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Immigration and Education: Changing identity and roles of teachers in schools that have enrolled immigrant learners in South Africa

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DECLARATION

I, Thandeka Patience Sibiya declare that this PhD Thesis here by submitted for the fulfilment of a Doctoral qualification in the Faculty of Education and Psychology, Department of Theoretical and Historical Pedagogy at the University of Eotvos Loránd University (ELTE) in Budapest, Hungary, has not previously been submitted at this or any other university, and that it is entirely my own work, design, and execution, and that all the material contained herein is recognised. I further cede copywrite in favour of ELTE.

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ACKNOWLEGMENTS

I would like to thank my Creator, *Mvelinqangi*, for giving me life and strength to complete this research. It has been a difficult journey, filled with various challenges, but He has never failed me. He is a faithful Creator.

I am grateful to my ancestors, those who have departed from this world to be with our clan and are constantly watching over me and my tribe. Their spirit is mightier than the physical. *Kwande boSibiya Ngenkomo abafokazana bebiya ngamahlahla, ngithi nje kwande bo Genlie, ngithi Kwande BoMthethwa, boNyambose! Ngithi nje kwande bo Ndebele, bo maZalankosi!* Thank you for crossing the seas with me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC – African National Congress

ATP – Annual Teaching Plan

CAT – Classical Assimilation Theory

CRT – Critical Race Theory

CTM – Critical Theory of Multiculturalism

DHA – Department of Hone Affairs

DoE – Department of Education

DoH – Department of Health

DoL – Department of Labour

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

EU – European Union

FET – Further Education and Training

HOD – Head of Department

HSRC – Hunan Sciences Resources Council

ICT – Information and Communication Technology

KZN – Kwa Zulu Natal

LO – Life Orientation

LPREC – Limpopo Province Research Ethics Committee

MAT – Modern Assimilation Theory

NAPTOSA – National Association for Professional Teachers' Association

NP – National Party

RSA – Republic of South Africa

SACE – South Africa Council of Educators

SADC – Southern Africa Development Community

SADTU – South African Democratic Teachers' Union

SASA – South Africa Schools Act

SLA – Second Language Acquisition

SMT – School Management Team

TEBA – Employment Bureau of Africa

UK – United Kingdom

USA – United States of America

WNLA – Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

ZANUPF - Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ABSTRACT

Learner demographics in South African schools is increasingly becoming diverse, as immigration push and pull factors continue to encourage and motivate foreign nationals to relocate to South Africa. Immigration is viewed and believed to be one of the global trends that is responsible for the injustice, and many forms of discrimination, that immigrants find themselves subjected to, and subsequently affecting them adversely. This thus takes us to the issue of teachers who are an integral part of this of

this study. Teachers are at the centre of education in schools, their identity and roles are investigated to understand how they are shaped by the presence of immigrant learners in their schools and classrooms, whether they perceive themselves as active players or not in the education of immigrant learners in South Africa. It further investigates how teachers interpret and perceive their identity and roles based on the social context.

The study exists in the backdrop of the history of the country which is mostly shaped by the ideology of racism and segregation, which bred hate and division among Black and White people but also went further and antagonised Black people against each other based on the "*Divide and Rule*" strategy, where Black people were separated along tribal lines. This act of domination ended officially in 1994 when South Africa obtained freedom with the first democratic elections, however, after 28 years of democracy, the legacy of apartheid still lingers. This is the reason why there is a belief that the acts of xenophobia directed to immigrants of African descent are motivated by the idea that Black South Africans do not view themselves as Africans, because during apartheid, ties between the continent and South Africa, were not encouraged by the white apartheid government. Furthermore, apartheid festered an ideology of othering, which is why immigrants are continued to be viewed as outsiders who are in the country to compete with locals in the economic and social spaces. These attitudes raise questions about the role and identity of teachers, particularly Black teachers in classrooms with immigrant learners, if they are capable of remaining professional or not.

The study is premised in the qualitative research design with open ended interviews as a research method. Interviews were conducted in three provinces, Gauteng, Limpopo, and Kwa Zulu Natal, in four secondary schools, respectively. Results and recommendations are presented at the end.

Keywords: immigration, identity, role, professionalism, apartheid, xenophobia

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION OF STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The emergence of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) as a destination of choice for opportunities since the inception of democracy, has led to the country experiencing unprecedented populations of both African and other immigrants, entering the country; (Hirsch, 2024). The phenomenon of immigration is believed to be shaping the experiences of various structures of the South African society, including teachers, often finding themselves navigating complex cultural dynamics, leading to a reconstruction of their professional identities to accommodate diverse student backgrounds; (Vandeyar, 2010). Immigration is perceived to have ushered in changes believed to have shaped how some teachers perceive their identities and roles in the classroom, in schools that have enrolled immigrant learners. Critical concerns are observed mainly in township and rural schools, where according to literature, levels of poverty and other social ills are endemic. Based on this knowledge, appears to be a significant connection between how teachers perceive their identities and roles within the context of immigration, and how these perceptions are shaped by the legacy of apartheid in South Africa, a system that was institutionalised in 1948 and dismantled in 1994 with the dawn of democracy. This perspective can be examined through the lens of Samuel and Stephens (2000), who propose two key relationships: one between the self and identity, and another between identity and the surrounding cultural and professional contexts. They argue that a critical interplay exists between these two dimensions, both of which are influenced by the forces of change that characterize societies grappling with a history of cultural, racial, and social division, such as South Africa. These forces continue to inform how educators navigate their professional identities in a transforming and often challenging socio-political landscape.

Since South Africa remains one of the most sought-after destinations in Africa for immigrants, as alluded to earlier, it has particularly become a home to immigrants of Black African descent, as well as others from Asia, Europe, and the Americas, perhaps due to its comparatively developed economy and relatively stable political

and social environment, argue Manik and Singh (2013). An example of this is a Pakistani immigrant who expressed that South Africa appealed to him during a study conducted by Rugunanan (2015), where he voices his desire to bring his family members to South Africa to further their studies. Among African nationals residing in South Africa, Zimbabweans constitute the majority immigrant population. Since 2005, the number of Zimbabwean children entering the country has increased exponentially; (Crush & Tawodzera, 2014). This surge in immigration is largely attributed to Zimbabwe's deteriorating socio-economic and political conditions, particularly from the year 2000 onward. During this period, individuals who opposed the ZANU-PF government under former President Robert Gabriel Mugabe were subjected to political persecution. Simultaneously, the economy experienced a dramatic collapse, exacerbated by internationally imposed sanctions; (Rutherford, 2020). As the government struggled to retain power, large numbers of Zimbabweans fled the country. While some sought refuge in neighbouring nations such as Botswana, the majority settled in South Africa. Between the year 2000 and 2015, an estimated three million Zimbabweans emigrated from Zimbabwe; (Hammar, McGregor & Landau, 2010), with over one million believed to be living in South Africa; (Crush et al., 2015). In addition, Statistics South Africa (2016) reported that, in 2016 alone, approximately 65,500 documented refugees and 230,000 asylum seekers, primarily from Somalia, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), resided in the country. Against this backdrop, and based on statistical and contextual immigration trends, the number of children from Zimbabwe entering South Africa, both legally and illegally, has also increased significantly since 2005; (Crush & Tawodzera, 2014). As a result, schools in South Africa, particularly those located in townships and on the outskirts of cities and towns, are experiencing an increasingly diverse learner population.

Darling-Hammond (1990) and Gonzalez & Darling-Hammond (1997) argue that while diversity is an inherent characteristic of multiculturalism and can be viewed as an asset, it also exposes deep-seated challenges and gaps in teacher professionalism, challenges that must be addressed by both teachers and the broader education system. Darling-Hammond (1990, p. 26) states, "*The basic problem in public education today*

is finding a way to meet the diverse needs of students who come to school with varying capabilities, learning styles, psychological predispositions, family situations, and beliefs about themselves and what school means for them." Although this observation was made in the context of the United States, it resonates strongly within the South African context. South African teachers increasingly face similar challenges in accommodating and effectively supporting immigrant learners in their classrooms, as evidenced by both literature and data.

Literature indicates that learners of Zimbabwean origin, along with their parents who participated in the study conducted by Crush et al. (2008), reported experiencing acts of discrimination in South African classrooms. These acts, often manifesting as xenophobia or Afrophobia, were perpetrated by both South African learners and teachers. It is against this contextual backdrop that the current study seeks to investigate how teacher identity and roles, particularly those of Black South African teachers, are shaped by, and operate within, classrooms that include immigrant learners. This inquiry is necessitated by recurring xenophobic incidents targeting African immigrants living in South Africa, many of whom have been subjected to physical violence, most notably during the xenophobic attacks of 2008. Further studies confirm that in 2008, 2015, and 2019, South Africans exhibited strong anti-immigrant sentiments, often accompanied by acts of xenophobic violence; (Tevera, 2013). In addition to the academic interest in this subject, I bring a personal perspective to this study. As a Black South African teacher with experience teaching in both rural and township schools, I have developed a deep curiosity and concern about the intersection of teacher identity, professional roles, and the presence of immigrant learners in the classroom. My lived experiences have provided insight into the nuanced realities faced by educators in these contexts, further motivating this inquiry.

It is however important to acknowledge that while this study focuses on the attitudes of Black South Africans toward Black African immigrants, it does not suggest that all Black South Africans hold or have held xenophobic sentiments. Contrary to popular belief that South Africans are xenophobic, contrasting attitudes were evident

during the 2008 xenophobic attacks, as some Black South Africans expressed profound shock, shame, and disapproval in response to the violence (Crush et al., 2008; Steinberg, 2008a). These reactions highlight the diversity of perspectives within the Black South African community and underscore the complexity of the social dynamics at play.

> *Shamed by association with their fellow citizens' display of barbarism, South Africans of all races took to the streets in protest marches reminiscent of the anti-apartheid struggle. They carried placards with slogans such as 'Shame on Us, Join the Fight Against Xenophobia, Don't Touch My Sista, and No Black in the Rainbow' (Referring to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others' designation of South Africa as a multiracial rainbow nation.)* (Dodson, 2010, p3).

While it has been acknowledged that not all Black South Africans are anti-immigration, the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of xenophobic attacks in 2008 largely reflect the historical and socio-political experiences of Black South Africans, particularly those rooted in the apartheid, characterised by complex economic, political, social, and cultural gaps. Therefore, eruption of xenophobic attacks figuratively symbolises a fire spark that found the grass dry. According to Crush, et al, (2008), this was a perfect 'cocktail' of events dating back to an era where Black South Africans were oppressed and used violent ways to protest oppression.

This study draws on data generated from teachers in five schools across three South African provinces, complemented by a narrative literature review and a guiding theoretical framework, to address the research questions. To develop a nuanced understanding of teacher identity, the study explores key dimensions such as teacher professionalism and professionalisation, teacher education, and teacher professional development. These aspects have shaped the trajectory of the interviews conducted as a primary research tool and have guided the study in interpreting how teachers perceive their professional identities and roles in classrooms that include immigrant learners. Additionally, the research considers how broader South African societal attitudes toward immigrants influence teachers' conduct, expectations, and the

challenges they encounter in navigating their professional responsibilities. I have been curious in understanding how teachers in township and rural schools respond to the presence of immigrant learners in their classrooms in relation to their teacher identity, teacher roles and professional identity. This is motivated by the realities of people who reside in these areas, mostly they are affected by socio-economic issues. "*Poverty and unemployment conditions of black South Africans played a part in post-apartheid xenophobic violence*" (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, & Ibeabuchi, 2024 p. 1).

To provide clarity for the reader, this study consistently employs the term *Black* to refer specifically to native African people of South Africa, as historically classified by the apartheid government. This includes the various *Bantu*-speaking ethnic groups indigenous to the country. The use of the capitalised term *Black* in this context is deliberate and restricted to this formal and historically grounded usage, functioning as a synonym for *African*. It is not intended as a collective term encompassing all groups who were denied full citizenship under apartheid, namely Black Africans, Indians, and Coloured people. Rather, it acknowledges the racial classifications that were institutionalised during apartheid and, to some extent, persist in post-apartheid South Africa. As Chisholm (1999) notes, these categories were (and continue to be) socially and historically constructed. This study adopts the coined term *Black-Africans* to specifically identify and refer to individuals of African descent who possess darker skin pigmentation, a characteristic that may also be marked by distinct accents in their spoken English (Adibe, 2009). The term *African*, when used on its own, is considered too broad for the purposes of this study, as it may encompass members of the African diaspora as well as individuals of lighter skin tones, including white, Indian, or mixed-race persons, depending on their birth status and regional identification. For instance, in East Africa, there are Kenyan Indians; in North Africa, Afro-Arabs, whom Adibe (2009) refers to as *Afrabians*, also identify with African heritage. Such complexities in identity categorisation are equally observable in South Africa and other African countries, and they necessitate a more precise term like *Black-Africans* to foreground the specific racial and cultural identities relevant to this study. Adibe (2009) presents an important distinction between two types of African identities: "Africans of the blood" and "Africans of the soil." According to Adibe,

"Africans of the blood" are individuals who, based on their racial and genealogical background, are traditionally referred to as Black Africans in this study. This group's African identity is grounded in their ancestral lineage and racial heritage. In contrast, "Africans of the soil" are those whose connection to Africa is primarily through their geographical heritage. These individuals are linked to Africa not through their genetic or racial background, but rather through their nationality and ancestral land.

This distinction is critical as it enables the reader to interpret the complex dynamics surrounding social identities among Black South Africans, which are instrumental in shaping and influencing teacher perceptions of foreign Black Africans residing in South Africa.

1.2 Problem Statement

There is minimum doubt that the roles and identities of teachers have undergone substantial transformations in recent years, leading to shifts in the professional status of teaching and intensifying the expectations placed upon educators by society. According to Samuel and Stephens (2000), identity is a dynamic phenomenon that is constantly evolving. They conceptualise identity within a framework that is deeply influenced by historical, political, cultural, and social legacies. In this context, student teachers, during their pre-service training, develop a specific professional identity that undergoes a continuous process of deconstruction, construction, and reconstruction. In the South African context, this dynamic process can be understood through the following scenario:

> *The picture that emerges is of a changing teaching force working in and under very new and difficult circumstances. The South African teachers of the future, now entering the University's Department of Education, bring with them cultural and personal "baggage" which will both promote and hinder the development of the nation's schools.* (Samuel, & Stephens, 2000, p.748).

Teacher identity and the roles that educators are expected to perform, both by society and by themselves, are often narrowly perceived as being confined to curriculum

delivery. However, Bukor (2014) argues, teacher identity is shaped by a complex interplay of factors, including culture, socialisation, education, politics, personal experiences, and religion. This multifaceted nature of identity highlights that understanding teacher identity and roles requires an exploration of the lived experiences of teachers. Within the context of this study, teacher identity and professional roles are examined through the lens of immigration and education and are critically situated within South Africa's apartheid and post-apartheid historical landscape. This informs us that teachers' identity is shaped by their past and present realities; hence it is not unconceivable that they can relate to immigrant learners based on the *self*, which is their identity and their expected roles. It is for this reason that instead of defining identity from a single truth or greater cosmic whole, and the modern belief in the central position of the individual teacher, should instead be seen in the context of the social environment of which the teacher is a part of.

Through the problem statement, the reader can identify the existing gaps within South Africa's education system. These disparities are reflected in how teachers perceive their roles and identities, concepts that are deeply intertwined with the notion of professionalism in the context of this study. The problem statement emphasises that, given the inherently social nature of education and the reality that teachers are shaped by their past and present experiences, teacher identity and professional roles cannot be examined in isolation from the phenomenon of immigration. This section aims to present teacher identity not as a fixed or static construct, but rather as a fragmented and fluid phenomenon, constantly shaped by the lived experiences of educators. This perspective raises a critical question: are predominantly Black teachers in South Africa's township and rural schools immune to xenophobia or Afrophobia? The historical context is crucial here, as it continues to influence how teacher identity and roles are conceptualised. Even in post-apartheid South Africa, the legacy of apartheid casts a long shadow, raising persistent questions about whether teaching is viewed as a true profession or merely as a job.

These views are echoed by the work of the American psychologist Kenneth Gergen (1991, 1992, 1994), a leading figure in social constructionist theory, who emphasises the relational and context-dependent nature of identity. Similarly, Akkerman and Meijer (2011) offer a postmodern perspective on identity, highlighting its dynamic, multifaceted, and evolving nature. Both perspectives reinforce the notion that identity is not fixed, but rather continuously shaped through interaction with social, cultural, and historical contexts. They argue that as society we cannot continue to view teacher identity as a predominantly unified framework, but instead, as being fragmented along the multiple social worlds that teachers engage in. Within this view, the idea of *self* is no longer seen as having a centre or one core, but as varied and dynamic. Based on this view of the fragmented *self*, it is therefore conceivable to assume that teachers are social beings and will be affected and respond in solidarity with other members of society, or if not so, empathise or sympathise in an event where there is a threat. This is not a distant human and pro-social behaviour, "*empathy plays a critical interpersonal and societal role, enabling sharing of experiences, needs, and desires between individuals and providing an emotional bridge that promotes pro-social behaviour*" (Riess, 2017, p. 74).

