. They have opted through their own decision-making to locate themselves in Johannesburg. Social networks, a wider range of job opportunities, educational opportunities, transport accessibility and migrant teachers being tied-movers led them to migrate to Johannesburg.

Manik (2005) stated that teachers were migrating to the UK due to several reasons. She had two cohorts of teachers: newly qualified (novice) and seasoned teachers. This present study has largely seasoned teachers with many years of experience. Her study (2005, p. 128) revealed that "Novice teachers highlighted global teaching experience, finance and travel as priorities. By contrast, experienced teachers cited career, finance and travel as the principal reasons for departure." Manik's (2011b, p. 82) framework on Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa is based on push factors from Zimbabwe and she states that teachers were migrating to South Africa for "multiple, interrelated reasons. The most frequent push factors" from Zimbabwe "were the economic situation in Zimbabwe coupled with the current political climate. The impact of the stated factors influenced" the sphere of "education. Hence, a lack of education opportunities was also revealed as a reason for exiting Zimbabwe". By contrast, I discuss my data which centred on the pull factors in one location in South Africa. The pull factors attracting migrant teachers to Johannesburg are based on a marriage of socio-economic, political and educational opportunities available in SA. Half of the participants (50%) had entered SA as tied movers following their spouses who had obtained jobs in SA, which was not evident in any of Manik's studies (2005, 2011). The other half (50 %) emigrated to SA for the following reasons discussed below.

5.2.1 Socio-Economic reasons

In this study, the participants (n=6) were coming to South Africa for financial gain. For example: Michael (interview) and Cathy (focus group discussion) were attracted by the availability of jobs in Johannesburg, which they heard about from their family and friends. Cathy (FGD, 1 – Zimbabwean national) linked the push and pull factors of the economy when she stated that the unstable economy in Zimbabwe influenced her decision to migrate to South Africa which has a stable economy. Michael (I, 3 – Zimbabwean national) is working in South Africa for economic reasons: remittances - to send money back home to

Zimbabwe so that his wife and kids can meet their basic needs. Michael's situation is in keeping with Kriger's findings (2010, p. 77) as she stated that many Zimbabweans are "looking to find work to help their families at home to survive". Similarly Manik (2011b, p. 83) stated that "in respect of the economic climate in Zimbabwe, participants revealed that inflation was high, salaries were too low for a family to survive on, some were working without being paid a salary, and even when there was adequate money in terms of the salary, the shops did not stock essential merchandise for daily needs". In her study (2011, p. 84), she explained that one of her participants mentioned that they were "earning US$100 per month as a family person and they felt that the salary was too little". Alexander (2012) also explains that the term 'economic migrant' refers to somebody who has emigrated from one county to another country for various reasons related to money such as better job opportunities or enhanced financial status. Thus, majority of the Zimbabwean participants saw themselves as economic refugees. In this study, economics is also a key factor attracting Zimbabwean migrant teachers, some of whom are desperate to support their families in their home country. Thus many of them were what Betts (2010) referred to as 'survival migrants.'

Appleton, Morgan and Sives (2006, p. 778) stated in their study that "higher salary was the leading reason for working abroad as given by the migrant teachers". Migration becomes a possibility when teachers think of the huge salary gaps between what they could be receiving out of their home country, and what they are presently receiving in the home country. Crush (2014) similar to Appleton et al (2006) stated that majority of the Zimbabwean migrants in the 1990's perceived South Africa as a place to assist their families manage with poor financial circumstances and poor opportunities in Zimbabwe. He further explained that when Zimbabweans were asked to state which country they preferred between Zimbabwe and South Africa; Zimbabwe was regarded as the best except for the easy accessibility of employment and merchandise. This is in keeping with the findings from my study where Happy (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) stated how difficult it was to find food because of the shortage of stock in shops and her low salary that pushed her to migrate to South Africa. Thus, the salary in SA together with the availability of food supplies that can be purchased are strong economic pull factors and with Johannesburg being the nearest urban hub to Zimbabwe, it is a magnet.

The participants from Zimbabwe in my study are solely in South Africa to be able to support their families with the income they receive from being employed in Johannesburg. Sheila stated that she and her husband relocated to South Africa because of the attractive job offer

and better living conditions in Johannesburg. Although they experience loneliness and feelings of isolation, their economic well-being, however, is prioritised and takes precedence over their emotional well-being as they are also desperate to earn money in South Africa so that they could improve not only their lives but also their loved ones lives.

5.2.2 Political reasons

Politics were also significant as a push (from Zimbabwe) and pull (to Johannesburg, South Africa) factor. Sikana (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) stated that her reason for leaving Zimbabwe and relocating to Johannesburg was because her businesses had 'flopped' due to the political turmoil in the country. It is for this reason that Sikana had to migrate to South Africa as her businesses liquidated and she could no longer sustain her family's needs due to the fact that the Zimbabwean dollar started doing very badly. Her explanation of the political reason was different to the findings in other studies. With regards to the politics according to Manik's (2011b:82) study, there were participants who revealed that being a teacher and involved with the opposition party (Movement for Democratic Change - MDC) was not tolerated, as education is controlled by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and such teachers were asked to resign. Those teachers contended that education is controlled by the government in Zimbabwe. Other studies have also indicated that in Zimbabwe, human rights violations are perpetrated by the government. They have violated several key human rights, including the right to life, property and freedom of movement. There are strict restrictions on freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. Although Zimbabwe still holds elections, they are not free, fair, and are frequently seen as fraudulent. In this present study, the participants did not mention the role of the political parties in their migration decisions. Nevertheless, political turmoil is said to have eroded the value of the Zimbabwe dollar; it is the least valued of all currency units in the world and this is the impact for the present study in terms of Sikana's articulations of her businesses failing in Zimbabwe.

5.2.3 Educational reasons

Sikana (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) brought her children to complete their secondary and tertiary studies at a university in South Africa. Before the Zimbabwean economy had started performing very poorly, Sikana had already registered her daughter as a student at the Western Cape University because she could afford the fees and it was highly regarded. However, when the Zimbabwean economy started a downward spiral and her business profit

margin had decreased, she deliberated on the situation and found a solution. Sikana and her husband then migrated to South Africa to earn an income so that they could continue paying for their daughter's university fees which had then become an enormous burden. Thus the politics had affected education for Sikana's family Indeed, politics has had a ripple effect on education in Zimbabwe as Manik (2011b, p. 84) had earlier noted but not in the same manner as described here in this study. Present literature on the state of education in Zimbabwe show that around 75 percent of state schools are not functioning properly in Zimbabwe because the majority of state teachers are not working due to inadequate pay which makes it impossible to provide for their basic needs, forcing them to look for or work for food. (Zimbabwe and South Africa, n.d).

Educational opportunities in South Africa seem affordable as the migrant teachers in this study were able to study (Michael) and others could afford to send their children to university, which otherwise would have been impossible in their home country. For example, Sheila (I, 8 – Indian nationality) stated that the university in Johannesburg, at which her daughter studied chemical engineering, was in close proximity to her accommodation. Her daughter, is now qualified, resides and is employed in Canada. Michael (I, 4 – Zimbabwean national) is currently studying towards his PhD through the University of Johannesburg and is only able to pay for his studies because he is employed in South Africa. Sikana's (I, 2 – Zimbabwean national) eldest daughter is qualified in Medical Science and her second-born has a degree in Accounting and Finance, all from SA institutions. Hence, the quality of higher education seems high as Sheila and Sikana's daughters are both working overseas with qualifications obtained in South Africa.

5.3 Experiences of migrant teachers in primary schools

The experiences by migrant teachers in this study are analysed according to Miller's (2011) migrant teacher identity framework and the discussion is aligned with his three stages.

5.3.1 Analysis of the Miller's model

Using Miller's (2011) analytical framework revealed some interesting insights. Miller's identity development trajectory was context specific to Caribbean teachers teaching in the UK and his findings, however, did not match the characteristics in each phase perfectly with all my participants as is expected with any theory. Some migrant teachers' had characteristics

of the 'engagement' as well as the 'transition and resistance' phase although they were supposed to be in the maturation phase according to Miller's framework. Other migrant teachers' characteristics matched Miller's characteristics in each of the specific phases. I have collapsed the discussion according to the various participants' experiences in their primary schools and community.

5.3.1.1 Subject discrimination upon engagement in the Profession

The majority of the educators emigrating from South Africa are the most experienced personnel, particularly those coming from previously advantaged and white schools, who have the specific skills for teaching mathematics and science subjects, but this group also includes a significant number with Foundation and Intermediate phase expertise (Kganyago, 2006). This is partly this reason that South Africa experiences a shortage of FET Mathematics and Science and primary school teachers, in addition to not producing sufficient teachers and it therefore needs to employ migrant teachers.

The migrant teachers in this study were regarded as professionals in their home countries. Keevy (2010, p. 6) explained that the adjective "professional suggests teachers should be experts, specialised, qualified, proficient, skilled, trained, practices, certified, licensed, and in an occupation requiring extensive education or specialised training". Miller has however warned that teachers' trained outside of a nation experience a loss of professional status in the host country but this wasn't the case for all migrant teachers although it was applicable to some. Sheila (I, 8 – India national) is employed as a government employee and she teaches Science at her school. Sheila is permanently employed. However, a loss of professional status was apparent with Jane (I, 7 – Zimbabwean national) who has had a year of teaching experience in South Africa. A loss of professional status can lead to reduced employment status as well. Cathy, Happy and Sikana (Zimbabwean nationals) are foundation phase teachers and their skills are also needed as "there is a dire shortfall of new FP teachers. In SA, the FP is an area of chronic scarcity not different to mathematics and science subjects in the FET phase" (Manik 2013, p. 92). These migrant teachers stated that they do not feel appreciated and hence, become demotivated as their subject specialisation of being FP teachers, impacted not only on the status of their employment but also how they were perceived in SA as professionals.

Migrant teacher Jane experienced a loss of professional status due to her subject specialisation as well. Her teaching specialisation is English and she felt that it was not being valued as a key subject in South Africa. She is teaching as an SGB employee at her primary school and Jane explained that this is because English is not regarded as a scarce skills subject. According to Miller (2011), Jane should ideally fall into the engagement phase of his framework for migrant teacher experiences and her experiences concurred with the findings of his study. Jane's loss of professional status stemmed from the fact that her qualifications did not count by the DBE since she was not a Mathematics or Science teacher. She did not only experience a loss of professional status but she also expressed her shock about how she had heard from her friends at school that only certain subject specialisations such as Mathematics and Science can award you the opportunity to become a permanent government employee. This view has credibility since the DBE (2013, p. 6) confirmed that "foreigners offering Mathematics and Physical Science may apply if they are in possession of either a temporary or permanent work permit". No mention is made of any other subject.

She felt the reasoning behind the South African government's decision to employ migrant teachers as government workers for those who have teaching qualifications in Mathematics and Science only (scarce skills subjects), is unfair. She argued that English is a difficult language for learners in South Africa who speak it as the second language for majority and if her skills are needed to alleviate the language barriers that learners encounter, then she should also be given the opportunity to work as a government employee with a better salary just as her friends from Zimbabwe who have teaching specialisations in Mathematics and Science. But there are also migrant teachers who are not employed as permanent government employees despite being qualified to teach Maths and Science. Michael (I, 3 – Zimbabwean national) is one such example and he is employed as a temporary Mathematics and EMS employee at his primary school but holding a government post.

Manik (2011b, p. 59) concurred with Kganyago (2006) and stated that South Africa has a shortage of mathematics, science and language teachers in both urban and rural public schools. Since there is also a shortage of language teachers, Jane stated that the government needed to take into consideration that she is an English educator and should also be given the chance to apply for government English Language positions that are advertised in the government Gazette which local teachers do not want to fill because they may be in rural areas.

Subject discrimination has created a pessimistic attitude for Jane and many other migrant teachers.

5.3.1.2 Vulnerability of migrant teachers

Although Sikana (I, 2 – Zimbabwean national) has seven years of teaching experience in South Africa and ideally should fall within the maturation phase, she still however experiences significant characteristics from Miller's (2011) engagement stage. She is disturbed and upset because she feels that she is not being fairly compensated. Her salary cannot be negotiated because she believes that the SGB is of the opinion that as a Zimbabwean migrant, she is in South Africa to earn any amount of money regardless of the number of years of teaching experience. It has been documented that "Inner City Schools in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban do employ foreign teachers. But often at very low salaries - we have been told that some teachers in these schools are paid R4000 to R5000 per month. The school knows they will stay - because most schools cannot appoint foreign teachers" (Foreign Teachers in South Africa, 2013). Therefore, Sikana experiences 'financial constraints' and this reveals that South African schools abuse migrant teachers by exploiting them with low salaries because they are not citizens and believe they have no forum for complaint, given that, the largest teacher union has rejected non-citizens.