According to McLaren (1989), teacher education should prepare teachers to meet the complex demands of the global information age, an era characterized not only by rapid technological change, but also by deepening social inequalities. He advocates for a form of teaching that embraces activism and revolutionary praxis, one that resists compromising on principles of social justice and aims toward the emancipation of marginalized communities. Teachers are expected to teach for social change, which calls for framing teacher education curricular within the context of anti-racism, argues Villenas (1996). The question now is whether teachers can exercise a balanced view, because while they possess a fluid identity, they are still expected to fulfil certain fixed roles, especially because they are at the core of education. That is if they exercise agency to teach for change or they are also contributing to immigration as being viewed and believed to be one of the global trends that is perpetrating discrimination, and many forms of injustice; Ibrahim (2005).

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to highlight the contemporary realities introduced by immigration in post-apartheid South Africa, noting that these differ significantly from the experiences associated with immigration during the apartheid era. These issues are explored in greater detail in Chapter 3, under the theoretical framework. In the present context, immigration is deeply intertwined with how teachers perceive their professional roles and identities, particularly in relation to the presence of immigrant learners in their classrooms. The findings and recommendations of this study will be made available to the South African Department of Education, with the aim of informing policy review, especially regarding admission and language policies, which emerge as key areas requiring urgent attention. Additionally, the study seeks to identify and address potential gaps in initial teacher education that may influence the way teachers construct and understand their professional identities.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The Objectives of this inquiry are:

(a) To investigate the role of immigration as a phenomenon, in shaping Black South African teachers' professional and personal identity as well as their roles in the classroom.

(b) To explore the extent to which apartheid is responsible for the hostility which Black African immigrants are subjected to in South Africa.

(c) To investigate the changes and challenges that have emerged in the classroom because of the presence of immigrant learners.

(d) To investigate possible ways which teachers and the department of Basic Education in South Africa, can employ to address challenges posed by immigration.

1.5 Critical Research Questions

1. How is teacher identity and roles shaped by the presence of immigrant learners in South African schools?
    - *How do teachers perceive their teacher identity and roles to be, in the face of immigration?*

- *How is teacher identity and roles changing due to the presence of immigrant learners in schools?*

2. To what extent is apartheid responsible for the hostility and racism which Black African immigrants are subjected to in South Africa.
    - *How does the legacy of apartheid shape the views of Black South Africans about immigration?*
    - *What are the new developments based on how racism is perceived in South Africa?*
3. What strategies can teachers, in collaboration with the South African Department of Basic Education, implement to address the challenges posed by immigration in schools?
    - *Why is it crucial for school officials to address the matter of immigration with urgency?*
    - *How can initial teacher education address issues that arise from teachers having to decide about their identity and roles?*

1.6 Significance of the study

The significance of this study emerges from a transformative perspective, aimed at informing teachers, teacher educators, and the South African Department of Basic Education. It seeks to advance theoretical understandings of immigration within the educational context, particularly at a time when contemporary concepts such as *new racism* are gaining traction in South Africa. Incidents of xenophobia underscore the need to critically explore why, since the country's transition to democracy, South Africa has become both a preferred destination for immigrants and, paradoxically, a site of exclusion and hostility. A key concern is *Afrophobia*, a specific form of xenophobia targeted at African immigrants by other Black South Africans, often described as "Black-on-Black" violence. This new form of discrimination permeates various social contexts, including schools. As institutions of knowledge production and socialization, schools rely heavily on teachers, who, in turn, are embedded in broader societal realities. Yet, the existing literature often fails to adequately explore how immigration shapes teacher identity and professional roles.

Furthermore, gaps in educational policy, particularly in language instruction, present additional barriers for immigrant learners, many of whom are expected to learn and be taught in English or Afrikaans, despite not being fluent in either. This presents both academic and social challenges. Significantly, this study calls for a critical re-evaluation of initial teacher education. Pre-service teachers must be equipped not only with theoretical knowledge but also with practical skills that bridge the gap between policy and the realities of diverse classroom contexts. Teacher education programmes must prioritise pedagogies that prepare future educators to navigate diversity and immigration, ensuring they are ready to engage meaningfully with the complexities of South Africa's multicultural school environments.

The study emphasises the significant gaps in academic literature regarding the connection of teacher identity, roles, and immigration. These gaps include the underrepresentation of African educational and socio-economic contexts. Additionally, there is a notable lack of studies examining how teachers' identities evolve in response to immigration-related challenges. The study underscores the need for more research that explores these areas in depth, offering valuable opportunities for future academic inquiry.

1.7 Outline of the dissertation

This study consists of nine (9) chapters. These chapters are presented in the sequence the study was carried out. Below is a brief explanation of each chapter.

Chapter 1 presents a brief overview of the phenomenon of immigration and its intersection with education. It emphasises on how these dynamics influence the evolving roles and identities of teachers. This chapter provides an orientation to the entire study by outlining the structure and content of each chapter. Key components of the research, namely the problem statement, critical research questions, research objectives, purpose, and significance of the study, are clearly outlined.

Chapter 2 offers an in-depth exploration of South Africa's historical and contextual

landscape, highlighting the lasting impact of its colonial and apartheid past on contemporary societal dynamics. These historical nuances are crucial in understanding the present-day immigration crisis and the complex challenges it poses. Teachers, as both social actors and professionals within this environment, often find themselves entangled in these systemic issues. The result is a recurring dilemma, rooted in a deeply rooted in historical legacy that continues to shape teacher identity and roles within South African schools, particularly those located in townships and rural areas.

Chapter 3 presents a narrative literature review. It begins by defining the key terms and concepts that are used throughout the dissertation, contextualised within the scope and focus of the research. The second part of the chapter reviews and synthesises existing studies and scholarly perspectives that relate to the core themes of the research, including immigration, teacher identity, professionalism, and education in post-apartheid South Africa. This review establishes the academic foundation of the study and identifies gaps in the literature that the current research seeks to address.

Chapter 4 serves as the theoretical framework of the study, providing a detailed exposition and application of a range of deliberately selected theories. This chapter aims to situate the research within a robust theoretical context, drawing upon both established and adapted theoretical perspectives. The discussion is anchored in an immigration lens and integrates American sociological viewpoints, Vygotskian theory, post-structuralist perspectives, Critical Race Theory, and Marxist theory. These theoretical lenses collectively enable a multidimensional analysis of the study's core themes and guide the interpretation of findings.

Chapter 5 presents the research approach and methodology that this study has adopted. The study falls under the broad definition of qualitative empirical research. The reasoning behind this position is that the research shares common elements with

a typical empirical study as described in Emerald Publishing's Guide. Even though this study cannot be generalised because of the population size, but if the size were to be increased, its results would be generalisable. Adkins & Luri (2009), state that empirical research refers to the process of making a systematic study, deciding on the phenomena to be studied, selecting the research participants, deciding on the research method, and finally planning data analysis. It is crucial to note that empirical research can either be qualitative or quantitative in design. What presents this study as a qualitive study is based on its key strengths and features to strive for an understanding of the phenomena being studied. Aspers and Corte (2009), argue that a qualitative study is a combination of data generation and analysis of empirical material and improved understanding of the concept being studied. In aligning this study with the above description, this study uses open ended face to face interviews, to generate data from 26 teachers, both from public and private primary and secondary schools located both in rural and township areas of South Africa. The research tool or method is then followed by the data analysis process, where data organisation, reduction and categorisation are explained. The entire methodological approach of the study is underpinned by the constructivist and interpretivist paradigms to facilitate an epistemological and ontological perspectives in terms of teacher lived realities, that continue to shape their teacher identity and roles.

This chapter also addresses the concept of ethical considerations, detailing the procedures followed to seek and obtain permission from relevant institutions to conduct this study. Following this, the concept of trustworthiness is discussed. According to Polit and Beck (2009), trustworthiness refers to the degree of confidence in the data, the interpretations, and the methods used, ensuring the overall rigor and credibility of the research. The chapter then concludes with an outline of the limitations of the study, identifying external factors beyond the researcher's control that may have influenced the scope, execution, or outcomes of the research.

Chapter 6 focuses on data analysis, beginning with an overview of the geographical locations and contextual backgrounds of the participating schools. This information is critical, as previously discussed, because South Africa's historical context continues to significantly shape the socio-economic structures of different communities—particularly in rural and township areas, where the schools selected for this study are situated. The ways in which immigrants are treated within these communities cannot be understood without acknowledging these historical and structural realities. Accordingly, this chapter aims to illuminate how socio-economic conditions intersect with teacher identity and contribute to attitudes toward immigrant learners. By situating the data within this broader context, the chapter seeks to help the reader critically engage with the connection between teacher identity and the socio-economic drivers of xenophobia. The chapter then presents the research findings, organized around eight emerging themes. Some of these themes are clearly distinct, while others are interrelated and conceptually merged into broader thematic categories to reflect the complexities of the data.

Chapter 7 presents the findings and implications of the study. The primary aim of this chapter is to utilise the data generated during fieldwork to address the research questions. In addition to responding to these questions, the chapter also highlights other relevant insights and discoveries that emerged from the data analysis. The results are organised thematically, according to the specific research questions they pertain to. Furthermore, the implications of these findings are discussed in relation to key stakeholders, particularly teachers, teacher educators, and policy makers.

Chapter 8 presents the summary and recommendations of the study, drawing directly from the research findings and their broader implications. This chapter synthesizes the key insights gained through data analysis and provides practical and theoretical recommendations aimed at informing educational policy, teacher education, and classroom practice in the context of immigration and teacher identity in South Africa.

Chapter 9 provides a comprehensive list of all the references cited throughout this dissertation. These sources form the theoretical and empirical foundation of the study, reflecting the diverse range of scholarly work that informed the research process, analysis, and conclusions.

1.8 Conclusion

In this introductory chapter, a brief overview of the phenomenon of immigration and its intersection with education is presented, with particular focus on how these dynamics influence the evolving roles and identities of teachers. The chapter provides an orientation to the entire study by outlining the structure and content of each chapter. Key components of the research, namely the problem statement, critical research questions, research objectives, purpose, and significance of the study, are clearly delineated.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter introduces the study, the focus of this chapter is to present the historical and contextual background that underpins the research. This background is framed within the South African context, with particular emphasis on the ways in which the changing roles and identities of teachers are shaped by the intersecting forces of immigration and education. The historical context is essential in helping the reader understand how legacies of the past, particularly apartheid, continue to influence present-day attitudes, social structures, and professional practices. By tracing these historical developments, the chapter seeks to provide insight into the socio-political realities that inform teacher identity. It raises critical questions about how teachers, as both professionals and members of society, navigate their roles in the face of rising xenophobia and Afrophobia. This context challenges us to consider whether teachers are justified in mirroring societal prejudices, or whether their professional mandate calls for ethical responsibility, inclusivity, and commitment to transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.2 Relationship between apartheid policies and immigration

Significance looms large that we understand the interrelatedness between the history of the country and the changing teacher identity and roles, because the phenomenal of immigration in South Africa is often discussed against the backdrop of the socio-economic status quo of Black South Africans. It should be noted that immigration is not a new trend in South Africa, scholars are persuaded to believe that the topic of immigration has not been afforded the necessary and relevant attention in terms of a robust intellectual political debate, that will elevate it to a level where it receives attention from the political elites and decision makers, where immigration will be viewed and a addressed not as a white men's post-colonialism and Black man's post-apartheid legacy, (Kabwe-Segatti, 2008). Instead, the debate should encompass both eras, because throughout the history of industrial and economic development, South

Africa has relied on immigrants, and this has had implications on the social, economic, and political fabric of the population. Evidence of such is in studies that mainly focus on Zimbabwean immigrants.

When Zimbabwean immigrants enter South Africa through Musina, whether legally or illegally, they often migrate to urban centres such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, settling in townships like Alexandra and informal settlements such as Diepsloot, Orange Farm, and Ivory Park. These areas are rooted in the spatial and racial segregation policies of the apartheid regime, which aimed to exclude Black South Africans from white urban areas and limit their access to socio-economic resources. In many cases, Black communities were forcibly removed from urban centres to make way for white government infrastructure and development projects. The enduring legacy of apartheid is evident in these areas, where poverty, unemployment, and underdevelopment persist. Such socio-economic hardship, coupled with insufficient government service delivery, creates an environment where resentment can easily arise, particularly toward immigrants. This frustration often manifests as xenophobic attitudes, based on the belief that foreign nationals are competing for limited resources such as jobs, housing, and social services. This sentiment escalates into animosity and hostility, disproportionately directed at Black African immigrants, who are perceived not as fellow Africans, but as outsiders. These hostile attitudes can filter into school environments, where immigrant learners, especially in township schools, are sometimes subjected to discrimination by both teachers and peers. Documented incidents reveal that some learners have faced exclusion from classroom or curriculum activities, and in even more concerning instances, have been ridiculed or labelled with derogatory terms such as *ikwerekwere*, *igrigamba*, *izayizayi*, and *ikhalanga*; (Osman, 2009; Muzondidya, 2010; Rutherford, 2020). These terms, while not translatable into standard language, are constructed slurs that mark individuals as foreign, based on the perception that they "speak strangely" or mix local languages with their own. The use of such language, especially by teachers, raises serious concerns about professional conduct and challenges the assumption that educators always uphold inclusive and ethical standards.

2.3 Immigration and education in other contexts

Immigration whether forced or voluntary, and the process of resettlement in a host country, often carry significant implications and challenges for immigrants; (Mawiri et al., 2020). One of the key areas impacted by immigration is education, which cannot be examined in isolation from global trends, government policies, and institutional frameworks. As Quin (2017) illustrates, the intersectionality between immigration policies, institutional responses, and state governance in countries like the United States of America (USA) significantly influences the educational experiences of immigrant children. In supporting this view, Turner and Figueroa (2019) argue that teachers play a crucial role in these dynamic as social agents within educational systems. However, many teachers find themselves ill-equipped to respond appropriately to the needs of immigrant learners, either due to a lack of training, cultural awareness, or the fear of acting in ways that may be deemed unprofessional. This reveals a fundamental tension: while teachers are expected to promote inclusive education and social justice, they often operate within systems that do not fully prepare them to meet the complex realities brought about by immigration.

During the escalation of xenophobic, anti-immigrant, and anti-Muslim sentiments during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign led by President Donald Trump, teachers found themselves tasked with a critical and complex responsibility: supporting immigrant learners through the trauma they experienced both inside and outside of school environments. As noted by Costello (2016), Harris (2017), and Rogers et al. (2017), educators were called upon to maintain schools as safe havens for immigrant children, while simultaneously cultivating classrooms that embodied peace, tolerance, and mutual respect. This scenario presents an ideal vision of the teacher's role in multicultural and politically charged contexts. However, a different picture emerges in the Spanish context, where the consequences of globalisation, particularly the increasing movement of people, have created unique challenges for the education system. Coronel and Gómez-Hurtado (2015) argue that since the 1990s, Spain has experienced a significant rise in immigrant populations, leading to substantial demographic, cultural, and social shifts. One of the most pressing challenges arising from this change is the lack of teacher preparedness to manage ethnically diverse

classrooms. As such, the authors advocate for context-specific pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes that are responsive to multicultural realities and aimed at equipping educators with the skills and knowledge necessary to support all learners effectively.

2.4 Role of teacher unions in dismantling the apartheid regime

It is fundamentally important that this study begins by exploring the "Black Box"—a metaphorical framework for unpacking the complex relationship between teacher identity and South Africa's political history. This is especially pertinent when considering that immigration has evolved into social, economic, and political dimensions over time, which continue to shape the attitudes of Black South African teachers, and citizens more broadly, towards Black African immigrants. As Dodson (2010, p. 3) observes, "*anti-immigrant attitudes and behaviours on the part of 'ordinary South Africans' toward foreign Africans are entrenched and systemic*," underscoring the urgency of examining apartheid's legacy in shaping these sentiments. Historically, Black teachers have played a pivotal role in South Africa's political struggle, with many actively involved in anti-apartheid resistance movements. Under apartheid, education was both a site of oppression and of resistance, and Black teachers emerged as key figures in challenging the injustices of the regime. The apartheid government's Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 formally categorized citizens into racial groups, Black, Coloured, Indian, and White, leading to the segregation of professional structures, including education. In this context, alternative teacher unions and professional bodies were established as acts of resistance. For instance, the National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA), formed in the 1960s and 1970s, brought together teachers across racial groups to advocate for teacher professionalism within an unjust system. Later, the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in the 1980s positioned teachers more overtly in political activism, aligning educational struggles with broader calls for democracy and human rights. These historical foundations are essential in understanding how teacher identity continues to be shaped, not only by professional mandates but also by the sociopolitical legacies of apartheid and contemporary challenges, such as xenophobia and Afrophobia.