In the present study, migrant teachers are being paid low salaries in private and state primary schools because they are not citizens of South Africa and yet they are needed for their teaching expertise. This is not a new finding and it was also apparent in Sisulu, Moyo and Tshuma's study (cited by Manik, 2012, p. 81) where they explained that "Zimbabwean teachers in SA are in extremely exploitative circumstances in private schools and colleges, either as a result of not being paid or receiving low salaries with little recourse for legal action as they lack legal status". It is thus evident again that SA needs migrant teachers to meet the local education needs however, migrant teachers are being exploited by not being offered permanent posts and by being paid poor salaries.

Migrant teachers are teaching in contract posts for extended periods of time, which in turn, is resulting in a lack of optimism for their future plans and yet they are fulfilling critical needs in education. My findings is in alignment with Manik's (2013) findings where she explained that Zimbabwean immigrant teachers experiences indicated that despite a rigorous process of

immigrant teachers' obtaining their various accreditations and work permits to participate in the formal economy as highly skilled professionals where their expertise is required in critical subjects, they are not valued by being treated with the respect deserving of professionals.

Seventy percent (n=7) of the migrant teachers in this study were getting paid by the SGB and were unhappy about their contracts getting renewed after every three months. This is in keeping with the characteristic, 'loss of professional status,' in Miller's (2011) engagement phase and also the maturation phase which results in confusion about the migrant's status. Longer contracts for migrant teachers like Michael would serve to provide better stability for migrant teachers to feel a part of the professional community in South African classrooms.

Interestingly, the CTRP as a document which protects the migrant teacher and nation states should be the instrument that migrant teachers and governments are au fait with but this doesn't appear to be so in SA. In addition, teacher unions which ought to be playing a role in advancing and protecting the rights of all teachers appears to also be open to critique. Rachel's case is an example of this. Although Rachel (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) has seven years of teaching experience in South Africa, she however, experiences isolation and shock (engagement phase) as well as resistance (transition and resistance phase), according to Miller (2011). All these experiences stem from SADTU's disapproval of her joining since she was told by them that she is a 'foreigner'. Her experiences are "early settling experiences" (Miller, email communication – 01/03/2014) that are typical of migration. Miller (2014) explained that impairment occurs after maturation; after you feel you have 'reached or arrived at a secure place within yourself and with your interactions and experiences of/within the host system'. Based on the model, in stage 3 (Maturation), where impairment occurs, this places a particular challenge on a migrant teacher who is otherwise believed to be "secure" in him/herself based on gains in localised knowledge, increase in status and recognition and respect from colleagues. So, in this phase, impairment results from "a challenge to or a questioning of the migrant teacher's bona-fide status (knowledge or other)". Rachel does not feel secure in herself and therefore falls in-between the first two stages and not in the third stage of Miller's framework although she has seven years of teaching experience in South Africa.

She feels displaced and isolated because SADTU has denied her a chance to become a member of the union. However, Rachel's experience is contrary to the main aim of SADTU

which is to eradicate all forms of discrimination in education and to strive towards a free and democratic system of education in South Africa (Maluleke, 2011, p. 1). One of the objectives of the union is to promote and advance the education, cultural and social interests of workers and working class communities in South Africa, Africa, and the whole world (Maluleke, 2011, p. 6). She was told that only South African citizens of the country could become members and they have discriminated against her on the basis of her nationality. NAPTOSA, another teacher union accepted her though, and it is quite evident that SADTU's aims and objectives are inconsistent with what is happening at grassroots level.

Migrant teachers' vulnerability is also evident in the uncertainty of whether their three month contract posts would be renewed and this prevents them from enjoying their work and feeling stable: 'peace of mind'. Happy (I, 5 – Zimbabwean national) is unable to purchase a car because her SGB salary is low and she is also unable to obtain a personal loan because of the status of her employment, which is temporary. However, although Michael is paid by the government and Happy is paid by the SGB, they had similar experiences when they went to the bank to apply for loans. The 'temporary' status of their employment makes them susceptible to living a below average SA lifestyle although they are qualified professionals. Since Happy cannot afford to buy a car, she makes use of public transport and she is exposed to xenophobia from South African travellers.

5.3.1.3 Jealousy towards migrants: Xenophobia

Crowther's (1995, p. 1385) definition of the concept of xenophobia is 'an intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries which implies a resentment of foreigners. There is some resentment towards migrant teachers by South African teachers. For example, Rachel (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) has heard from South African teachers who are her colleagues that they are unhappy about 'foreign' teachers being employed because this would mean that more South Africans would be unemployed. Of course, we know the government has recently also stated that there will be efforts to protect local jobs and has embarked on more stringent visa measures for non-nationals. Ultimately, it appears that this kind of thinking which prevails may have links to xenophobic attitudes and behaviour in SA.

Zimbabwean migrant teachers have been called the word, 'makwerekwere' just to stir up a reaction from them. Manik (2013, p. 3) stated that "African immigrants are described using

the label: *Makwerekwere* which is an antagonistic label that specifically refers to those who are not au fait with an Nguni or Sotho language and who are perceived to be 'pitch black' in complexion". Azindow (2007, p. 175) explained that the term "makwerekwere also carries a host of undesirable meanings aside from being an African immigrant 'who lacks competency in the local South African languages', it also refers to one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward in relation to South Africa." This is the reason why this word has aggravated many migrant teachers to the point where they have learnt to ignore comments that wish to create problematic situations for themselves.

Michael (FGD, virtual participant – Zimbabwean national) who has six years of teaching experience in South Africa has experienced xenophobic attitudes from learners at his school. They would call him the word "makwerekwere" outside school and when he turned around to see who had called out the word, the learners would just deny it. Macy (I, 10 – Zambian national) who has eight years of teaching experience in South Africa suffered from resistance by the management and colleagues of her school. She was being scrutinized very closely, unlike how other local teachers were being treated and not given the respect that she deserved, regardless of being a qualified teacher. Her explanation for being continuously checked at school was because she was a 'black' teacher. She felt that management continually tried to find fault in her work, demotivating her and as a result, led her to change her profession from teaching learners, to now (at the time of writing this research) teaching adults to use various teaching strategies in under-performing schools. Happy (I, 5 – Zimbabwean national) and Cathy (I, 3 – Zimbabwean national) experienced xenophobic attitudes when travelling with public transport and also when visiting supermarkets. They would be ignored when they spoke in English because they could not speak the local language such as Sepedi.

Manik (2013, p. 9) revealed that "immigrant teachers also articulated how unfairness pervaded processes at school but immigrant teachers who are employed by school governing bodies do not have a platform to voice their concerns and even if they did, they were unlikely to openly express their feelings due to a fear of losing their jobs. An example of the unfairness is evident in the management culture at some schools which demonstrated a distinctively biased ethnic culture that was evident in the recruitment practices of teachers". Hammar, McGregor and Landau (2010) and Worby (2010) explained that despite migrants' desire to escape their poor conditions in Zimbabwe, they faced fear and vulnerability with

other immigrants, in the 2008 xenophobic violence that occurred across SA. My study has revealed that xenophobia is still evident and it has a very traumatic impact on migrant teachers.

5.3.1.4 Unhappiness against the backdrop of a family breakdown

Although Michael has six years of teaching experience in South Africa and should ideally fall within the maturation phase (36 months and beyond), he actually still suffers from uncertainty, isolation and financial constraints (characteristics of the engagement phase). However, Miller (2011, p. 81) also explained that "where 'increased maturation' fails, the migrant teachers (he calls them OTT's) experiences 'impairment', which can result in decreased maturation or a reversion to phase two. Decreased maturation is characterised primarily by a confusion about one's status in the local education system". Since Michael did not experience confusion about his status in the maturation phase, my findings differ from Miller.

After six years of teaching in Johannesburg as a Mathematics and EMS teacher, he remains pessimistic about the future of his employment because his job is unstable. Michael is uncertain about whether his government employment contract would be renewed at the end of each term and that keeps him consistently stressed. It's been six long years, but he is still unable to bring his wife and children to South Africa because of the nature of his employment contract and this has led him to feelings of calamity. He is not willing to take the risk of relocating his family to South Africa, only to find out at some stage later that his contract has been terminated and his service is not needed. This family separation could eventually lead to an emotional breakdown since Michael can no longer wait for his family to join him in Johannesburg. As mentioned in chapter 4, he is also unable to buy on long term credit because of his three month employment contract. Manik (2011b) similarly noted that Zimbabwean teachers are not paid the same salary that SA citizens are paid because they occupy temporary positions. Temporary teachers fulfil the same duties as permanent staff yet at a reduced salary like Michael.

Permanent residence is applicable to foreigners who have been residing in South Africa on the basis of their work permits for a minimum period of five years, their spouses and also to dependents of South African citizens/permanent residence permit holders (Department of Home Affairs, 2014). Michael has been residing in South Africa for six years and has been

trying to get a permanent residence but he has had no joy as yet. Therefore, the temporary government post that he holds is due to the fact that he has a quota work permit and a temporary residence in South Africa. The DBE (2013, p. 6) revealed that "foreigners offering Mathematics and Physical Science may apply if they are in possession of either a temporary or permanent work permit. Before a consideration appointment is made, the SGB must submit together with Form C the following documents: certified qualifications; approved work permits; appropriate SAQA evaluation; provisional SACE registration; and the evaluation of qualifications from the National Department of Basic Education. This will then make the foreign national eligible for a fixed contract period of three years. Extension of the three years will be granted upon reviewing the need that exists within the institution."

Michael, however, is trying to prevent any more delays at the Department of Home Affairs so that he could avoid 'living in limbo'. The Department of Home Affairs (2014) stated that, in terms of granting Permanent Residency Permits, emphasis is placed on immigrants who are in a position to make a meaningful contribution to broadening the economic base of South Africa. The DBE (2013, p. 6) also added that "Non-citizens who have already been employed (in either temporary or contractual capacities) and who hold permanent residence permits should be considered for permanent appointment if the positions occupied by them are of a permanent nature". Hence, Michael should be eligible to become a permanent resident since he teaches a scarce skill subject (Mathematics) and adds value to South Africa's economic base. He would then be able to feel less frustrated, isolated and depressed.

5.3.1.5 Home Affairs = A Rollercoaster ride

Based on the experiences of the participants, it seems like on a good or bad day, its bound to be a complex system for doing the paperwork. The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has made Kristen's (I, 9 - American national) paperwork a very tedious process. When she returned to South Africa in 1991, they had informed her that she would get her permanent residence after three consecutive years. However, at the end of the third year, she was informed that she would get her permanent residence in six months' time, which implies that incorrect information was provided to her. Kristen experienced financial constraints, confusion and uncertainty in the 10 years that she has taught in SA. The DHA lost her ID application twice which caused her the inconvenience of re-applying twice with all the documents, showing inefficiencies.

Since Kristen had received false information, she has found DHA to be incompetent because she waited for another three years' to get her permanent residence. The Department of Home Affairs (2014) states that the permanent residence permit is applicable to foreigners who have been residing in South Africa on the basis of their work permits for a minimum period of five years. Losing her ID applications twice also shows a lack of professional work ethics by staff. Similarly, Taylor (2012) stated that immigrants have experienced immigration officials who just did not know the country's immigration laws at the DHA offices which has therefore steered immigrants towards feeling frustrated.

Sikana and Cathy (Zimbabwean nationals) also found the DHA experience to be a rollercoaster ride. For Sikana, her experiences seem to have left her highly confused because there is no uniformity in the different DHA offices and both Cathy and Sikana are Africans. Cathy has had a shorter stay in South Africa compared to Sikana, and yet Cathy has already obtained her permanent residence. The different DHA areas that they have been to, have carried out different procedures and hence, although Sikana is in South Africa for a longer time (more than five years'), she still struggles to get her permanent residence. Allison (2014) stated that "Home affairs minister Naledi Pandor is talking tough on economic migrants, whom she claims are abusing South Africa's generous refugee laws. She wants to close the loopholes that let them stay… the creaking Home Affairs bureaucracy can't deal with all the claims, and it is an uphill battle to obtain even the temporary status. Not to mention the bribes regularly demanded by officials, who know that asylum seekers have no redress, and the cases of incompetence where refugee law is misapplied or documents lost (many genuine refugee claims are mistakenly rejected)". This clearly discloses the ineffectiveness of DHA as made public by Allison (2014).

5.3.1.6 Social networks and Chain migration

According to Moffett (2014), "chain migration refers to the tendency of immigrants to follow those of similar ethnic and cultural heritage to communities established in their new homeland". Rachel (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) had decided to migrate to Johannesburg because there were many other migrant teachers migrating to the Gauteng province and it was a hot spot. Similarly, a study by Lederer (2011, p. 45) on the recruitment of Filipino teachers to the U.S discovered that "the majority of these teachers live together in several apartment buildings, where they form a tight-knit community." Immigrants tend to move to places

where they feel comfortable and those places are often those with previous generations of others like themselves. Hence, familiarity is vital if one needs to try to make themselves comfortable in a new environment.