While SADTU emerged from similar motivations as other professional bodies, namely, resistance to apartheid and the pursuit of educational justice, its origins were notably distinct. According to Chisholm (1999, p. 114), "*it began as a series of fragmented, locally based teacher organisations linked to oppositional movements which developed in civil society in the 1980s, eschewed racial forms of organisation and is now a trade union*." This historical trajectory highlights SADTU's deep-rooted connections to grassroots activism and its non-racial stance, which was a progressive departure from the racially segregated structures imposed by apartheid. Over time, SADTU evolved into a formally recognised trade union, playing a crucial role not only in educational matters but also in broader political discourse and policy advocacy in post-apartheid South Africa.

Amid diverging organizational ideologies, a new discourse emerged within SADTU, one that questioned the very identity of teachers, whether they should be viewed as workers or professionals. This debate symbolically underscored the political distinctions between NAPTOSA and SADTU, a divergence that remains evident today. SADTU has historically been, and continues to be, a predominantly Black teachers' union, rooted in the collective resistance against white political domination. As Sibiya (2017) notes, many Black teachers aligned themselves with SADTU as a form of political resistance against apartheid policies. Consequently, education began to be seen not merely as a neutral tool for instruction, but as a political instrument, a site of struggle and transformation. Teachers increasingly came to identify themselves as workers engaged in broader political activism rather than as detached professionals.

This militant and radical pedagogical stance contributed significantly to the struggles for social change, playing a notable role in the eventual collapse of apartheid and the transition to democracy in 1994; (Connell, 1995). Therefore, it is reasonable to assert that the roles of Black South African teachers extend well beyond curriculum

delivery. Their professional identities are deeply intertwined with the socio-political history of the country, shaping how they understand and perform their roles within a continuously evolving educational landscape.

Since the downfall of apartheid South Africa, a regime that utilised racial segregation to govern the country, from 1994, South Africa become a major destination of choice for foreign immigrants, especially those of Black African ancestry, as alluded to in the introduction. Based on the push and pull factors associated with global immigration trends, South Africa is often perceived as an economically viable and relatively stable country; (Appleton, et al., 2006). This perception has contributed to its capacity to attract both legal and undocumented immigrants; (Weiner, et al., 1997). In the post-apartheid era, South Africa has come to symbolise freedom, opportunity, and prosperity; a place of refuge from conflict and poverty, as noted by Osman (2009). It is envisioned as a sanctuary where displaced individuals can find safety and stability, but also as a destination for those seeking economic advancement, career development, or access to educational opportunities. These multifaceted motivations underscore the complexity of immigration patterns into South Africa, where the promise of a better life continues to draw individuals from across the continent and beyond. It is therefore observable that immigration patterns and policies that existed pre-democracy were uniquely different from the present experience, both for the South African society and for immigrants.

Hostility toward immigrants in South Africa has historical roots, with its expression shifting across different political eras. During apartheid, such hostility was largely driven by systemic white oppression. In the post-apartheid context, although the political landscape has changed, similar sentiments persist, albeit fuelled by different socio-economic and political conditions. The history of immigration in South Africa dates to the early 1900s, notably marked by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand region of Johannesburg; (Vundla, 2020). This past sets the foundation for the current social attitudes that shape the immigrants' context in South Africa.

The decision that the apartheid government took to promote regional migration by recruiting nationals of other countries in Southern Africa through the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), as cheap labour, attracted hostility and negativity from native South Africans, who were grappling with the effects of political, social, and economic marginalisation by the apartheid regime. This created antagonist feelings, because the expectation, was that the governments of those countries that supplied immigrant mine workers would boycott South Africa, in solidarity with Black people.

It is this historical background that sets precedent for the present attitudes among Black people regarding Black African immigrants, Hungwe, (2013). While Black immigration was encouraged by the white apartheid governments' labour policies for cheap labour, but it did not carry the same status as white labour immigration, the policies vastly differed from each other, argues Brown (1987). White labour was believed to be valuable than Black labourers. That is the reason why in the 1970s foreign Black African male labour force accounted for only 15% of the entire employed male labour force in the country. It can be said that the apartheid government in comparison to the current government had a vested interest in choosing which type of labour entered through the borders of the country. This shift in perception and policy led to heightened border monitoring and stricter immigration controls, culminating in the amendment of immigrant labour policies. By the 1960s, the government in Pretoria, South Africa's administrative capital, began implementing measures to restrict the entry of foreign Black workers; (Brown, 1987). These developments coincided with a growing Pan-Africanist consciousness across the continent, which further influenced migration patterns. Despite a temporal increase in foreign Black labour; rising to approximately 9%; this figure declined in the years that followed, as restrictive measures took effect and regional political dynamics evolved.

The distinctiveness of the apartheid system continues to attract scholarly attention due to its enduring impact on nearly all dimensions of South Africa's democratic journey. Scholars such as Crush and McDonald (2002), and Segatti and Landau (2011), argue that although South Africa is often viewed as a prime destination for immigrants, persistent studies have highlighted the prevalence of attitudes marked by intolerance and hostility, particularly among Black South Africans. As Muzondidya (2010) and Rutherford (2020) observe, these sentiments are often expressed through the development of vernacular discourses deliberately constructed to marginalise and alienate immigrants, as previously discussed. Evidence of such, was witnessed in the year 2008, 2015 and 2019, where violent xenophobic attacks were witnessed in the country, (Harris, 2007; Steenkamp, 2009; Neocosmos, 2010; & Tevera, 2013). Scholars seem to be in unison in describing these hostile sentiments and reactions, as intense and irrational dislike, or fear of foreigners, which the *South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, (1994) defines as xenophobia.

While Zimbabweans are not the only foreign immigrants in South Africa, however, literature reveals that most immigrants found in South Africa, are those of Zimbabwean origin, both adults and children; (Netshidongololwe, 2016). There are immigrants from Ethiopia, Somalia, Angola, (who are largely asylum seekers or refugees), who generally conduct businesses, such as running clothing and food shops, Nigerians, Ghanaians and other West Africans, who are in professions such as medicine and education, business such as hair salons, Asians, such as Pakistanis and Chinese who specialise in food, clothing, food and electronic shops, Europeans, who are in the country for different reasons too, either in diplomacy, humanitarian, education and tourism and leisure, then there are Zimbabweans, who are found in professions such as education, medicine and the informal job sector, such as domestic work, farm work, truck driving and working in shops, as Rutherford, (2020), narrates in the ethnographic study he conducted, in the Limpopo Province among Zimbabwean immigrant who worked in a white-owned farm.

Crush, et al, (2008), argue a critical point, which is pivotal to this study, that xenophobia is not a random exclusive act, which probably could be associated with only certain social classes, such as the poor or the unemployed or with those who hold certain political dogma, but it is viewed as an inherently South African phenomenon, cutting across all social classes, including government/state/public employees, which among them are teachers. Xenophobic attitudes, which were first witnessed during the 2008 as physical attacks, particularly taking place in the large urban centres of South Africa; (Worby, Hassim & Kupe, 2008), largely shape the way in which immigrants view their stay in South Africa. According to (McNight, 2008; Amit, 2011; Sutton, & Vigneswaran, 2011), immigrants, especially those who have participated in studies and spoken about their plight in South Africa, where they have been subjected to acts of discrimination, confirm that Black immigrants are discriminated against by Black South Africans. Xenophobia is described by scholars as a new form of racism, not based on biological origins, challenging the idea that race, and racism are objective, fixed and a product of biological realities, but the ability of society to invent and manipulate race, when it is convenient; Adjai & Lazaridis, (2013).

The idea of race cannot be discussed in isolation from the history of apartheid. Seekings, (2008), argues that apartheid stood out as an extreme attempt to organise the South African society explicitly and systematically according to racial categories. This act, came with the prescriptive practice of privileging white identities, which has remained a legacy in South Africa, that even though apartheid, is legally abolished, but in the subconsciousness of South Africans, the ideology of othering continues to exist, as an inherited trait of apartheid. Seeking, (2008) states that it would be surprising if post-apartheid South African society was not shaped profoundly by the experience of apartheid, remaining distinctive in terms of the social, political, or economic roles played by ‘race’, because apartheid was unique, it touched the very fabric of society. It was its systematic depth and breadth, as the powers of a modern state were deployed to order society along ‘racial’ lines, going far beyond racism and racial discrimination to generalised social engineering around state-sanctioned racial

ideology and legislation. The racial structuring of society during apartheid resulted in complex and often arbitrary racial and ethnic classifications of South Africans, which, as Griffith and Zuberi (2015) argue, were deliberately manipulated to alter demographics for the purpose of dominating and controlling the Black population.

2.5 Demography of race and ethnicity in South Africa

The demographic profile of South Africa has attracted sustained interest from researchers, largely due to the enduring legacy of apartheid that continues to shape it. Griffith and Zuberi (2015) assert that, to thoroughly understand the formation of racial and ethnic groupings in South Africa, it is necessary to begin with the historical occupation of the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company in the 1650s, as also noted by Khalfani, et el., (2005). These scholars emphasize that race and ethnicity were later instrumentalised as foundational constructs for both colonial and apartheid-era policies. It is also important to note that the system of racial classification was both confusing and complex, leading to frequent amendments in legislation, as highlighted by Davenport (1991), Pogrund (1990), and van Wyk (1984).

This interest stemmed from the conceptualisation of race based on perceived physical differences, where skin colour and ancestral background became primary criteria for categorising and differentiating people. However, this caused further complexities because ancestry for white South Africans was sometimes questionable, based on the idea that many of these pieces of racial legislation, conflicted with each other. Notably, racial classification of South Africans was not a dilemma for the whites, it also induced a strain on the social, economic and political well-being, as well as the quality of life for the other racial groups; (Davenport, 1991; Pogrund, 1990; van Wyk, 1984).

Racial classification in South Africa persisted for over 80 years before the country transitioned to democracy. Between 1911 and 1996, racial identity was embedded as

a collective identity marker, shaping social and political structures; (Zuberi & Khalfani, 1996). A notable example is the implementation of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act in 1970, which assigned Black South Africans to one of ten homelands, geopolitical areas created to serve the apartheid regime's strategy of segregation. One of apartheid's most defining features, as noted by Smith (2003), was systematic exclusion. By 1989, census estimates of the 30.2 million total population excluded 6.5 million people residing in four homelands. In the same year, Black South Africans were estimated to constitute 25% of the total population, whites 16%, coloureds (people of mixed race) 10.5%, and Asians 3.1%. These figures underscore how race and ethnicity were weaponised as instruments of control, domination, and marginalisation, patterns that, worryingly, persist today in the form of exclusionary attitudes toward Black African immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.6 Black race as an identity

Just like the concept of race seems inconceivable to be discussed outside of apartheid, the same applies with the economy. These share an incredible interconnectivity. There is a strong link between race and access to the economy, which Halisi (1997) refers to as racial proletarianisation, which is a concept that deeply explains the social evolutions of Black people in South Africa, which ultimately shaped their political realities. The apartheid system utilised race as a tool for the white capitalist economic growth, therefore, the entire labour system of South Africa evolved around Black labour, either imported or locally sourced. This system is arguably have survived because of the continued racial oppressive political system. Consequently, racial economic domination and racial proletarianisation has shaped how Black people perceive their political culture, identification, values and consciousness; (Halisi, 1997). Although South Africa committed to the principle of non-racialism as early as June 1955 through the adoption of the *Freedom Charter* in Kliptown by the Congress Alliance, a coalition of multi-racial organizations aligned with the African National Congress (ANC), which is now the ruling political party, this idea was not universally embraced. The *Freedom Charter* (Alliance, 1955), along with the 1996 Constitution, laid the foundation for a non-racial democratic society. However, ideological

disagreements within the ANC regarding the Charter's principles led to internal conflict, rivalries, and eventual splinter groups. One significant outcome was the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which aligned itself with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), advocating for a more Africanist and race-conscious political philosophy.

Meanwhile some of the BCM members sternly rejected the ideology of a multi-racial society as envisaged by the Freedom Charter and went to the extent of boycotting the 1994 first democratic elections, the ANC on the other hand successfully utilised the multi-racial approach and won the elections that ushered in democracy and freedom. These members continue even today to advocate for Azania, (a name for a liberated South Africa), because according to them Azania will be achieved only by united Black people forming alliances with each other; (Halisi, 1997). These divergent views also exist among Marxist thinkers. The South African Communist Party (SACP; before 1953, the Communist Party of South Africa, or CPSA) and the intellectuals of the Trotskyite non-European Unity Movement (NEUM, or Unity Movement) both embraced Marxist politics, but differed on the basis of embracing Blackness as the only tool for liberation, because while the Unity Movement regarded black (all non-European) classes led by workers and peasants as the primary agents of revolutionary change, on the contrary the SACP, an ally of the ANC, actively advocated for an agenda of a multiracial working class unity as the basis of socialist solidarity. Although Black nationalist ideas continue to exist today, but they have little representation in parliament compared to those parties who believe in a multi-racial society.

Abdi (1999) argues that precolonial Africans possessed a clear consciousness of their Black identity. However, the advent of colonialism, and later apartheid, imposed an oppressive and dehumanising identity upon Black Africans, effectively relegating them to a status of inferiority. This process was not incidental but rather aligned with a broader racist discourse that had already taken root in early European philosophical

thought. Prominent Enlightenment thinkers such as Montesquieu (1975), Voltaire (1826), and Hegel (1965) propagated ideas that reinforced racial hierarchies and justified European domination, thereby laying the ideological foundation for the subjugation of Black Africans:

> *Africa is not interesting from the point view of its own history .... Man [in Africa] is in a state of barbarism and savagery which is pre- venting him from being an integral part of civilizations .... [Africa] is the country of gold which closed in on itself, the country of infancy, beyond the daylight of conscious history, wrapped in the blackness of night.* (Abdi, 2011, p. 247).

The erosion and limited emphasis on Black Consciousness by the populist African National Congress (ANC), along with the marginalization of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) members, may offer insights into the persistent lack of acceptance of Black African immigrants by Black South Africans. However, a more significant factor lies in the enduring socio-economic consequences of colonialism and apartheid. In post-apartheid South Africa, being Black is often synonymous with poverty, a reality that Abdi (1999) suggests, is deeply rooted in historical injustices. This economic deprivation contributes to high levels of crime in major urban centres, where most of the Black population resides under harsh socio-economic conditions. Ash (1997a) poignantly captures this plight, illustrating how the legacy of apartheid continues to shape the experience of Black identity in contemporary South Africa.

> *I found a country of extremes, with some of the most beautiful and some of the most ugly human beings I have ever seen (...) Yet of euphoria, I tasted nothing, and most of what I found was grim. The inheritance is so terrible. Black poverty grinds against white riches (...) Central Johannesburg is Manhattan in its skyscrapers, but with a more violent version of the Bronx on the streets below. The Cape is California with shanty towns. Economists say South Africa's pattern of income distribution is one of the most unequal in the world*. (Ash, 1997a p. 8).

Similarly, Abdi (1999) identifies the emergence of a Black elite class in post-apartheid South Africa, individuals who have gained access to the benefits of a growing middle class. This development has resulted in a visible socio-economic divide within the Black population, effectively producing two distinct groups: the economically empowered and the economically marginalized. Consequently, economic access appears to transcend shared racial identity, suggesting that class distinctions increasingly supersede the unifying concept of Blackness across ethnic lines, a situation that exists among Black South Africans and African immigrants.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter offers an in-depth exploration of South Africa's historical and contextual landscape, highlighting the enduring impact of its colonial and apartheid past on contemporary societal dynamics. These historical nuances are crucial in understanding the present-day immigration crisis and the complex challenges it poses. Teachers, as both social actors and professionals within this environment, often find themselves entangled in these systemic issues. The result is a cyclical predicament which is rooted in a deeply embedded historical legacy, that continues to shape teacher identity and roles within South African schools.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter is the definition of key terms that are used throughout the study. These terms may have a different meaning or reference when applied and used in other context, hence the importance of defining them in relation to their use in the context of the study.

The second part presents a survey of scholarly sources on the topics that this study is investigating, immigration and education, teacher identity and teacher roles. It focuses on literature that addresses these topics both in South Africa and internationally. The literature review provides the study with a significant overview of current knowledge, which allows the study to identify and demonstrate knowledge on relevant theories, research key phenomena, history, methods, and research gaps under this research topic, which is a significant part of the study according to (Randolph, 2009). To achieve this goal, Rowley & Slack, (2004), recommend that scholars should rely on scholarly journals, books, and web-based sources, where they can be analysed through certain steps and processes.