Manik (2012, p. 85) in her study on Zimbabwean migrants in SA indicated that "many of the participants alluded to having either friends or family in SA, or immediate family in Zimbabwe/UK …who supported their migration". Similarly, Marino (2008) stated that through word of mouth communication about a place, immigration can occur amongst family and friends. Migrant networks are seen as examples of social capital theory, because they convey important information, provide financial help, facilitate jobs and accommodation and provide other forms of support. Michael's decision to come to South Africa was based on having friends living in Johannesburg and Happy chose to come to South Africa for a similar reason as she had family living in Johannesburg. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor (1998) stated that such networks reduce the costs and uncertainty of migration, and therefore facilitate it. Social networks may therefore lead to migration having a multiplier effect, and the migrant teachers did allude to having their family facilitate their move or preparing for their families to later join them in SA, particularly if they were successful in accessing formal job opportunities in the host country.

5.3.1.7 Migrant teacher's fears

Education has a key place in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) framework. As mentioned in Chapter 2, one of the MDG in Africa to be achieved in 2015 is that of universal primary education (Okeke and Nwali, 2013). Cathy (I, 2 – Zimbabwean national) has two years of teaching experience in South Africa and falls within Miller's (2011) 'transition and resistance' phase as well as the 'engagement' phase because she fears that South Africa would no longer need her skills eventually and she would be forced to move back to Zimbabwe. But SA is in need of teachers in the primary school to meet educational goals.

Rachel (I, 1 – Zimbabwean national) also expressed that South African local teachers are not happy with foreign teachers being employed in South Africa as they feel that migrant teachers' are depriving them of teaching posts that could be occupied by South Africans. She therefore fears that South African schools would stop employing foreign nationals in the future, due to their justifications. Allison (2014) indicated that "Pandor is only one short rhetorical step from saying that foreigners are stealing South African jobs" and recently

Minister of Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba did state that there are steps being put in place to secure the jobs of locals and that is why particular changes to visa requirements are afoot.

There is further evidence available behind Cathy and Rachel's fear as an article posted on a recruitment site for unemployed qualified teachers confirmed that the Department of Basic Education in SA has taken a decision to prohibit the recruitment of migrant teachers who have employment permits at their schools. Their reasoning behind this is that the large number of unemployed local teachers should obtain teachings posts first before migrant teachers are employed. (Foreign Teachers in South Africa, 2013). It was clear that migrant teachers' fears will grow with such public displays and this could deter them from applying to South African schools where they are needed if local teachers are absent.

Migrant teachers also have fears, relating to the type of school. At present, Cathy (I, 3), is living in Johannesburg because her husband has found employment in the area. Although she has her permanent residency and could be employed as a government employee, she is of the opinion that the Department of Education (DoE) has refused to employ her as a government employee. She is a school governing body (SGB) teacher who is high school trained and according to the DoE, she is therefore unable to be granted permanent post at the primary school where she teaches. Cathy is emotionally conflicted: although she would like to be permanently employed in a high school, she does not mind the SGB post at the primary school because she is not prepared to teach in a government high school because of the views that she holds. Cathy believes that she would be unable to handle the ill-disciplined learners in a high school. She is however, applying to private high schools in Johannesburg as she is positive that the discipline will be much better. She is fearful of the nature of high school teaching due to her perceptions of poor discipline in South African high schools. It was also evident that it is not Johannesburg high schools in particular that she is fearful of, but all South African high schools due to the culture of learning displayed by local learners. These views stem from migrant teachers experiences in different contexts as discussed below.

5.3.1.8 Lack of discipline and hidden learning

Majority of the participants complained of the ill-disciplined behaviour of the primary school learners and the disrespect shown towards them as educators. Happy, Cathy and Sikana (FGD-Zimbabwean nationals) are Foundation Phase teachers and they found disruptive behaviour to be a common problem and a major challenge at the schools they taught. In this study, disruptive and disrespectful behaviour was not only experienced by migrant teachers in

the Foundation Phase, but also by migrant teachers in the Intermediate and Senior Phase (Grade 7). A study carried out by Marais and Meier (2010) found that even local teachers in Grades 1 to 3 experienced learner behaviour that disrupted classroom activities and deemed it to be the biggest challenge to behaviour management. Thus local and migrant teachers alike appear to be unsettled by learner behaviour. Discipline issues are a global concern. Ill-disciplined learners are present not only in high schools but also primary schools. My findings correlate with the literature, as stated in Chapter 2. A study on SA teachers in the UK found that "the high turn-over of teachers in London schools, induces a feeling of resentfulness amongst leaners mainly due to the instability wrapped around the constant coming and going of teachers" (Manik, 2011a, p. 69). Similarly, South African learners feel bitter about migrant teachers by the cruel comments that they pass because they know that these teachers are not permanent.

Migrant teachers in other studies have complained about their interactions with local learners. A study by Ochs (2011, p. 28) also revealed that "teachers working in the US, Seychelles and in the Bahamas in particular found the lack of discipline of the children problematic." An important finding during Marais and Meier's (2010) research was that all types of disruptive behaviour were related to a lack of parental care and adult role models in a society. They also discovered that this revealed that good discipline needs to be fostered not only at school but also at home, where parents or legal guardians instil moral and values and try to be good role-models to their children. They stated that children tend to have more respect for their parents and enjoy copying their practices. Thus the relationships between parents and their children in SA leads to different types of parental relationships than those found in another country.

The study also stated that parents have to fake a new individuality in a contemporary world. It was found that if parents avoid their responsibilities towards the moral upbringing of their children, disruptive behaviour in homes and in schools will be inevitable (Marais and Meier, 2010). Just as parents had to forge a new identity, the 30% (n=3) of Foundation Phase migrant teachers' in my study had to allow their identity to take shape in a South African primary school – a characteristic of Miller's (2011) 'transition and resistance' phase. But this cannot be described as being a 'fake' identity. The migrant teachers had to begin to form a distinctively South African identity from their experiences in Johannesburg. Their experiences at school helped them to obtain an increased localised knowledge in Johannesburg and they therefore resisted giving up on their prior teaching approaches and

processes (situated knowledge) learnt and obtained in Zimbabwe because they believed that those strategies have helped to shape Zimbabwean children and will also be useful in a SA context. In Zimbabwe, it is unheard of children disrespecting their teachers or parents because they are fully aware of the repercussions and are fearful of what actions might be taken against them by society. The migrant teachers have therefore used their prior skills learnt in their home country to teach learners good behaviour.

The culture shock for migrant teachers came when they began teaching in Johannesburg schools. Just as "SA migrant teachers experience threats to their professional identities in the UK mostly from pupils, as evidenced in disciplinary problems" (Manik, 2011a, p. 69), some of the migrant teachers in this study also experienced a culture shock when teaching in local classrooms as they felt that the behaviour of learners were intolerable when matched to the behaviour of learners in school contexts in Zimbabwe, Zambia and India. Thus teachers were engaging in a comparison between their home and the host society. Manik (2011a:69) revealed that 'once a teacher enters a new professional domain, professional identity is impacted upon' and this is exactly the route of the migrant teachers in this study, questioning and altering their professional identities given their classroom experiences. Louise & Kruse (1995) and Scribner, Cockrell & Valentine (1999) affirmed that in a new and different professional setting, migrant teachers' understanding of their sense of belonging or not to a professional community can be determined from the way in which a teacher finds himself within a new school setting.

Michael (FGD – virtual participant) locates himself as being accepted by his fellow teacher colleagues but not by all the learners that he teaches. This is because the learners are aware he is an immigrant and therefore do not respect him as a professional. He is also often call him derogatory names. He felt that Zimbabwean learners are more disciplined because of an overall Christian influence (most families and schools are Christian) and the family unit is more intact. He is of the opinion that in Johannesburg most learners in his schools come from dysfunctional/broken families. He therefore finds it difficult to adapt to Johannesburg's social context and his school being part of it since he is often disrespected just because he is a migrant teacher.

Miller (2011) explains that one of the characteristics of the transition and resistance phase (stage 2) is a 'merger of original knowledge and localised knowledge'. However, the

participants in this study have found great difficulty in integrating their knowledge brought from their home countries with their knowledge found in a new place of work due to the education environment in Johannesburg, thus a 'merging' of knowledge's from different contexts is internally resisted by many migrant teachers. Manik's (2011a, p.68) study on SA migrant teachers in the UK revealed that 'once in the UK, teachers had to integrate into new social spaces, which were unknown to them given their frame of reference, namely the SA education environment'. She (Manik, 2011a, p. 69) also explained that 'negotiated identities evolved for migrant teachers upon an understanding of their need to adapt to a different social context'. In my study, all the migrant teachers displayed an attitude of adaptation to the new environment (Johannesburg).

This study's finding is therefore similar to Manik's (2011a) study where she found migrant teachers experiencing inner struggles then crafting negotiated identities within the education sector in the UK. The migrant teachers who had more than 36 months (stage 3) of experience in South Africa all experienced transitional problems (stage 2) of Miller's identity trajectory because of the calibre of learners in Johannesburg. They would need to think of alternative discipline strategies in order to maintain discipline in their classrooms, something they were struggling to achieve. Hence, "the duration for each phase may be more than what is shown because of the added 'burdens and pressures' that forced migrants experience during the settle-in period" (Shotte, 2011, p. 119). Similarly here, in this study, the time frames for each phase experienced by individual migrant teachers varied and did not keep to Miller's framework.

There was also a culture of entitlement that was being fostered in the country according to migrant teachers in Johannesburg. Sikana (FGD, 2 – Zimbabwean national) was upset at the way in which learners showed little value their education and she believed that there definitely needs to be a paradigm shift in learners' thinking that begins from home. Hidden learning was taking place in greater society which appeared to be corrupting the hard work ethic that migrant teachers felt they were trying to enforce in their classrooms. The views expressed by some Black South African children who were of the opinion that the government will provide for their basic needs, like giving them free Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses and they therefore did not need to work hard at school and perform well was troubling. Grootes (2014) also reported that a culture of entitlement is beginning to cause real destruction to our country. He reports that everywhere

you look, there is a protest that government 'must provide' with South Africans demanding free water, free power, free housing, and free internet. There is also a demand attitude emerging that people must get grants, fundamentally money for nothing. He also added that President Jacob Zuma himself has cautioned that there are too many grants, and that we cannot become a nation dependent on the social security system.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the reasons for migrant teachers migrating to Johannesburg. It also analysed the various experiences of migrant teachers' in the Johannesburg area in tandem with the literature. The common experiences were the challenges experienced with the DHA, ill-disciplined learners, xenophobic attacks and temporary contracts that stifle migrant teachers' future plans. Whilst it is fair that the DBE considers the employment needs of unemployed qualified South African teachers first, migrant teachers were disappointed that they were not being considered for contract extensions yet SA as a country required their skills. They believed that hidden learning and a culture of entitlement must be guarded against in order to build a society that 'do it for themselves' and does not depend on the South African government to provide for all their basic needs.

CHAPTER SIX: INSIGHTS

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to gauge the significant insights of the study emerging from the data in order to understand migrant teachers' experiences in primary schools in the Johannesburg area. The chapter begins by discussing the summary of the biographical profile of migrant teachers in this study, the second section explains the reasons that have motivated migrant teachers to relocate specifically to Johannesburg, SA. The third section critically discusses their professional and personal experiences in primary schools and the last section concludes the study by providing recommendations to the department of basic education.

6.2 Critical insights on the biographical and professional profile of migrant, primary school teachers in Johannesburg

In the cohort of migrant teachers in primary schools in Johannesburg, Zimbabweans dominated that is, they were the majority in Johannesburg. The majority of the participants also fell in the age-group of 40-49 years and were seasoned teachers. This is consistent with the finding by Keevy et al (2014) that the majority of migrant teachers across SA are Zimbabweans. This means that addressing Zimbabwean teachers needs in SA as part of the teaching force is important. Hence, we need to know how best to manage our critical skills migrant teachers so that we can maximise on the present benefit from the 'brain gain'.

Migrant teachers have made a positive impact on the quality of education in participating schools in the urban areas in Johannesburg by mitigating teacher shortages across a spectrum of subjects, especially with regard to subjects taught in the Foundation Phase and languages, but also with regard to mathematics, natural science, economic and management sciences.

6.3 Migrant teachers' reasons for choosing the Johannesburg area

Johannesburg is an urban hub for migrant teachers with an abundance of job opportunities in teaching and other associated fields. In addition, the findings (in Chapter 4) point to social networks influencing the location of migrant teachers and migrant teachers moving as 'tied-movers' to SA. These aspects will be further discussed below.