The literature presented on this chapter is not only limited to the topic of immigration, and education, nor teacher identity and teacher roles, but instead to a myriad of themes and topics that relate to the above. The literature is viewed in a system that I referred to as 'thematising', which is based on common topics that are emerging. These thematic areas, are discussed based on how they relate to the entire study, starting from the research topic, key terms, theoretical framework, paradigms, and the research methodology. However, I wish not to confine the study within the South African context because that would gravely limit its scope of reference, hence literature that discusses immigration and education in the USA. The justification for this is that both the USA and South Africa, share a common racially fuelled historical

background, where Black people bear the grunt of the era, and still do. Furthermore, South Africa, similarly, presents attractive opportunities for most immigrants in the African continent, hence it is perceived as the destination of choice for many, posits Crush, & McDonald, (2002); Segatti & Landau, (2011).

3.2 Conceptualising the study and definition of relevant terminology

3.2.1 Apartheid

Clark and Worger (2013) describe apartheid as a policy that translates to “apart” or “separation.” The term “apartheid” is of Afrikaans origin, which is a language derived from Dutch and spoken predominantly in South Africa and Namibia. Afrikaans developed during the colonial period, primarily from the Dutch spoken by early settlers, and incorporates influences from various other languages such as Malay, Portuguese, and indigenous African languages. The term “apartheid” itself was used to describe the official policy of racial segregation and discrimination that was enforced by the National Party government in South Africa from 1948 until the early 1990s; (Clark, & Worger, 2013). This policy was founded on separating people according to their racial origins, which determined where individuals went to school, where they were allowed to work, got buried, which hospitals they used and which social amenities they were allowed to utilise as well. The origins of racial discrimination and segregation in South Africa can be traced back to the early colonial period, long before the formalization of apartheid in 1948. The arrival of European settlers, particularly the Dutch in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope (now Cape Town), marked the beginning of systemic racial control and discrimination against indigenous African communities. Over the centuries, the impact of colonialism deepened as European settlers expanded their territories and exerted control over the land and its people.

One of the pivotal moments in this history is the Native Land Act of 1913, which laid the foundation for later apartheid policies. This act restricted the land ownership rights of Black South Africans, effectively denying them access to large swaths of

land and confining them to certain areas. It was one of the early legal steps taken to enforce racial segregation. The National Party's victory in 1948 was a crucial moment because it marked the formalization of these racial segregation policies under the umbrella of apartheid. Under apartheid, the state implemented a wide range of laws that segregated not only land but also education, healthcare, public amenities, and even the private sphere, all in the name of maintaining white supremacy. Although apartheid officially began in 1948, the roots of these discriminatory policies go further back into South Africa's colonial past.

Segregation remarkably succeeded in producing racial isolation. Between 1948-1980, the NP government passed over one hundred (100) laws to reinforce segregation and inequality (Durrheim, et al., 2011). Through apartheid racism was an instrument that effectively arranged a finely graded racial hierarchy with whites at the centre, dominating in occupying high value properties in surrounding affluent suburbs, while Black people were marginalised and pushed into the periphery of the townships and on the outskirts of cities and Indians and Coloured lived in between these social structures; (Davis, 1981). Consequentially, racial divisions brought harsh living conditions for Blacks, leading to widespread poverty, unemployment and deterioration of infrastructure, facilities, and service delivery such as waste removal among others; (Dube, 1985). It is also important to mention that apartheid is used from a historical perspective to determine the reasons for certain occurrences today, for example, how *"apartheid education was a practice of maintaining the status quo of preserving the master-servant relationship between the Africans and the whites. It was intended to 'entrench apartheid capitalism', as was noted at the conference on People's Education in December 1985."* (Msila, 2007, p.149). Although apartheid-era policies have been officially dismantled, Msibi and Mchunu (2013) contend that the underlying ideology of apartheid continues to exert a pervasive influence on contemporary South African society. This enduring legacy is particularly evident in the domain of education, where it manifests in curriculum design and implementation. The authors argue that the residual effects of apartheid continue to shape perceptions of teacher professionalism, privileging white educators as

embodying professional competence, while relegating African teachers to the status of mere implementers or technicians, thus reinforcing historical hierarchies and inequalities within the profession.

3.2.2 Discrimination and Racism

Altman (2011) argues that there is no singular or universally accepted definition of terms related to discrimination, noting that international human rights instruments often fall short of providing such clarity. Rather than offering precise definitions, these documents typically present non-exhaustive lists of contexts or situations in which discriminatory practices are considered unlawful. Supporting this position, Vandenhole (2005) similarly highlights the limitations of human rights frameworks in articulating comprehensive and operational definitions of discrimination, thereby underscoring the complexity and contextual variability inherent in the concept. argues that there is no universally accepted definition of the phenomena. Based on this argument, we can conclude that discrimination consists of actions, practices and policies that are regarded inappropriate, based on how some social groups are treated by other groups. Therefore, Lippert-Rasmussen (2006) and Holroyd (2018) argue that race, religion, and gender could be the bases for discrimination. The topic of discrimination and racism are widely covered by the internet and other forms of information and literature, making it difficult to address it concisely. According to Lentin (2011), in attempting to define these phenomena, the aim is to reveal their hidden complexities and heterogeneity. The claim made here is that we tend to assume that we know everything about racism or discrimination, while there are historical, theoretical, contemporary sociological, and political elements that influence their direction, which should be considered when addressing issues related to them.

Furthermore, Lentin (2011) contends that an intersectional relationship exists between racism, debates surrounding national identity and diversity, and the politics of immigration, particularly in terms of the divisions between the "insider" and the

"outsider." Contemporary issues, such as asylum, multiculturalism, Islamophobia, and the war on terror, are deeply influenced by the historical legacies of racism and nationalism. The central argument is to recognize the inherent nature of racism and its capacity to adapt and evolve in response to changing political, social, and economic contexts, as noted by McMaster (2011).

3.2.3 Teacher Identity

The theory of identity was initially developed by Erikson (1950) who conceptualised identity formation as a lifelong developmental process. This process is particularly prominent during adolescence, a stage in which individuals begin to reflect critically on various aspects of their future, including career aspirations, social and romantic relationships, as well as the values and belief systems they choose to adopt. Erikson (1958), referred to this stage in one's life as the psychosocial moratorium. While Erikson wrote extensively about identity development, but his work utilised complex psychoanalytic concepts that involved clinical case studies and biographies of historical figures. However, his attempt to define identity focused on framing the concept as largely a dynamic and changing self-system internal driven process that cannot be isolated from the person and her or his social and cultural context. This approach to understanding identity is not different from the teacher education contextual background in which teacher identity as a concept is described. It is against this background that teacher identity is often described as a complex and dynamic structure of personal and professional factors that influence each other.

Beijaard et al., (2023), frame teacher identity in terms of personal and professional aspects of an individual teacher. Conceptualising teacher identity in this manner, premises it within a post-modern approach, where teacher identity is perceived as a dynamic, complex, and changing phenomenon. Cross, (2017) argues that teacher identity should not be viewed as something that teachers need to develop, because that would suggest that it is not part of who teachers are, but instead, it is something that one lives. This post-modernist view opens a platform for us to study identity from a view that allows us to understand the concept and its interpretation in real life

situations such as schools. This then leads us to another significant aspect of teacher identity, that of teacher educators and teachers understanding each other's identities.

3.2.4 Immigration

The definition of immigration is inherently tied to the dimensions of time and spatial movement. Time, in this context, refers to the duration of an individual's stay within a host country and plays a crucial role in differentiating between categories such as tourists, travellers, and immigrants. As explored by Boyce et al. (2021), immigration should not be viewed as a neutral or solely biological phenomenon rooted in border crossing. Rather, it must be understood through its temporal and political dimensions, which often become focal points in political discourse. This conceptualisation underscores that immigrants frequently lack autonomy and self-determination concerning the length of their stay, access to their country of origin, and availability of resources and employment, factors that significantly shape the contours of immigration politics. Kabwe-Segatti (2009) argues that the 'meaning' of immigration in South Africa, and the attitudes of South Africans toward it, cannot be fully understood without considering the broader historical context of the country and the southern African region. This historical backdrop is crucial, especially when examined alongside the complex and often sensitive discourse that has emerged in the post-apartheid era. More than two decades after the fall of the oppressive apartheid regime, South Africa has become a major destination for immigrants from across the African continent. However, the precise number of immigrants and the implications of their presence continue to provoke contested and multifaceted debates, reflecting deep-rooted historical, political, and socio-economic dynamics.

Immigration presents not only complex challenges for sensitive socio-political discourse, but also places considerable pressure on decision-makers, who must navigate risk assessment, respond to the demands of interest groups, and address the concerns of the electorate. A significant impediment to informed policymaking, particularly in countries of the global South, is the scarcity of robust qualitative and

quantitative research data. This lack of data hampers the development and implementation of effective immigration policies. Despite these limitations, immigration continues to occupy a powerful symbolic and ideological space within nationalist narratives. In contrast to countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia, nations often described as "Newfound lands" due to their histories of immigration, South Africa, since its transition to democracy, has struggled to generate intellectually rigorous and contextually relevant debates that frame immigration as a post-apartheid legacy for Black South Africans; (Kabwe-Segatti, 2008). While the terms "immigration" and "migration" are often used interchangeably, this study adopts the term *immigration* specifically to refer to the movement of foreign nationals into a country for the purpose of residence, driven by a range of social, economic, and political factors.

3.2.5 Xenophobia

According to the World Conference Against Racism; (WCAR, 2001), racism, racial discrimination, and xenophobia are conceptualized as attitudes, prejudices, and behaviours that isolate, reject, and vilify individuals based on the perception that they do not belong to a particular community, society, or national identity. Xenophobia, as defined by Nyamnjoh (2006), reflects the intersection of language and cultural practices as exclusionary tools, often employed to marginalise those who do not speak the dominant language or conform to dominant cultural norms. In the South African context, despite the formal abolition of apartheid, the country continues to exhibit characteristics of racial discrimination. Ibrahim (2005) contends that a shift has occurred from the biologically rooted racism of apartheid to a contemporary form of racism that is primarily based on ethno-linguistic identity, national belonging, and ethnicity. This newer iteration of racism diverges from traditional notions of racial hierarchy based on skin colour or genetic superiority, and instead, according to Babaca et al. (2009), is grounded in exclusionary perceptions of national origin and identity. Although post-apartheid South Africa is constitutionally committed to inclusivity, tolerance, and the protection of human rights as outlined in the 1996 Constitution, empirical literature reveals persistent xenophobic sentiments,

particularly among Black South Africans, directed towards fellow African immigrants. This racialisation of immigrants and the xenophobic attitudes they face can be interpreted as symptomatic of deeper structural inequalities, namely the ongoing contestation over limited political and socio-economic resources in a post-apartheid society.

3.2.6 Professionalism

Professionalism is a broad and highly contested concept, often subject to individual interpretation and shaped by contextual factors (Freidson, 1994). It has evolved over time, reflecting significant shifts in meaning and application across various disciplines (Evans, 2008). The field of education, like other public sector professions, has not remained immune to these transformations (Linda, 2008). While professionalism may be defined differently within specific professional domains, a recurring theme is the shifting of power dynamics within professional practice. In the context of the Global North, Msibi and Mchunu (2013) highlight tensions surrounding the classification of teaching as a profession, particularly considering the increasing marketisation. In the United States, for instance, the standardisation of education has placed teacher professionalism in a precarious position; (Darling-Hammond, 2012). A similar trend is evident in Australia, where Connell (2009) argues that neoliberal reforms have contributed to the deskilling and deprofessionalisation of the teaching profession. These developments underscore the impact of neoliberal ideologies on education systems globally, which often undermine the professional autonomy and expertise of educators.

Hoyle (1975) defines teacher professionalism by examining the strategies and discourse used by professionals to negotiate issues such as salary and job security. His definition frames professionalism largely within the context of state control, highlighting the regulatory mechanisms imposed on the profession. In contrast Ozga (1995) offers a more contextualised perspective, suggesting that teacher professionalism is best understood within the framework of policy environments. She contends that meaningful analysis of teacher professionalism should move beyond

traditional notions of professional attributes and instead focus on the perceived utility and value that teachers provide to government actors. This shift in focus reflects broader debates about the function of education in society and the role of teachers within policy-driven systems. A similar view is presented by Troman, (1996), who argues that professionalism is not an absolute concept but a socially constructed and contextually shifting notion, which spells out expectations of those who are in power from workers, and how they expect them to go about performing their duties. However, in (2001), Hoyle's description of professionalism brought a new light to how the concept of professionalism had been defined before. Her later interpretation presents professionalism as a term that is used to describe improvement of operation or performance of workers in rendering an acceptable standard of service. A similar view is shared by Sockett, (1996), he argues that professionalism is about the standard of performance.

A third wave of definitions conceptualises professionalism as encompassing the attitudes and behaviours that individuals, such as teachers, exhibit toward their profession; (Boyt et al., 2001). This perspective implies that teacher professionalism is a collective construct shaped by the unique professional identities of individual educators. Linda (2008) expands on this notion by introducing the concept of "professionality," which is distinguished from professionalism. Hoyle (1975) also contributes to this discourse by conceptualising "professionality" as the individual attributes, dispositions, and practices that teachers bring to their work, whereas "professionalism" reflects the broader, institutionalised expectations and standards set for the teaching profession. This distinction emphasises that teacher identity is not monolithic, but rather shaped by a complex interplay between personal agency and systemic structures. Hoyle (1975) also acknowledges this distinction, suggesting that teachers navigate multiple professional dimensions, namely, professionalism and professionality. These dimensions are not necessarily mutually exclusive or contradictory but can coexist within varied contexts. Linda (2008) further argues that professionalism can be seen as a pluralistic collective of individual professionalities, aligning with the view that teacher identity is a dynamic and evolving construct. If one accepts that professionalism consists of multiple professionalities, it follows that

professionality reflects a diversity of values, ideologies, attitudes, and approaches to the profession. Thus, the assumption of homogeneity within teacher professionalism is inherently flawed.

3.3 Literature discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to present a well-structured and synthesised narrative review of literature relevant to the research topic. A narrative literature review serves to construct a coherent and compelling account of existing knowledge, drawing connections between key themes, debates, and theoretical perspectives; (Green et al., 2006). It does not only contextualise the study within the broader academic field but also identifies gaps and tensions in the literature, thereby justifying the need for the current research. The literature is organised thematically, with the themes emerging both from the conceptual focus of the research and from the data collected during participant interviews. Central to this chapter is the argument that teacher identity and professional roles are dynamic constructs, continuously shaped and reshaped by teachers' lived experiences and contextual engagements. The literature review explores the concept of identity with the underlying assumption that teacher identity is inherently heterogeneous; (Neupane & Bhatt, 2023). This identity plays a critical role in shaping how teachers present themselves professionally within the broader social and educational context. Day (2011) argues that professional identity should not merely be regarded as a functional role but rather as a lens through which teachers interpret their experiences and as a platform from which they project their professional presence. From this perspective, professional identity emerges as a constructed and evolving concept. Hsieh (2014) supports this notion by asserting that professional identity is multi-faceted and constantly in flux yet fundamentally rooted in the interplay between who teachers are and the work they perform. The literature also highlights the interrelated nature of teacher professional identity, teacher professional development, and teacher education, suggesting that these elements are mutually reinforcing in shaping teacher practice and perception.

3.3.1 Exploring South African historical background and identity

As South Africa was emerging from the apartheid rule, which lasted for about half a century, similarly complex social issues also appeared. The legacy of apartheid still lingers over some sections of society; (Hewitt, et al., 2020). Briefly, apartheid was a system of government, which systematically entrenched racial division among white and Black South Africans, by protecting the privileges of white people at the expense of the majority population; (Minga, 2015). Apartheid was experienced in all spheres of life, hence it successfully influenced behavioural patterns, hence why, xenophobia is believed to be a by-product of apartheid. Pillay (2017) states that xenophobia is one of the forms of racism, which has been able to thrive among Black South Africans because of the lack of trust for foreign African immigrants fearing that they can oppress them. Coupled with this, South Africans are grappling with the remnants of white supremacy and discrimination which is responsible for the economic deprivation and lack of jobs. This situation situates African immigrants at a precarious situation because they are being scapegoated for the economic crises; (Hewitt, et al., 2020). Teachers are not exempted from holding such sentiments, because according to Field (2017), the way in which the government responds to xenophobia, informs public opinion and national identity. Furthermore, Gordon (2015), argues that xenophobia occurs more prominently during the periods when the collective well-being of the locals seems fragile.