6.3.1 <u>Social networks</u>

Social networks have an encouraging impact on cross-border migrants' happiness, remarkably because belonging to a network intensifies "migrants' resilience to social and economic shocks" (Mazars et al 2013, p. 7). Acquaintance with friends and family in South Africa, has helped many participants to feel comfortable in Johannesburg. In this study, the closeness of family and friends was one of the key reasons that led migrant teachers to relocate (for a detailed discussion on social networks) to Johannesburg**.**

6.3.2 <u>Tied-movers</u>

Fifty percent of the participants in the study were tied-movers and the majority were women. Their decision to migrate was largely influenced by their husband's choice to relocate for brighter job prospects in Johannesburg. Interestingly, in this study, 80% (n=8) of the participants were female. Moser (as cited by Manik, 2011b) states that women have a triple role in third world countries: producer (primary and secondary income), reproducer (biological and social) and community manager. Moser also pointed out that women bear the weight of balancing many roles instantaneously. Hence, the migration of wedded females is symbolic of a union of the "roles of producer and reproducer". Manik (2005) also highlighted this in the motivations of women teachers exiting SA that their UK salaries were to be used for the enhancement of their households' economic position. In this study the women were not only looking after their children but had also accepted positions to ensure their families economic well-being.

6.3.3 <u>Abundance of jobs to ensure survival</u>

This study found that there is a variety of formal and informal jobs for migrant teachers in Johannesburg. Positions in primary schools for migrant teachers were not easily available although they were qualified. Hence, they were more than willing to accept a job that pays less so that they could earn a living out of desperation to achieve success in a foreign destination. Administration, facilitation and taking on the role of a pre-school teacher were some of the jobs that participants accepted before they were employed as teachers in their field of study so that they could survive in a foreign destination.

6.4 Is the uncertainty about their future, paralysing their present stay?

Migrant teachers experienced both hostile and pleasant experiences in SA, however, the extent of their negative experiences far surpasses their positive experiences.

6.4.1 <u>Institutional Transformations</u>: <u>Department of Home Affairs, Department of Basic Education and Teacher Unions</u>

Keevy et al (2014) have suggested that the DHA and DBE introduce a series of steps and market the procedures for migrant teachers to seamlessly move into existing gaps in the schools. To this end the DHA has to start thinking of a way to create consistent bureaucratic procedures for all migrant teachers so that they do not spend unnecessary time travelling to and fro when they have to re-apply for important documents. Supporting the rights of migrant teachers and their families should be a crucial policy for managing teacher migration in the Johannesburg region and in SA, in general. Guaranteeing that migrant teachers have the same conditions of service as local educators, facilitating migrant teachers' relocation to areas of need and assisting them with introducing orientation and integration programmes as well as staff development can contribute towards improving the comfort and security of migrant teachers in all of South Africa as migrant teachers are contributing to the development of SA.

Teacher unions can help to defend and promote the rights of migrant teachers by facilitating migrant teachers' rights as explained in the Commonwealth Teacher Recruitment Protocol (CTRP) and engaging public authorities on migrant teachers' behalf. SADTU as an affiliate of Education International (EI) was part of the international discussions on migrant teachers when the CTRP was being crafted, and studies have been undertaken to report on its progress and EI now has a portal dedicated to migrant teacher rights. Hence, easy access to teacher union affiliation and education programmes are important conditions for the protection of migrant teachers' rights.

6.4.2 <u>Conditions of Service</u>:

Migrant teachers in this study revealed that they believed that they were not being valued for their expertise. Whether a migrant teacher is SGB employed or temporary or government employed; many were in possession of a three month contract that was renewable after every term. As mentioned in chapter 5, the uncertainty of whether these migrant teachers' three month contract posts would be renewed prevents them from enjoying their work, feeling a

sense of job stability, satisfaction and peace of mind in addition to the negative repercussions for the families.

6.4.3 Confusion over scarce skills subjects

Clearly, the Department of Education should revisit what are critical skills subjects in South Africa and hire within these parameters. There seems to be confusion with regards to what are the scarce skills subjects based on empirical evidence. A migrant teacher in the study could not apply for a government post because she was told by the school that the DoE does not regard the subject English, as a scarce skill subject. Manik's (2011b) study had revealed that English is also one of the scarce skills subjects besides Mathematics and Science with migrant teachers teaching English in rural areas where local teachers have refused positions. Hence scarce skills subjects must be revisited by the DBE.

6.4.4 Xenophobia from the learners and society

The migrant teachers in this study experienced dissonance amongst the learners they taught inside and outside school. The nature of the discord was such that the use of derogatory language outside school and in taxis belittled their nationality and humiliated them. The migrant teachers were of the opinion that the learners' parents created this stigma about them and thus they were looked down upon compared to the local teachers.

6.4.5 Xenophobia from teachers

Two participants experienced xenophobic attitudes by their colleagues at their previous primary school (see section 4.5.3). They were constantly examined at the private school that they taught at and eventually left the school due to unfair circumstances. The school principal shortened one of the participant's contracts before time and the other participant's daughter was unable to cope with a local language taught at the school and this then led the school management team to give her a difficult time and harassing her. This caused the migrant teacher to leave because she was intentionally made to feel inadequate in her duties as a mother and teacher. Another participant felt that most South African teachers are angry and feel prejudiced when migrant teachers are being employed.

Clearly xenophobic attitudes appear to be widespread in Johannesburg.

6.5 Recommendations: Summary

A variety of institutional structures in South Africa, many of which are government structures should consider the following:

- DHA, DBE and primary schools: Be sensitive, compassionate and considerate to migrant teachers who add significant value to the education system.
- DBE: Fast-track migrant teachers into government posts for both urban and rural areas in scarce skills areas when local teachers fail to take up these posts.
- DBE: Provide longer-term contracts, a minimum of one year contracts, in order for migrant teachers to feel financially secure and stable in their jobs.
- Teacher Unions: Encourage migrant teachers' affiliation in order protect the rights of migrant teachers and to give them a platform to voice their opinions.
- DHA: Develop an efficient service and refined paperwork at the DHA offices to ensure standardised fast tracked procedures for highly skilled migrants like teachers.
- DBE: To re-visit what are scarce skills subjects and to offer incentives for migrant teachers in scarce skills subjects to remain in SA and promote the development of those disciplines in the absence of local interest by teachers.
- DBE: Allow migrant teachers that have been teaching for a minimum period of time in South Africa to upgrade their qualification to REQV 14 through programmes such as the NPDE.

6.6 Conclusion

This study was undertaken with the purpose to explore migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg. In the interviews with immigrant teachers, the vulnerability of the migrant teachers was evident from the narratives. While the predominant theme was the unfairness of migrant teachers' contract periods, insight into other aspects, such as the inefficiency of the Department of Home Affairs, social exclusion, subject discrimination, jealousy towards migrant teachers, social networks and chain migration were key findings. It is hoped that the insights from this small scale study will provide a better understanding of migrant teachers' experiences in primary schools. The DBE circular presented evidence that South Africa is experiencing anti-foreigner sentiments which is also evident amongst learners, teachers and greater society in SA. It is hoped that this study can

decrease resistance to migrant teachers being in SA and increase their acceptance by colleagues and learners.