The population of South Africa is diverse, with the addition of immigrants, it makes it even complex. It is highly likely to find, European immigrants from the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, and the Netherlands, who arrived in South Africa during apartheid era, which seemed to steadily decline, post-apartheid. The second batch are those immigrants who arrived to seek employment in the nines and farms, under contracts. According to the OECD/ILO, (2018) report, immigration is not a new phenomenon in the country, because it has been part and parcel of South Africa's mining industry history. It is responsible for the 20th century migration policy which was shaped by the two-gate policy. "*The front gate welcomed people who met the requirements of the apartheid state, while the back gate was used to facilitate a steady flow of cheap labour on a temporary basis*" OECD/ILO, (2018, p.15).

The migrant labour system was born even before the National Party (NP) assumed power and introduce the apartheid laws in the1940s. It has been in existence since colonial times, and it has managed to outlive the end of apartheid. It is believed that the change in legislation in South Africa, such as the introduction of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act no. 76 of 1961, facilitated labour migration from some countries while at the same time, prohibited population movements within the country. The Act established the recruitment of foreign immigrants through labour bureaus (agencies) such as TEBA system; (Tati, 2008). TEBA was a recruitment agency owned by a white man, "Mr." Taberer, for native mine workers. Its existence can be potentially viewed as a betrayal or submission of a Black worker to the organisation of minority white capitalists, dictated by wealth and investments of the elite and of the uneven development between sectors and regions and between countries, argues Castells (1975). The third group of immigrants in South Africa comprises individuals who arrive primarily from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These migrants often seek employment in sectors such as construction, domestic services, or engage in informal economic activities, including establishing small businesses. The fourth category includes professional, skilled, or student immigrants who legally enter the country on student or work visas. The final group consists of individuals who are forced to flee conflict and persecution in their home countries and seek asylum or refuge in South Africa. Most of these asylum seekers originate from war-torn regions such as Somalia and the DRC; (Ncube, et al., 2019; International Labour Organization [ILO], 2022; World Bank, 2018).

It is essential to provide a contextual background on the composition of immigrants in South Africa to facilitate an understanding of how Marxist theory is employed in this study. Specifically, Marxism is utilised as a framework to interpret economic patterns that shape human behaviour and influence broader societal dynamics such as population distribution, cultural interactions, and the political landscape. South Africa's economy is characterised by pro-big business, neoliberal economic policies (Nieftagodien, 2008), which have resulted in uneven capitalist practices. These

practices are widely regarded as contributing factors to the emergence of xenophobic attitudes, particularly towards immigrants of African descent (Ngwane, 2017). Ngwane attributes this phenomenon to neoliberalism's failure to equitably distribute wealth, thereby exacerbating socio-economic disparities and fostering antagonism between different social classes.

3.3.2 Teacher identity form a theoretical perspective

The concept of teacher identity has attracted considerable scholarly attention over the past decade, primarily due to its ability to illuminate the intricate and multifaceted nature of the teaching profession. This focus facilitates an exploration of both the personal and professional dimensions of teacher identity. Moreover, researchers have acknowledged that teacher professional learning is shaped by both external and internal factors, recognizing that professional development is profoundly influenced by an individual's personal characteristics; (Beijaard et al., 2005). A critical question that emerges, particularly in the context of global shifts such as immigration, is how to reconcile personal and professional identities. A potential conflict arises when there is a disconnect between what teachers personally value and the expectations of their professional roles. Such a disjunction can lead to tensions in teachers' professional identities, especially when the personal and professional dimensions diverge significantly; (Beijaard et al., 2004).

In defining professional teacher identity, postmodern scholars have proposed various conceptualisations, grounded in diverse theoretical frameworks. These theories often emphasise a reflective process wherein individuals continuously engage with their experiences, grappling with the fundamental question of who they are and what they aspire to become. Central to these perspectives is a focus on the *self*, or the "I" as an individual. Other theories, however, assert that professional teacher identity emerges through the dynamic interaction between the individual and the contextual experiences they encounter. Additionally, some scholars contend that teacher identity is a multifaceted construct, comprising multiple sub-identities that may vary according to different contexts and relationships. Lastly, another definition posits that

professional teacher identity is shaped by the actions and engagement of students in the classroom and beyond (Beijaard et al., 2004). Drawing on these varied definitions, it can be concluded that teacher identity is a fluid and evolving phenomenon, which could be the justification for how Black South African teachers relate to issues of immigration.

While postmodernism's recognition of identity as fluid, dynamic, and continuously constructed offers valuable insights, it also presents certain conceptual challenges; (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Adopting a fully postmodern stance, which rejects earlier modernist conceptions of identity, may prove inadequate in addressing critical questions that challenge the decentred and unstable nature of identity; (Marková, 1994, 2006; Wertsch, 1991, 1997). Although postmodern perspectives emphasize the multiple, fragmented, and socially constructed aspects of identity, they paradoxically also acknowledge the experience of identity as unitary, continuous, and personal. To achieve a more comprehensive understanding, a dialogical approach integrates both postmodern and modernist perspectives, allowing for a nuanced interpretation that accommodates complexity and coherence in the conceptualisation of identity.

The Dialogical Self Theory provides one of the most comprehensive dialogical approaches to understanding identity. This theory conceptualises the *self* as composed of multiple "I" positions within the human psyche, a perspective rooted in the work of the Russian philosopher and linguist Mikhail Bakhtin; (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986). According to this view, individuals engage in a dialogue with multiple voices, each representing a distinct position or viewpoint. These "I" positions are not fixed; rather, they shift constantly, reflecting the fluid nature of identity as it is constantly (re)constructed and negotiated. Each "I" position is driven by specific intentions and brings forth a unique perspective or narrative. Importantly, the theory posits that these positions may sometimes conflict with one another; (Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 2001). This conflict, or the presence of multiple competing "I" positions, provides valuable insight into understanding teacher identity. Teachers, navigating various

professional dilemmas and challenges, often find themselves reconciling conflicting epistemological beliefs, which can complicate their sense of professional identity.

> *For example, Robert, one of the teacher trainers interviewed by Niessen talked about his childhood and his father who was a traditional teacher. From his childhood frame of reference, it appeared to make sense to talk about teaching as telling students what they need to know. When he talked about his teaching experiences and subsequent training in problem-based education, he expressed the view that a teacher should also be facilitating learning and not just tell students what to do and what they need to know. This was a different, more contemporary belief, which he had acquired during later training. Robert seemed to struggle with advancing both these conflicting views about what is good pedagogy,* (Akkerman, & Meijer, 2011 p.312).

This perspective is essential to the study as it provides an insight into the complex position Black South African teachers occupy; often navigating the tension between addressing pressing social issues and maintaining expected standards of professional conduct.

3.3.3 Teacher identity as a personal, social, and professional phenomenon

Building on the perspective of teacher professionalism, it can be argued that teacher identity transcends the confines of the classroom and is shaped by broader social interactions and environments. This understanding allows for the recognition that professional identity is not only constructed individually, but also collectively, through participation in professional communities or learning groups. Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (2001) introduce the concept of "I-positions," which may be internal, experienced as part of the self, or external, shaped by the individual's engagement with their environment. In this view, the *self* is not merely an internal psychological construct but a relational entity, co-formed through interactions with the social world. Supporting this, Mead (1934) introduces the notion of the "generalised other," suggesting that identity positions are shaped not only by direct

relationships with others but also by the influence of broader social groups, which internalise shared norms, expectations, and conventions into the self.

Teacher professional identity cannot be examined in isolation from the broader theoretical construct of *identity*. A comprehensive understanding of the concept of identity is essential to developing a coherent and meaningful definition of teacher professional identity. As noted by Beijaard et al. (2023), the study of teacher professional identity represents a growing and evolving area of academic inquiry. Scholars argue that engaging with the foundational concept of *identity* offers critical insights necessary for articulating a nuanced understanding of professional identity in teaching. Consequently, this necessitates the integration of diverse theoretical perspectives across multiple disciplines to construct a robust and contextually relevant definition of teacher *identity*, particularly in relation to teaching immigrant learners. This interdisciplinary approach enables a deeper appreciation of the complex and dynamic nature of teacher identity within increasingly diverse educational settings.

This overview of teacher identity is particularly significant as it highlights the fluid and dynamic nature of identity within the context of immigration and education in South Africa. The increasing presence of immigrant learners is contributing to the emergence of new teaching and learning contexts, which often contrast sharply with South Africa's historical and socio-cultural legacy. Identity is intricately shaped by history and culture, two elements that are central to understanding both personal and professional self-conception. Zembylas (2003) asserts that teacher professional identity cannot be meaningfully examined outside of cultural frameworks. He challenges the notion that identity can be confined to purely psychological or sociological domains, instead advocating for a post-structuralist perspective that views teacher identity as embedded within relations of power, conflict, and agency. According to this view, power does not only influence the trajectory of identity formation but also interacts with emotional experiences and contextual

embeddedness; (Varghese et al., 2005; Maguire, 2008). These emotional and contextual dimensions are essential in understanding how teacher identities are shaped and reshaped in response to the evolving demands of diverse classrooms.

3.3.4 Teacher identity and professional experiences

Teacher identity is largely linked to personal and professional experiences, which contribute its construction and development; (Bukor, 2014). Literature presents different views on this claim; for example, that it is undeniable that there is a close relationship among professional identity, that is, how teachers behave in class (classroom practice), teacher knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes; (Andrzejewski, 2008; Clarke, 2008; Meijer, et. al., 2009; Soreide, 2006; Watson, 2006). This argument further maintains that if we understand teacher identify from the angle of this intricate relationship, we can therefore discern effective ways to support teacher professional growth. Furthermore, this will allow us to conclude that teacher identity is twofold, there is a personal and professional teacher identity. The latter is key for this study because the aim is to explore teacher identity in the classroom.

Bukor (2014) further argues that teachers' professional lives do not independently exist off their individual experiences. This interplay is characterised by beliefs, assumptions, and perceptions that teachers hold. In a study conducted by Bukor (2011), the background against which teacher professional identity is studied, is presented. It is described as a holistic perspective, where interconnectedness of both professionalism and personal aspects is explored. Individual experiences are understood to be the teacher's personal life experiences, such as childhood, family, friends, and people who play key roles in a teacher's life, schooling, and higher education background. On the other hand, professional experiences refer to the participant's teaching career.

As mentioned, teacher professional identity is easily understood from the concept, *teacher identity*. Therefore, this school of thought makes it not to be a straightforward

concept, because it is inherently not stagnant, but dynamic and intangible in nature; (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). It manifests itself in different spheres of a teacher's life, for example, it is responsible for a teacher's professional and personal decisions. Bukor (2014), describes teacher identity as an elusive, intangible, and highly idiosyncratic abstraction, which is difficult to observe directly. This therefore tells us that a mere observation and conclusion based on a teacher's behaviour, is not sufficient to inform us about his/her identity. This is so because identity is an accumulation of personal and professional experiences over the years, as mentioned earlier. However, a teacher may express his or her identity in a form of beliefs, assumptions, values, and actions that are informative of one's interpretation of himself/herself and the world. This perspective assists us to understand the reasoning behind the research topic of this study. It is against its rationale that we first dissect teacher identity so that we can understand the other components of the structure of teacher identity, which includes professional identity. Professional identity illuminates the need for us to discuss its influences on the research frame and pedagogical tools which are central and essential to teacher professional identity, argues Olsen (2008a).

A significant observation is that even though teacher identity has been extensively described and defined by various scholars, there are notable gaps in its conceptualisation. While professional identity has received substantial attention, other critical dimensions, such as the psychological, emotional, and personal aspects of teacher identity, are often underexplored; (González-Calvo & Arias-Carballal, 2017). This imbalance suggests that much of the research tends to focus on teachers' roles within the professional environment, while neglecting the more subjective, internal factors that shape their overall identity. This gap highlights the need for a more holistic approach to studying teacher identity, one that integrates both professional and personal dimensions. It is however understandable why this is the case; teachers spend most of their time in the classroom, however, we also need to elevate the other aspects so that we can understand the concept holistically; (Bukor,

2014). Palmer (1998) presents the following holistic conceptual framework on teacher identity:

> *By identity I mean an evolving nexus where all the forces that constitute my life converge in the mystery of self: my genetic make-up, the nature of the man and woman who gave me life, the culture in which I was raised, people who have sustained me and people who have done me harm, the good and ill I have done to others and to myself, the experience of love and suffering – and much, much more. In the midst of that complex field, identity is a moving intersection of the inner and outer forces that make who I am, converging in the irreducible mystery of being human.* (Palmer, 1998, p. 13)

3.3.5 Role of teacher emotions in shaping identity

Palmer (1998) definition is both elaborate and inclusive, highlighting the psychological, emotional, and intellectual dimensions of teacher identity. This makes the definition particularly useful for this study. One key aspect of teacher identity that the study seeks to explore is the role of emotions in influencing decision-making, particularly in the context of teaching immigrant learners. To gain a richer understanding of teachers' professional identities, understood as both empowering and sometimes constraining resources for action and change in teaching, it is essential to explore what is meant by emotions in the context of teacher identity. By investigating how emotions shape teachers' decisions and interactions with immigrant students, the study provides deeper insights into how identity influences pedagogical practices.

Whatever emotions displayed, voices are the meanings of identity for how the *teacher self* is constructed and reconstructed through the social interactions that teachers have in a particular socio-cultural, historical, and institutional context. Damasio (1994, 2003) argues that emotions play a crucial role in the process of reasoning. According to Damasio, emotions are not just reactions to external stimuli but are fundamental to decision-making and cognitive processes. This insight suggests that emotions should be considered as central components in understanding teacher identity, particularly in contexts such as teaching immigrant learners, where emotional dynamics may

heavily influence teaching practices and decision-making. The belief is that emotions and logic are indissolubly connected and dependent on an individual's biography, social context, and external factors, "*we have two minds, one that thinks and the one that feels*," (Goleman, 2005, p. 18). An emotional person's brain is quicker to react to a situation, without prior assessment, and it acts irrationally, without first asking questions or investigation. It believes everything as an absolute truth, without consideration of alternative evidence. On the contrary, a rational person, treads carefully and is cautiously on his/her belief processes, and open to replacing previous acquired knowledge and beliefs with new evidence.

In a study conducted by Sutton & Wheatley (2003), they present findings that suggest that teacher emotions are at play in the classroom and learners are aware of such and are even influenced by their existence. Nias (1996) asserts that it is impossible for teachers not to display emotional characteristics, because throughout their career, they are investing their *selves* in the teacher profession. This takes us back to the Dialogical Theory, which discusses the *self*.

3.3.6 Teacher roles in the classroom

Apart from teacher identity, the dissertation is also exploring teacher roles in relation to education and immigration. The role of a teacher conveys an implication that teachers are doing some action in their classrooms, but also it can also refer to their behaviour; (Adams,1970). This claim, further views teacher role as a dependent entity of the expected actions of individuals either by themselves or others which may include learners, parents, colleagues, school leaders, society, and others. Makovec (2018) argues that the role a teacher is not an obvious action that can be exclusively defined, because the definition is shaped by many factors. It is defined by cultural and social events and the environment. Both these factors influence the differences that occur in understandings the roles of teachers within diverse cultures and societies, which also includes the geographic environment. These factors of influence can be categorised into internal and external. These are explained as; internal factors include those that influence a teacher's own perception of his or her role. External

factors include the views and expectations of the role of the teacher, which arise within other stakeholders, such as learners or students, parents, colleagues, school leaders, and the public; (Makovec, 2018). Both types of factors are also an important part of a teacher's professional identity. Internal factors that influence the understanding of the teacher's role are created by the teachers themselves and can be classified into two categories: the teacher's own beliefs about which role is important and the teacher's expectations for his or her role.

The idea or phenomenon of teacher role is determined by what society expects from teachers. As mentioned before, there are many interest groups that shape the role of teachers, but teachers themselves are also key drivers in the understanding of their own roles. The efficacy and effectiveness in the work that teachers experience and perform in their daily interaction with learners, can either influence or be a product of how they see themselves as professionals; (Ben-Peretz, et al., 2003). Teachers' expectations are influenced by the experience and knowledge they acquire during teacher education, for during this period teachers begin to build the professional image of themselves as teachers. It is for this reason that the importance of quality of teacher education in the shaping of expectations and the idea of teacher role, is emphasised. In addition to the experience, teachers' roles are influenced by the context of teaching. To reiterate these sentiments, Ben-Peretz et al. (2003) believes that teachers who teach learners with lower abilities see their role differently from teachers who instruct learners with higher abilities. Teachers are expected to adhere to classroom management approaches to enforce rules and discipline to learners, which is fundamentally a theoretical practice; (Pitsoe, & Letseka, 2012). However, this approach raises some questions, such as could this mild approach to control be present in the way in which teachers treat immigrant learners, especially during instruction or acquisition of one of the home languages that is compulsory for learners to pass to progress to the grade phase?

3.3.7 Role of teachers in supporting a multicultural classroom

Teachers are generally associated with the task of preparing young people for citizenship, a responsibility that is particularly emphasised in the United States; (Hahn, 2008). This expectation effectively places the burden of nation-building on their shoulders. In South Africa, a similar vision is advanced through the Life Orientation (LO) subject, which, among other benefits, provides a fertile space for the exploration and nurturing of citizenship (Evans, 2008). However, the American model of citizenship education has encountered significant challenges due to rapidly changing classroom demographics, much of which can be attributed to immigration. According to Zong et al. (2008), the traditional meaning attached to citizenship education in the U.S. is gradually shifting. This shift has sparked resistance from some societal groups who argue that citizenship education should promote and be grounded in nationalism. In contrast, scholars advocate for a multicultural identity approach to citizenship education, one that values cultural diversity and equips teachers to effectively navigate classrooms composed of learners from various cultural backgrounds (Banks, 2008; Merryfield & Wilson, 2005; Ukpokodu, 1999).

A practical way to address challenges associated with diversity in the classroom, is the call for teacher education institutions to prepare teachers to meet the challenges of multicultural citizenship, argues Banks, (2011). Teacher educators like schoolteachers, have a duty to assist teachers to critically analyse and rethink of the notion of race, culture, and ethnicity, and be able to place themselves in this equation. "*Teacher educators should assist teachers deconstruct race, culture, and ethnicity in ways that are inclusive, and in a way that these in terms are related to social, economic and political structures in the U.S, society."* Banks (2001, p.11-12).

However, research presents data suggesting that pre-service teachers continue to hold naïve and simplistic views about cultural diversity; (Bartolome, 1994; Middleton, 2002; Montecinos, & Rios, 1999; Muller & O'Connor, 2007), and limited knowledge regarding cultural plurality; (Avery & Walker, 1993; Gallivan, 2008; Kickbusch, 1987; Martin, 2008; Mathews & Dilworth, 2008; Rubin & Justice, 2005; Sunal, et

al., 2009). Despite efforts from teacher educators in preparing teachers for such situations, an ever-pressing need for teacher education to prepare teachers for the ever changing socio-economic and socio-political changes, has never been this important, not only for the USA, but even for South Africa, an area that seems to receive limited academic research. Given the realities of diverse heritage and growing multiculturalism in classrooms, it is essential to address these issues not only in pre-service teacher education, but also in the professional development of in-service teachers. While teacher education programmes assist student teachers interpret curricular content and understand complex educational contexts, such learning is not exclusive to those still in training. All teachers, regardless of their career stage, bring with them a wealth of experience, and this experience can deepen their critical awareness of multicultural issues. Consequently, it becomes increasingly important that in-service teachers have access to continuous professional development opportunities that address real, evolving educational contexts. These programmes should aim to equip teachers with the tools and perspectives necessary to engage meaningfully with the diverse cultural backgrounds of their learners.

Castro (2010a, 2010b), echoes the above argument, arguing that teachers who are exposed to and engage with reflective activities that increase their critical awareness and social justice, tend to seek out greater interactions with culturally diverse individuals and groups. However, we should avoid assuming that teachers who display these attitudes, openness to diversity and multiculturalism, entred teacher training programmes that way because we might miss the impactful transformative nature teacher education has. Dilworth (2004) claims that multicultural citizenship education should not just be an awareness or participation in various aspects of democracy but should extends to the students' ability to create and live in an ethnically diverse and just society. This sounds the call for multicultural education to be approached in a rather deep and meaningful way instead of superficiality that fails to challenge and raise questions about those classroom practices that perpetuate injustice and Eurocentric ideologies. It would not be a far-fetched idea to think that this approach is adaptable for both pre-service and in-service teachers.

3.3.8 Correlation between teacher education and second language acquisition

Teacher education curricular, for the most part, focuses on the inculcation of subject content knowledge and teaching methods. This drives the emphasis to focus mainly on the psychology of education, giving less time to candidates to explore philosophical and sociological issues about teaching and learning that are relevant to the local context and which can impact on their previously- held notions of what teachers do; (Quamina-Aiyejina-, et al., 1998). This is a situation that once existed in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1990s, as the teacher education curriculum was undergoing transformation. The widely held idea by teacher training institutions was that a teacher is a knowledgeable person, thus, skilled in knowledge transmission. However, such perceptions posed a dilemma because, newly enrolled student teachers did not meet these criteria. Areas of concern were content, pedagogy, skills, and competencies. Due to expectations by the teacher education institutions not being met, institutions were compelled to target these gaps to fulfil the expectations. However, the concepts applied to upgrade the students seemed to pose another challenge, because they isolated pedagogical preparation in favour of knowledge, training teachers exclusively on subject content, which resulted into a curriculum overload for students. Bullough (1991) argues that if student teachers lack a clear conception of themselves as teachers, then it will be difficult for them to critique the context of schooling. Experiences that teachers in training and teachers in general possess, are rarely considered in teacher education; (Bullough, 1991). Content, which is what to teach, and pedagogy, how to teach the content, are two major components of teacher education programmes, which often omits anecdotal encounters; (Grossman, 2009).

Consequently, it is vital that teachers understand the importance of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), as a vital area in forging a relationship between the language learner and the social world; (Peirce, 1995). According to this view, a strong social identity theory, integrates the language learner and the language learning context. Therefore, this means that language is a necessary tool in creating a sense of

belonging, which could be lacking in some schooling environments in South Africa. Even though South Africa is a multi-lingual country, boasting of twelve (12) official languages, including sign language, but little or none of these languages accommodate immigrant learners from Franco-phone countries. Shona speaking learners from Zimbabwe, Chichewa speakers from Malawi, Portuguese speakers from Mozambique, are often left behind due to language barriers; (Vandeyar, Catalano, 2020). Their study highlights how immigrant learners, particularly those from Francophone and Lusophone navigate educational environments where the medium of instruction and the languages used are not inclusive of their linguistic identities.

While there are immigrant children who are fluent in English (one of South Africa's official languages and a medium of instruction in schools), but some are not; (Babane, 2020), based on the ability of voluntary immigrant parents having the financial resources and literacy skills, which help their children to adjust in schools in host countries; (Awokoya 2009; Zong & Batalova 2017). Therefore, this implies that the duty of the teacher is to apply what Peirce, (1995) mentions above. However, this assertation begs the following questions: are teachers trained to deal with immigration related issues in school? Has the government instituted reforms in teacher education to accommodate immigration related matters? The theory further argues that in the acquisition of a second language, it is crucial that we recognise and acknowledge the existence of power imbalances, for example, how relations of power affect interaction between language learners and target language speakers.

The literature underscores that teacher training institutions bear the responsibility of equipping future educators with the critical awareness necessary to understand and apply language as a form of social practice; (Fairclough, 2001). From this perspective, language is not a neutral medium of communication, but rather a powerful instrument embedded within the very fabric of society, shaping and being shaped by social relations; (Babane, 2020). If student teachers are equipped with such knowledge, they will be better prepared to utilise language deliberately as a tool for inclusion, argues

Purdy et al. (2023) and Fairclough (2001). This can further enable them to facilitate meaningful participation in linguistic processes, effectively bridging the psychological and social dimensions with the textual, thereby promote equity and foster social cohesion.

It is not a far-fetched notion to think that by not belonging to the host country's ethnic groupings; (Lee & Zhou, 2004; Olsen, 1997), socio-political and cultural context already automatically excludes immigrants; (Cummins, 2001; Nieto, 2000). Their identity is shaped by the above sense of belonging, while at school there is still another social grouping that they need to belong to; (Chan, 2003, 2004; Lei, 2003). These societal areas of belonging have shared traits, language, culture, and identity. Studies illustrate how power is the glue that binds these areas together. Power is a concept that penetrates through all of them; (Huot, at al., 2020). Studies suggest that the ideology of power is behind the marginalisation and disempowerment of minorities; (Cummins, 2001; Darder, 1991) and subjects them to racism; (McCarthy, 2003; West, 1994), and predisposes them to poverty; (Kozol, 1991) and exposes them to educational inequalities; (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Oakes, et al., 1990; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1988; McLaren, 1989), ideas adopted from a Critical Pedagogy perspective.

3.3.9 Correlation between South Africa and other countries

Like Europe and the USA, South Africa is also experiencing and influx of immigrants; (Hirsch, 2024). Countries like Germany have tried to address challenges that immigrant learners and teachers face in schools due to language barrier. However, it is not always successful because policy implementation is not able to keep up with immigration systems. It appears there is a disjuncture between adaptation of education systems and what new processes of immigration postulates; (Pitkanen et al., 2002). There is a visible lack of social facts of the ongoing social process of social integration. Teachers in most cases are ill-prepared for having large numbers of immigrant children in their classroom. To exacerbate the challenges, teacher training is little geared and teacher education offers a little or none to equip

teachers for this new reality in the education landscape in Germany. This does not exclude early childhood development teachers, who should be trained for this new challenge as well. They are expected to be qualified for the new role of early age second language teachers. As a result, Germany has embraced a project called the Early Start Project of Hertie Foundation. Heckmann (2008) argues that it is important to include elements related to immigrant learners' native culture in the school curriculum. This approach will develop the learners' attitude to learning because they will feel accepted and valued in their new learning environments. However, this approach is criticised by some scholars to have the potential to hinder integration of immigrants into the German school community.

In reference to the above intervention of Early Start Project in Germany, it can be argued that the emphasis in trying to mitigate the challenges that immigrant learners face in host countries in terms of acquiring the national language, or mastering the medium of instruction, in this instance it focuses less on learner attitudes, which according to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories tend to focus less on individual learner variables in language learning and more on broader sociocultural factors. One such influential concept is what Schumann (1978) describes as *social distance*, the perceived degree of closeness or remoteness between the second language (L2) learner and the target language community. According to Schumann, when social distance is minimal, it means there is a high level of congruence between the learner and the target language group, the learner is more likely to acculturate effectively. This facilitates not only social integration but also enhances language acquisition outcomes.

Although there could be many contestations as to whether, a teacher, can do so much; in assisting immigrant learners to acquire a language, a lot of effort should come from the language learner him or herself. Krashen (1981, 1982) views on language learning filters away the investment approach and argues that self-motivation from the learner's side, is crucial. She claims that self-confidence is an intrinsic characteristic

of the language learner. While this may be true to a certain degree, however, Gardner, (1985) argues that self-confidence is nurtured by positive experiences in the context of second language learning. He argues; "*Self-confidence develops as a result of positive experiences in the context of the second language and serves to motivate individuals to learn the second language*," (Gardner, 1985 p. 54). This positive learning environment deemed conducive for acquiring a foreign language, arguably largely remains the burden of the teacher; (Babane, 2020).

3.3.10 Immigrant learners and language learning in South Africa

Increased multilingualism and language diversity have created a breeding ground for xenophobic conditions to thrive. This is the case with South Africa. Evidence is drawn from participating schools through a case study method, Vandeyar, & Catalano, (2020). The study reveals that challenges that immigrant learners in South Africa face in their attempt to traverse xenophobic influenced trends, exclusively South African language pedagogy and language loss. It is through this study that we can recommend change of policy, practice and research and embrace new that will be cognisance of the need for immigrant learners to construct immigrant social identity and be included in this multilingual society. Given the rich multilingual nature of South Africa, one may assume that everyone would easily adapt. The truth is that many of these languages are not even spoken in other provinces of the country, probably isiZulu, English and Afrikaans are an exception. If this is the case, we can only imagine what the immigrants experience in schools where one, two or three out of the eleven official languages is the medium of instruction or a home language that must be passed for a learner to progress to the next class, in the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase (Grade 10-12).

With the difficult past that South Africa has endured, and the general perception the society has on immigrants, the issue of immigrant inclusion, is a rather complicated natter. Based on the 2016 census, South Africa accounts for 2.2 million illegal immigrants and about a million undocumented ones; (Vandeyar & Catalano, 2020).

From these groups of immigrants, exist immigrant learners, who can be classified into two categories. There are Black African immigrants, who are either fluent in English or French, as a native language, second or third language, which is dependent on their home country's former coloniser. Even though that might be the case, they still do speak their native languages, such as Lingala, if they are from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Hausa or Yoruba if they are from Nigeria, Chichewa if they are from Malawi, Portuguese and Shangane if they are from Mozambique, Shona, and Ndebele if they are from Zimbabwe and many more. The second category are those who are often not regarded as immigrants as per the perceptions of Black South African, immigrants from Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and China. Some of them, do speak English as a second language, but the majority of then, speak their native languages, such as Tamil, Hindi, or Urdu; (Vandeyar & Catalano, (2020).

While the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (South Africa 1996, Chapter 1, article (6) states that all the eleven official languages occupy an equal status, based on the constitution of the country, the Language in Education Policy (DoE, 1997) promotes additive bilingualism through home language instruction in the Foundation Phase (early years and primary schooling), with a gradual addition of other languages, which includes English. However, this policy has always been on paper and not on practice, because until 2018, English and Afrikaans were prioritised over other South African languages. This means that this was just a symbolic transformative gesture, (Plüddemann, 2015). The lack of political will to implement a multilingual policy and legislation has resulted in generations of South African children who have been deprived of equity, quality, and improved life chances, (Makoe & McKinney 2014; Heugh 2015). If language policy implementation can disadvantage South African children of access to fair and just language pedagogy, we can only imagine, what it does to immigrant children.

Recent studies suggest that applaudable efforts have been achieved around policy to address an interface between multilingual pedagogy, language education policy, and

practice, (Heugh, 2000, 2015; Makoe & McKinney, 2014; Plüddemann, 2015; Probyn, 2015). However, research suggests that little or no attention at all has been paid to how language policy affects immigrant learners in South Africa (Vandeyar, 2020). Further investigation into this issue reveals that language used particularly for immigrants is embedded or relates to the political and social context that is characterised by xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments. If such issues were given the attention and urgency they deserve, they would not only benefit immigrant learners, but also teachers in South Africa's multilingual and multicultural contexts of education, to understand the experiences of immigrants as they navigate through the socio-cultural and educational context of the country.

If teachers were knowledgeable about the language situation that immigrant learner find themselves in, it would be easier for teachers to understand specific roles that they are expected to play in an outside of the classroom, and the identity that they need to assume, to support learners. One of the strategies that teacher could employ, suggested by Vandeyar, (2020), is for teachers to understand the concept of translanguaging, which is defined as; "a multiple discursive language practices that bi/multilingual learners engage in daily to make sense of their bilingualism and to a way of capturing the expanded complex practices of speakers who live between different societal and semiotic contexts as they interact with a complex array of speakers," (Garcia & Wei, 2014, p.18).

It is therefore only reasonable to assume that teachers in an environment like this one, will take positive strides and allow themselves to engage with this fluid movement between languages, so that they are not frustrated by the new "language" that develops out of this versatility in trying to find ease in communication. Furthermore, their role is to identify it and then support immigrant learners' application of translanguaging techniques, Garcia & Wei, (2014).

3.4 Conclusion

This literature review chapter presents a detailed discussion of key themes central to

the study. The narrative review reveals that education and teaching are not confined concepts; rather, they are expansive and shaped by both philosophical foundations and contextual realities. The literature highlights the dynamic relationship between teacher identity and its formation, beginning during pre-service training and evolving through continued classroom practice. Furthermore, the reviewed studies demonstrate that immigration and education are mutually influential, immigration affects educational systems and, in turn, reshapes how teachers perceive and enact their professional roles. Notably, the literature reveals a strong connection between teachers' perceptions of their identity and roles within the context of increasing immigration in South Africa. It becomes evident that teacher identity is not static nor formed in isolation but rather is deeply influenced by socio-cultural and institutional contexts.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

There are six (6) approaches from which theory is applied in this study. The first one is studying immigration from two American sociological views, the Sociological and the Assimilation Theory. The second approach explores the role of capitalism in fuelling exploitation of African immigrants, is theoretically explored, how it has potentially contributed in the antagonization of immigrant labour force by aggrieved South Africans, through the lens of the Marxist Theory. The third one, is applying the Critical Race Theory (herein referred to as CRT) to explore the concept of race, the phenomenon of racism, discrimination, and xenophobia against the background of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. To understand teacher identity, this study frames the concept within the Vygotskian Theory and Post Structuralist views. The final approach is framed within the Critical Theory of Multiculturalism.

The study employs different theories to explain, predict, and understand the phenomena being studied here. Grant & Osanloo, (2014), use a metaphor to describe a theoretical framework, suggesting that it is a blueprint for building a house. According to this analogue, the theoretical framework, of this study provides a structure and a guide on which to frame or premise it, philosophically, and methodologically, by relying on formal theory as Eisenhart, (1991) suggests. According to this suggestion, the theoretical framework consists of theories that are relevant to the topic of study, and in turn provide a world view from which the study is premised; (Merriam, 2001).