Also, the Department of Basic Education needs to play a more vigorous role in educating local South African teachers and learners to integrate and accept migrant teachers for the value that they bring to education in SA and about the CTRP. The infusion of numbers of migrant teachers into the local education system requires that the ethos of schools change in order to accommodate the rights of all who work within its confines. The South African Constitution is very clear on this but local government structures need to be cognisant of infusing human rights into their procedures and policies.

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http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/incentives-needed-to-attract-and-retain-

teachers-in-sa-cde-2011-10-07

<u>Interview for Migrant teachers: Experiences of primary school teachers' teaching in the Johannesburg   Area</u>

<u>Demographic Data:</u>

Male/ Female: _____   Marital Status: _____

Age: _____   Race/ Ethnicity: _____

Nationality: _____   Qualification/s: _____

Circle the correct alternative: Public primary school/ private primary school

1. From what country have you migrated?
_____

2. Is this your first migration? Why?
_____

3. For what length of time have you been teaching in SA?
_____

4.1 Is this your first teaching post?
_____

4.2 If not, where did you teach before and what subjects did you teach?
_____

4.3 Why did you leave that school?
_____

5. Does your qualification allow you to teach in both a primary and high school or only one?
_____

6. Why have you selected to teach in a primary and not a high school?
_____

7. How many primary schools have you taught at thus far, since your arrival in SA?
_____

8. Have you undertaken any other jobs since your arrival apart from teaching? _____

9. If yes to the above question, please state the job and explain why you needed to engage in it?
_____
_____

10. For what length of time have you been teaching in this primary school?

_____

11. What phase are you teaching in and what subjects do you teach?

_____

12. Why are you teaching in the Johannesburg area?

_____

_____

13. Do you have a permanent / a temporary/governing body post? Explain

_____

_____

14. What are some of your key experiences of teaching in a primary school in South Africa thus far [personal and professional interactions with staff (including management) and students]?

_____

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FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Migrant teachers experiences of teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg.

The objectives of this study are:

1. To explore why migrant teachers are teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg.

2. To examine what are migrant teacher's experiences of teaching in primary schools.

Date	____ August 2013
Place of meeting	_____ School
Time	
Duration	
Number of participants	
Topic for discussion	Migrant teacher experiences of teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg.

Ice breaker: Introductions

Key issues to be discussed: Common Experiences derived from the individual interviews for in-depth discussion

a) Professional experiences

Issue 1: Co-operative staff / colleagues

1.1 **What kind of experiences have you had with your colleagues at the primary school?**

I noticed that in your interviews that majority of you had positive experiences by your colleagues….please recount these experiences and how it has impacted on you.

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_____
_____
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_____
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_____

1.2 Has anyone experienced xenophobia within the staff / support staff / principal?

Explain

Mrs Sikana (pseudonym): you had a bad experience of teaching at the private primary school that you previously taught at? Please explain

_____

_____

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_____

_____

_____

Happy (pseudonym) you said that you cannot share jokes in Shona with your South African colleagues at work, please share with me what it feels like? Does anyone agree?

_____

_____

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1.3 Who does not experience xenophobic attacks amongst South African staff members?

Explain

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Issue 2: Ill-disciplined learners in South African primary schools

2.1 What discipline problems are you experiencing in the primary school at which you are currently teaching?

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_____

_____

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_____

2.2 Are these disciplinary issues eminent in your home country?

_____

_____

_____

2.3 If not, can you suggest disciplinary laws that have proven to work in your home country that should be instated and implemented in South Africa in order to improve your experience as a foreign teacher. Also, explain the reasons why you think it would work in the primary school at which you are currently teaching.

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2.4.1   Can you please substantiate the reasons why you remain in the Johannesburg Area despite your bad experiences with the learner's that you teach?

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_____

_____

_____

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_____

_____

2.4.2   Why have you not thought about another province in the country?

_____

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_____

Personal issues

Issue 3: Homesick / Loneliness in South Africa

3.1 **Can you please substantiate the reasons behind why Johannesburg is still your place of**
residence despite you feeling homesick and lonely?

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Issue 4: Temporary contracts causing instability to plan for the future

4.1 **What types of employment contracts are each of you holding?** Government / SGB, number of months?

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4.2 **How has your temporary contract at the primary school caused you prejudice to plan for the future? (example, to buy a house or car)**

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4.3 How does your tentative jobs (not certain or fixed contracts) with little job security impact on your families? (example, less money being sent home, cannot obtain home loan to buy a house so they have to rent)

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4.4 In your opinion, what do you feel are the reasons behind your contracts remaining temporary, despite the number of years served at the primary school?

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INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

4 June 2013

Ms Lucille-Dawn Anganoo 206500599
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0345/013M
Project title: Foreign teachers experiences of teaching in primary schools in the Johannesburg Central area.

Dear Ms Anganoo

Expedited approval

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor UBob (Chair) & Dr S Singh (Deputy Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Dr Sadhana Manik
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr MN Davids
cc Post Graduate Administrator: Ms B Bhengu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
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Founding Campuses: ▓ Edgewood ▓ Howard College Medical School ▓ Pietermaritzburg ▓ Westville

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PROJECT TITLE:

Migrant teachers experiences of teaching in primary schools in Johannesburg.

I am conducting my Masters research that aims to understand migrant teachers' experiences of teaching in primary schools in the context of the Johannesburg area. This is part of a greater study on Migrant teachers in South Africa being undertaken by the South African Qualifications Authority-SAQA (Dr. James Keevy), The Department of Higher Education and Training-DHET (Dr. Whitty Green) and UKZN (Dr. Sadhana Manik). I am Ms. L. Anganoo, a masters student in the School of Social Science Education in the Faculty of Education, Edgewood Campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal. My cellphone number is: 0833826088. My email address is anganoo_lu@yahoo.com.

Further information on the project may be obtained from my supervisor: Dr. S. Manik at tel. no: 0312603706.

I wish to obtain your consent to conduct an interview with you which will contribute to the study. The duration of the interview will be approximately one hour. Your transcribed interview will remain confidential at all times and your anonymity is guaranteed. All transcribed interviews will be kept in a safe place at The Faculty of Education and after 5 years, they will be destroyed by shredding.

Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw anytime from the research process.

I, _____, (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project and I consent to participating in this research project. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I desire to do so.

_____

Signature of participant

_____

Date

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