4.2 Immigration from a Sociological perspective

To fully understand the sociological theories, it is important to understand the phenomenon of immigration within the education context of South Africa, first. According to the South African Census of 2011, there were about 2.2 million immigrants in the country, that was about 4% of the entire population. This 2011 Census figure is supposed to include both documented and undocumented foreigners. While we acknowledge South Africa's unique contexts and historical background, it

is however, of significance to explore immigration from a USA viewpoint, particularly because of the shared historical similarities between the two countries, based on the policies of segregation, that targeted Black people. Therefore, the theories that will be explored here, are mainly from an American sociological perspective, but will consequently inform the study about what could be the experiences of immigrants in South Africa.

According to Portes, (1997), immigrants in the USA in the 1900s, were symbolically allowed the freedom to launch their American careers, with a new identity and anywhere in the country, they wanted to. The manner at which immigrants were given the liberty to express themselves in this way, symbolised the confident and careless way in which the country treated its newcomers then. Immigrants were given a powerful first shove toward assimilation into American society, during the time when the country was at its infancy, preoccupied with industrial expansion, and at a prime stage to dominate the world. In all this midst of developments, immigrants had a transparent role. However, as time progressed, grew new urban forms, new institutions, new social problems, and a changed concept of what the nation was about, and that meant a different trajectory for immigrants and their children.

Immigration has evolved into a hot topic in the USA in professional, social, and public realms, often causing heated debate regarding the situation and theory development, suggests Lee and Hernandez (2009). To understand this social position Robbins (1998), explains societal processes that immigrants are subjected to by the host society. Robbins provides some insightful discussion about the impact of assimilation and acculturation processes on immigrants by addressing the influence of dominant majority culture on minority cultures living in the same environment. The extent to which immigration is explained, is mindful of human behaviour, the social environment, or the combination of both. Immigration has been viewed from a sociological point of view, where it has been presented as a subject of exploration, argues Heisler (2000). It is also solicitated a lot of interest from the psychology,

Marxist and anthropology scholarships offering explanations of the individual, family, and group experience of immigration, while economics and political science emphasises perspectives of the social environment and its impact on the immigration process, Lee and Hernandez (2009).

4.3 Immigration from the Assimilation Theories

Understandably, with the large influx of immigrants into South Africa, which according to the 2011 census, was above 4% of the total population, sociologists, predict that consequentially, there will be many dynamics during the process of social incorporation or assimilation, Lee (2009). To understand immigration as it is discussed in the study, it is important that we familiarise ourselves with the traditional and modern theories of assimilation. According to Lee (2009), the contemporary sociological theories of immigration are founded upon the Classical Assimilation Theory (CAT), which is viewed as a traditional theory. This theory first appeared in the field of Social Sciences through the efforts of scholars in the Chicago School of Sociology; (Alba & Nee, 1997). It is crucial that we scrutinise the original definition of the term, assimilation, as it was applied in the context of immigrants in the USA, so that we gain insights on how assimilation as a sociological process has evolved over the years, from the time of its inception, up until now, when there is a lot of activism, advocacy, agency and awareness around discrimination, racism, inequality, and all other forms of injustices emitted towards immigrants all around the world.

Like South Africa, the USA, is one of the popular destinations for immigrants due to factors associated with quality life. On the other hand, the Americans, from the CAT perspective, viewed their country as a melting pot for all ethnic minority cultures, where social processes such as assimilation, would eradicate distinctive immigrants' ethnic origin traits, and instead integrate them into mainstream typical American life; (Alba & Nee, 1997). This idea later receive criticism from the critiques of the classic assimilation theory; (Heisler, 2000). The CAT definition of assimilation presents a rather linear process which was considered to have only one outcome that which was

to eradicate immigrant typical traits, since they had no room in their newly acquired American life, otherwise, they would have been an obstacle in achieving assimilation, argues Zhou (1999). Learning English was one of the models that were used to overcome the immigrants' shortfalls in Americanism Rumbant (1997).

However, modern day social scientists and sociologists have identified gaps in the CAT motivated definition of assimilation. Arguments rise from the fact that immigrants are subjected to assimilation to bridge the deficit in Americanism, consequently perpetuating ethnocentric ideology, and placing patronising demands on them, argues Alba and Nee, (1997), which will eventually lead to identity loss and cultural distinctiveness, according to (Heisler, 2000). This prescription of a linear assimilation process has been poked holes due to its unrealistic nature and approach in addressing diversity. It is viewed by modern sociologists as an inconsiderate and ignorant approach to the diverse nature of immigrant groups and their social context; (Portes & Borocz, 1989). This traditional view has since been described as a weak and unsuccessful approach which has not been able to account for continued injustices that have been experienced by immigrant groups (Heisler, 2000). Even though this theory is rejected as a weak theory, but I still find it useful, because it assists in explaining and justifying the theoretical reasoning and societal motivations that drive xenophobia in South Africa.

Unlike the CAT, Modern Assimilation Theories (MAT) turn to focus on the impetus of immigration and the promotion of a wider understanding of the social dynamics of ethnicity, particularly in the USA society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Portes, 1999). Coupled with that, Modern Assimilation Theorists, investigate the interactions that exist between the immigrants and the host society, and how these relationships pen out between the groups. It is from the reshaping of the CAT that assimilation is viewed from a wider and deeper scope, where it is regarded as having been influenced either by proximate sources, which refers to the casual mechanisms of assimilation relating to individual and group relationships and characteristics, or distal causes, which are

mechanisms of assimilation that are entrenched within the larger structures of institutions, such as the state and labour markets, argues Alba and Nee (2003). The reshaping of the classic assimilation theory has led to the emergence of a school of thought in sociology that disputes ideas of assimilation that tends to associate it with a universal singular path outcome, that expects all immigrants despite their unique individual circumstances, to conform to expectations. Instead, it regards assimilation as an incremental process that takes place across all generations, where each group is expected to react differently from the other, it is not one glove fits all approach.

4.3.1 Contextualising assimilation theories within South Africa

To put these theories into perspective within the context of South Africa, immigrants who arrive in South Africa, are generally blanketed under victims of war or any other form of conflict from their home countries. For many years, immigration has been studied from an angle of destination for migrants and 'war and poverty', which force people to flee in search of security and well-being and in the process "invade the host country's resources" (de Haas, 2008). It is such narratives and discourse that may lead to negative attitudes among teachers and other members of society, leading to the stigmatisation of immigrants' education.

> *The conventional wisdom underlying such argumentations is that war and poverty are the root causes of mass migration across and from Africa. Popular images of extreme poverty, starvation, tribal warfare, and environmental degradation amalgamate into a stereotypical image of "African misery" as the assumed causes of a swelling tide of northbound African migrants,* (de Haas, 2008, p.2).

Stereotype ideas about immigrants according to studies is one of the contributing factors in the eruption of xenophobic attitudes among Black South Africans. Even though, there is a big presence of refugees and asylum seekers in the country, as mentioned in the introduction, but there is also a considerable number of other African immigrants who are in South Africa because they are motivated by different factors. It is such gaps in knowledge among Black people that renders assimilation, that is consistent with the Modern Assimilation Theories (MAT), attainable. Even

though the ground is not fertile in South Africa to plant the seed of immigrant assimilation, particularly those who are possessing a refugee or asylum seeking, the government according to Vundla (2020) has been attempting to invest in policies and norms which are based on the immigrants' social, vulnerability and development statuses. This approach appears to be congruent with the Modern Assimilation Theories, who advocate for immigrants to be viewed as unique individuals, and not as a collective who require uniform approaches of assimilation, each case needs a different and yet relevant method to each situation.

Assimilation is not a natural or automatic occurrence, argues Smit, (2015). This is because settling in a host country alone, does not guarantee successful integration, there are other contributing factors, such as access to means of survival. This resonates with what Coakley and Einri (2007) states. They argue that an additional hurdle towards a smooth assimilation could be that there are different levels at which assimilation occurs, at an employment place, and socially. This suggests that if an individual immigrant manages to assimilate into an employment environment, does not translate to or guarantee social assimilation, which in that case, could lead to examples of social exclusion. One of the reasons attributed to the above deficiency, is the language gap. In a study conducted among Arabic immigrants living in Malaysia, a similar conclusion was reached, based on their feelings of emotional distress due to failure to assimilate, because they could not speak the host country's language; (Vundla, 2020). Assimilation depends on numerous considerations; it is not just an obvious phenomenon. Racism and lack of access are some of the factors that can create an environment where immigrants cannot integrate in the host country; (Hindy, 2018). Congolese, Burundians, and Zimbabwean refugee women were found to be experiencing a similar challenge in Johannesburg, in a study by Smit (2015). These women found assimilating into the South African community a quandary. One of the barriers was access to affordable housing, but also from the government's side, there are inefficient administrative processes, that cause delays in immigrants' case processing. Consequently, immigrants are thus forced to rely on other means to survive, because these setbacks in obtaining legal documents from the South African

Department of Home Affairs, potentially prevents them from being employed, or accessing social services, and health care. This becomes one of their biggest dilemmas, because living in Johannesburg for immigrants who are without employment, could mean serious consequences. The lack of proper documentation caused by a backlog in case processing, leads to another problem, again. Immigrants without updated papers become vulnerable to a host of a vast range of injustices and even denied access to services such as education.

However, in cases where assimilation appears to have been achieved, and immigrants feel a certain level of acceptance, is found in a study by Rugunanan, (2015), where among his participants, are Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Indians from India. One of the Pakistanis stated that he is satisfied that he can practise his culture and religion without being harassed. Similarly, a Bangladeshi participant indicated that he felt welcomed at the mosque. Even a Malawian immigrant, who happens to be a Black African, echoed the same sentiments, as his fellow Muslim brothers, stating that in Islam, nobody treats the other person as a foreigner. This reveals another factor that influences immigrant assimilation in South Africa. I would like to assume from this study and experiences narrated by participants that Black Muslim African immigrants, such as those hailing from Malawi and Somalia, Nigeria, Sudan, and Mozambique, residing in South Africa, appear to receive better treatment and acceptance from their South African Muslim fellows, compared to the reception that they receive from non-Muslim Black South Africans. This could raise questions regarding the ability of Muslims in South Africa to embrace immigrants better than non-Muslims do. In addition to immigrants of Islam orientation, there are also Asians, Africans of Arabic heritage, like those who originate from North Africa, like Egyptians or Moroccans and they appear not to experience any exclusions from Black South Africans. The term ‘Muslim’ can be interchangeably used by Black South Africans to refer to a member of the Islam faith, but also it could be used to refer to an individual who has Arabic ancestry.

The acceptance of Afrabians, who may be coming from Egypt, Syria, Morocco and or Lebanon by Black South Africans, is probably because of the history of Islam in the country. The first group of Muslims to arrive, were from Malaysia in 1658, and settled in Cape Town, and their descendants were categorised as Coloureds under the apartheid racial policies; (Mahida, 1993). Closely after them, followed Indonesians, who became very influential in spreading the Arabic Language among Muslims in the country. They arrived in 1699 and settled in Cape Town again. Almost a century later, in 1860, a group of other Muslims arrived as indentured labourers at the cost of Durban, from Bombay, Gujarat and Bengal; (Mohammed, 1998). A few years later, in 1870, and 1880, a group of 508 liberated slaves by the British Navy, on the Indian Ocean cost of Durban, freed slaves abducted from Zanzibar by Arab slave traders, destined for Pemba Islands and Madagascar slave markets, (Kaarsholm, 2014). These Zanzibaris distinctively identified themselves as Arab Muslim descendants, distinctly marking themselves different from the locals, who were Zulu-speaking Africans. The Zanzibari's assumed identity had implication on the social status that they were afforded by the government. By excluding themselves as Africans, they were suggesting that Zanzibar was not part of the continent of Africa, and its inhabitants were descendants of Arabs; (Kaarsholm, 2014). This exceptionality in identification came to the spotlight again in the 1950s when the apartheid regime struggled to racially categorise them, thus having to re-classify then under the apartheid Population Registration Act, as other Asians, leading to their relocation from Bluff (which became a white suburb after) to a residential land next to an Indian Township, Chatsworth. It was through this Zanzibari community that Durban became a magnet for Muslim immigrants; (Kaarsholm, 2014), but also, they created a platform for Muslims to earn recognition and preferential treatment. This could suggest that those who associate with Islam automatically earn immunity from xenophobic attitudes, and Islam becomes a springboard for their socialisation, because of the social status that Muslims have acquired over the years, in the country.

While assimilation may appear as a form of control, and to be a one-sided and restrictive concept, because those who are socially dominant tend to prescribe the terms of assimilation, (Young, 2000), but when we pay close attention to the Modern

Assimilation Theories, we can agree that immigrants do need to integrate into the host country to avoid social exclusion and emotional trauma, especially in a country like South Africa where the majority of perpetrators of xenophobia, are former victims of the history of exclusion. Based on this background and issues of immigrant assimilation, we can assume that even in classrooms teachers could be experiencing challenges in assisting immigrant learners to seamlessly fit into the school environment.

4.4 Marxist Theory

Marxist ideas are open to various interpretations, either it is the orthodox or the contemporary version, Marxist's ideas hold two basic ideas, that of basic classes of capitalism, the bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. While there are two separate social classes, they are however connected by two forces, social and political formations; (Cottrell, 2019). While there is no systematically organised definition provided by Marx's, evidence shows that the pivotal concept with the Marxist Theory is the class concept, in its conceptualisation to portray class structure as a central determinant of social conflict, Wright, (1980).

The principal tenet of the Marxist Theory is that "…*the form which class division and class struggle take on in particular epochs is fundamentally determined by the mode of exploitation or mode of extraction of the surplus product, which characterises the successive modes of production which arise in the course of historical development*" (Cottrell, 2019, p. 2). Yet another profound piece of Marx's position in what he refers to as the 'guiding principle' according to Cottrell, (2019), in his *Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, (1859), is in the analysis of the concept of class division and class struggle. He states that man is not free to decide how to sell his labour. Capitalists who own the means of production do so instead, because of their power and ability to control the social, economic, political, and intellectual platforms, which consequently deprive workers the choice to determine their worth. He continues to say, "*it is not the consciousness of man that determines*

his being, but his social being is the one that decides his consciousness," Ladson-Billings, (2009, p. 105).

The interconnectedness in the structure of society and labour gives us an insight on the potential attitudes that Black South Africans may display towards immigrants, because De Genova, (2016), claims that immigration and labour are not mutually exclusive. To support this, a case of Europe is cited, where post-colonial Europe is experiencing an influx of immigrants, which is an era that redefines he politics of race, and fortifies Europeanness or whiteness, as it appears on the text, as racial formation of superiority. Furthermore, European immigrants are in a way redrawing the lines of global neoliberal politics of transnational labour mobility and capitalist labour subordination, which is responsible for the racialisation of labour, which is one area of capitalisation by Europe; (De Genova, 2016).

From 1972 to 1993, South Africa experienced a widespread use of cheap migrant labour system especially in the mining and agriculture sectors; (Harington, et al., 2004). Scholars argue that without a doubt migrant labour had dire consequences and impact on the social fabric of the country. Cheap migrant labourers from Southern Africa began as little as fourteen thousand (14 000) at the beginning of 1890 upon the discovery of gold in Johannesburg. By 1986, the population exponentially increased seven folds, to five hundred and thirty-four thousand (534 000) and dropped to two hundred and fifty-five thousand (255 000) people in 1998. The white apartheid government benefited extensively from cheap migrant labour because it contributed to foreign exchange income for RSA; (Harington, et al., 2004). When apartheid finally collapsed, new forms of migrant labour began to emerge. Due to new labour migration policies that the new democratic government had adopted at that time, there was a noticeable growth in irregular labour migration from the SADC region, especially from Zimbabwe. This has precipitated discourse, that labelled South Africa as the new African economic hub; (Segatti, 2011). However, this came at a cost, because according to Boynton (2015), the democratic government began to

experience major pressure in trying to manage immigrant mobility, which gave rise to exacerbated xenophobic tensions.

Even before hostility towards immigrants could be termed as xenophobia, in the 21st century already, as early as the days of cross border mining labour recruitment, immigrant workers were seen as traitors, by the native South African. Their willingness to work for white capitalists, was interpreted as supporting and adhering to the system of oppression by the natives who were actively involved in fighting to democracy; (Neocosmos, 2010). It is however argued still, that even though, the situation might have been viewed in this light, migrant labour enabled and developed peasant agriculture among the native Blacks. It is against this background, that immigrants are accused of undermining the freedom of Black people in South Africa, even at post-apartheid. They are viewed as 'those' Africans who are only in South Africa to take away, and not to contribute, in the welfare of Back people.

In light of the above history of cheap migrant labour and its role in shaping social attitudes among Black South Africans, I am persuaded to include Kabwe-Segatti, (2008) arguments. The point of departure on his claims postulates that there is a need for robust debate that will position immigration as a post-apartheid phenomenon instead of being an apartheid legacy, to eliminate the capitalist motivations that have contributed to the fuelling of xenophobic or Afrophobia acts that subjects African immigrant to violence and discrimination, as point raised it in the problem statement.

While the capitalist class benefits from exploiting the cheap labour of immigrants because their labour serves as an industrial reserve army, (Portes, 1981; Petras, 1987), literature reveals that antagonism, racial tensions, and xenophobia is encouraged in the process. Another important claim to consider is that when the capitalist class encourages immigration trends in a country, also divides the working class. This is achieved by encouraging racism through education, media, and the racialisation of

labour, (Bonacich, 1989). The racial divisions that are created when immigrants' labour is preferred over natives' labour is also discussed by Marx & Engels (1962). They describe a situation where two different racial groups are set up against each other by the system, the English and Irish proletariats, which eventually helped to elevate the bourgeoisie. The Marxist approach to immigration argues that capitalist capitalise on immigrants' labour through exploitation, in the process maximise on profits; (Beard & Beard, 1994; Gorz, 1970; Marshall, 1973; Marx, 1973, 1976; Castells, 1975; Nikolinakos, 1975; Castles, & Kosack; 1985; Niles, 1986, 1987, 1989; Bovenkerk, et al. 1990, 1991). This therefore suggests that capitalism as an idea and practice that dares to maintain the status quo, including oppression of the proletariat and encouraging divisions. Racialisation of labour according to Bonacich, (1989), is a product of capitalist oppression and conquest.

In Dodson (2010), the analysis of the origins of xenophobia in South Africa, displays the role played by the economic status of Black South Africans, who in the main are still subjected to poverty. Their economic situation drives them to see Black African foreigners as a threat and competition in the various aspects of life, from job opportunities to access to resources and services. Paradoxically, wealthy Black and white South Africans, while they do not condone xenophobia; (Dodson, 2010), they are also not willing to pay taxes that will ultimately support immigrants whose entry into the country is unregulated (referring to illegal immigrants), when they are fleeing from their own social and political challenges; (Sharp, 2008a). Manzi & Bond, (2008) introduce another dimension to this picture. They argue that such attitudes first begin or exist at a community level where they produce ethinicised political economy, in which microeconomic friction escalates to hate-filled nationalism. Access and lack of access to jobs thereof, is regarded as the cause for such attitudes. Whether it is perception or reality, Black South African men who are unemployed tend to blame Black African male immigrants for using money to lure Black women; (Dodson, 1998, 2008). Male immigrants seem to be the ones who are steering conflict, because they are deemed as those who are all out to 'steal' every opportunity, including jobs; (Madue, 2015). There could be some element of validity in this, argues Dodson,

(2010), because illegal immigrants are willing to accept any wage; (Neocosmos, 2010). This causes competition but also benefits the employer. We can therefore assume that xenophobia cannot be entangled with single logic, the Marxist Theory illuminates how deep entrenched these xenophobic attitudes are.

Migrant labour has always led to citizens resorting to decisive dominant decisions, such as the Brexit Referendum of 2016. One of the cornerstones of the European Union (EU), since the Treaty of Rome, was to establish a common market for its member states, that they would be free of obstacles that hinder the free movement of labour, capital, goods, and services. However, the existence of the EU was fraught with a looming exit of the United Kingdom (UK), famously known as Brexit, which finally occurred, because of the debate on the principle on free movement of workers, from other member states into the UK; (Doherty, 2016). The Treaty of Rome among other things, stipulated that the freedom of movement of workers from member States would be secured within the EU. This ultimately meant that any form of discrimination based on nationality of workers, pertaining to their employment, working conditions and salaries, would be abolished. However, before the Brexit took effect, the political debates of the UK centred around the issue of EU immigrants taking jobs from UK citizens, which was an act attributed to the unemployability of UK citizens. There were claims that cheap labour particularly from East-Central Europe flourished. Brexit was supported by various groups of the UK population, such as taxpayers. They were aggrieved that foreigners were entering the country as they wished and found "… *a nest well feathered by the British taxpayers, whereas they – as 'genuine' British subjects – have to accept shortages and cuts in essential public expenditure. Why should immigrants be entitled to social benefits, and why do they have access to the NHS without ever having contributed to its spiralling costs*?" (Adam, 2020, p. 202 -203).

4.4.1 Scapegoating Black African immigrant

As a result of long-standing patterns of labour migration in South Africa, caused by social and political instability to SA's neighbouring countries, South Africa over the years has assumed a new status and role in the continent and the SADC region, that of being a host country or transit gate for Europe, USA and Australia. Landau, et al. (2005) argue that although negative attitudes towards African immigrants depends on the socio-economic and ethnic contexts of Black South Africans, evidence however shows that immigrants do face discrimination regardless, which includes the police and government officials. This leads to the assumption that this group includes teachers as well, because they too are members of society. Studies reveals that these discriminatory attitudes are often based on stereotype ideas, where African foreigners are generally viewed as inherently criminals and people who are benefiting illegally from the South African social welfare system. Discrimination is also fuelled by scapegoating attitudes that are used to justify the limitations of the ruling party, the African National Congress, (ANC), in fulfilling service delivery. Monson (2011) argues that the government's inability to devotedly provide service delivery to the people of South Africa has created social division amongst South Africans and foreigners.

Based on the economic capitalist nature of South Africa, immigrants stand to be blamed for the loss of job for native Black South Africans, because they are described as desperate people who are eager to accept any job, even if it may be exploiting in nature. These accusations levelled against immigrants, seemed to be fuelled by economic trends and behaviour by the post-apartheid government. One of the promises of democracy was to bring equality among citizens, yet 27 years later, only the affluent minority can lead a decent livelihood, while the majority is still trapped in the claws of poverty, marginalisation, and injustice, jostling for meagre resources with immigrants for survival. Solomon, & Kosaka, (2013) argue that this creates a feeling of resentment and bitterness towards foreigners, who unfortunately find themselves at the receiving end because of their vulnerable status in society. Harris, (2001) concurs with this argument, by stating that in a society where there are long

pending and overdue service delivery promises and expectations from the democratic government, immigrants are likely to bear the brunt and become scapegoats. This state causes much concern from different human rights watch organisations. Human Rights Commissioner, Ramcharan (2004), expressed deep concerns about an emerging reality dominated by newer, more subtle forms of racial discrimination and xenophobia, that had elements of blame shifting.

> *Refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers, undocumented immigrants, and other so-called 'non-citizens' are being stigmatised and vilified for seeking a better life. They are made scapegoats for all kinds of social ills, subjected to harassment and abuses by political parties, the media, and society at large.* (Ramcharan, 2004, p. 117).

In my attempt to adequately put the Marxist Theory into perspective, I discuss the migrant labour history, and the economic status quo of Black South Africa. It is important that we discuss teachers from this background because the way in which they would display their identity and perform their roles teaching immigrant learners, is not an act that is isolated from their social identities, based on the history of the country, and external influences. We understand that xenophobia is one of the contributing factors to hostility towards African immigrants, by linking this South African context to accounts of xenophobic violence elsewhere in the world as Hobsbawm (1992); Malkki (1995) and Appadurai, (1998) discuss them, should give us an insight on globalisation as a primary influencing force of local affairs. African immigrants among other immigrants who find themselves in South Africa are a product of global trends. Marxist or political economy perspectives, "*holds that neoliberal policy and structural adjustment undermine livelihoods and spur violent competition over scarce resources such as jobs and housing*," (Hickel, 2014, 104).

> *In the post-apartheid epoch, while people's expectations have been heightened, a realisation that delivery is not immediate has meant that discontent and indignation are at their peak. People are more conscious of their deprivation than ever before*

> *…. This is the ideal situation for a phenomenon like xenophobia to take root and flourish. South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country*. (Tshitereke, 1999, p. 4).

Finally, I present the relationship between teachers, capitalism, and racism. In the context of this study, racism refers to the discrimination of Black African immigrants who live in South Africa. When Karl Marx says, "*it is not the consciousness of man that determines his being, but his social being is the one that decides his consciousness*," (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p.105), he means that a person is not a passive player in the historical events that unfold in a particular historical period, humans are active beings, while circumstances help to form human beings, humans help to form circumstances too. This logic prompts Marx to postulate that human nature is a notion that cannot be excluded from its contribution in historical eras. The human aspect of human creates a vacuum for certain human needs in society, which leads to the production power. However, paradoxically when society begins to develop the need to produce the human in humans begin to cease, because society will begin to be driven by materialistic outlook to life.

In the context of this study, this view on capitalist attitudes, reveals a struggle that teachers could potentially face in developing a critical pedagogy approach that can not only assist learners but also equip teachers with the consciousness and ability to build alternative "*conceptions of ontology and epistemology*," (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p.105), to render fallacies about immigrants invalid or "*the uncritical consciousness critical*" (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p.105) . The inability for teachers to develop such a revolutionary awareness, according to Ladson-Billings, (2009), is a struggle for humanisation. This school of thought could be useful for the reader to spot the relationship between the Marxist Theory and Critical Race Theory against the background of teacher identity. Therefore, capitalist ideologies cannot be fully understood without the discussion of social and economic histories.

4.5 Critical Race Theory

Human relations are characterised by fundamental discourses that include economies, history, context, group and self-interest, feelings, and the unconscious. Based on these issues, the Critical Race Theory (CRT) places its interest in studying and transforming these relationships within the lines of race, racism, and power. Parsons, (2017), introduces her chapter by defining the CRT. She claims that it is a framework that centralises race, which simple means that race is at the core of this theory. But it also centralises the concepts of racism and power when a particular phenomenon of interest is being explored or investigated. In supporting this view Chapman, (2007), states that the size or magnitude of a phenomena being studied, will determine the depth of the focus. Scholars appear to be in unison in portraying the CRT as a force that challenges the status quo. Instead of race to exist as a race class, it is presented as a point of departure in the understanding of inequality and injustice, from a broad and expanded perspective; (Delgado, & Stefanic, 2012). Regrettably, CRT has seen some splits in the past, where we see an emergence of different groups, but on the positive side, in 1995, Ladson-Billing and Tate, (1995) introduced CRT to the field of education, which gave rise to another group, but also CTR became popular within education. Figure 1 below demonstrates the depth and the broad scope of the CRT.

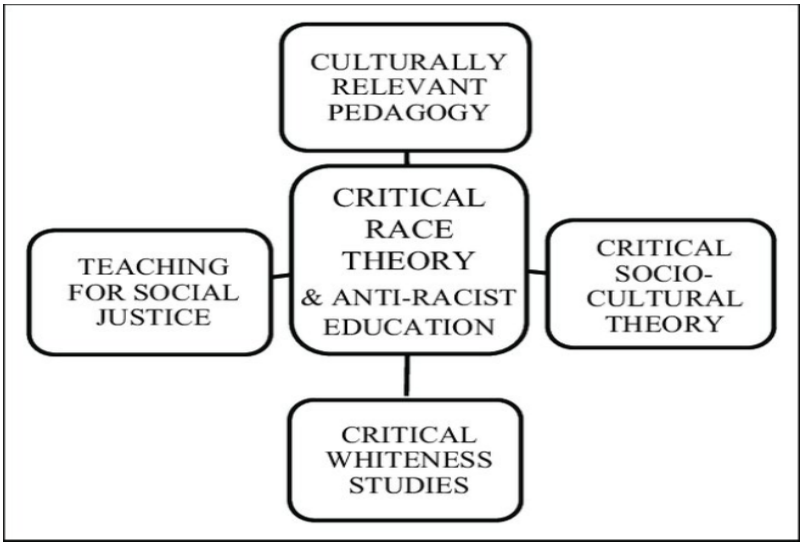


Figure:1 Theories and pedagogies that augmented the critical race theory framework. Source: (Nash, 2013)

There are also sub-groups, which include the Latino and Asian scholars who concern themselves with studying immigration policy, language rights and discrimination based on accent or national origin. Even though there are these splits, that at some point define CTR from different debatable accounts of origin, but all these accounts are united by common themes; (Matsuda, et al., 1993). The first tenet of the CTR argues that race is an endemic ideology, argues Constance-Huggins, (2012). This suggests that racism is not confined to isolated incidents but can emerge across various contexts and moments. As Solórzano and Bernal (2001) argue, racism is embedded within social structures, customs, and everyday experiences, making it a persistent and systemic issue. In the South African context, racism -remains one of the deeply rooted social challenges that continue to affect the societal fabric. Therefore, it is essential to recognise that pre-service teachers enter teacher education programmes as individuals who may already hold preconceived notions or misconceptions about immigrant communities. It becomes the responsibility of teacher educators to critically address and deconstruct these fallacies to foster more inclusive and socially conscious teaching practices. Given its endemic nature, CRT suggests that the functions and effects of racism are often invisible to people with racial privileges, which could also mean the same attitude for which could also mean the same attitude for Black South Africans, who may not consider xenophobia as a form of racism, because historically, racism is known to exist between white and black people Black South Africans, who may not consider xenophobia as a form of racism, because historically, racism is known to exist between white and black people.

The CRT emerged at a time when the civil rights movement of the 1960s that was spearheaded by Martin Luther, seemed to be stalling, while slighter forms of prejudice were gaining ground, hence the need for new and radical theories. It owes its existence to different movements where it has drawn its inspiration, such as the critical legal studies and feminist insights, exploring the relationship between power and construction of social roles, coupled with the hidden, invisible collection of

patterns and habits that are responsible for the existence of patriarchy and other forms of control. Borrowing from the conventional civil rights philosophy, CRT seeks to address past historical injustices, with the belief that such should have consequences. During the process of pursuing justice in an environment that does not allow it, the CTR aims to implement social changes as well as explore how society organises itself along racial lines and hierarchies, and at the heart of that, transform it for the better.

South Africa is a society founded on past racially dominated fallacies. This legacy still lingers over, which presents the need to challenge race-based ideologies that are woven into the societal fabric. It is an irrefutable that South Africa racism appears to be a phenomenon that transcends beyond biological lines, due to the influence of changing demographics over the years. An influx of immigrants into South Africa makes it a host country of choice for many nationals from many different parts of the world, Asia, Europe as well as Africa; (Adepoju, 2003). However, recently, the country has witnessed xenophobic motivated attacks directed to immigrants of African descent. Previous civil rights movements have viewed race as an objective, fixed product of biological realities, which is the very reason that has encouraged critical race scholars interested in the field of transforming relationships among race, racism, and power to approach the subject from a broader perspective which includes economics, history, context, group and self-interests and feelings, which further distinguishes CRT from its predecessors.

Based on the traditional notions of race, the CRT seeks not only to understand the social status quo and how society organises itself along racial lines and hierarchies, but also to change it for the betterment of society. It is for this reason that the CTR holds the view that race is a social construct, product of a social thought and relations. According to this thesis, race is not objective, not inherent or a fixed concept, but instead, it does not conform to biological or genetic reality. CRT claims that race is an idea that develops from societal inventions and manipulations, convenient for a particular context. While it is true that people of the same and common origin share

certain physical traits, but these only account for an extremely small genetic make-up.

The CRT is interested in demystifying these perceptions about race, where society chooses to ignore scientific truths and instead creates races, with pseudo-permanent characteristics. Similarly, in South Africa, Black African immigrants find themselves discriminated against due to their economic and citizenship background, by other Blacks. This example leads us to other developments within the CRT; the racialisation of minority groups by dominant society, at different times, in response to shifting economic needs, such as the labour market, according to Crush, & Pendleton, (2004). This view aligns with the sentiments that are raised by most respondents in this study, regarding the entry of immigrants into South Africa, which in many cases is referred to as an illegal entry, which is attributed to the job threat for locals.

The re-conceptualisation of the sociology of race is responsible for the much-needed progress in the scholarship of interdisciplinarity of programmes, such as African American, Asian Pacific American, and Chicana/o studies; (Romero, 2008). These developments in racial studies facilitated advances in the racialisation process of race, which had excluded groups that were previously identified in terms of ethnicity instead of race, which led to the idea of "white" as race, and the assimilationist of immigrants being challenged; (Ignatiev, 1995; Steinberg, 1981; Takaki, 1979). The interdisciplinary approach according to Romero, (2008), is instrumental in immigration research, particularly for scholars to conceptualise race and ethnicity as not fixed genetic realities, but as socially stratified perceptions constructed by law, public policy, and people's daily practices. Romero, (2008) claims that with the CTR in place, it is now easier to study immigration because the CTR does not view race in isolation from the existing status quo. It is from this backdrop that CTR is viewed as a bridging platform for growing conflict emanating from immigration sentiments, globally.

Immigrants generally find themselves on the receiving end in society because for example, over the last three decades, the scholarship of CTR has shown that racism particularly in the USA can be understood from studying immigration policies towards minority racial groups. Johnson (2004) brings to the fore most commonly cited socially constructed immigration statuses in the USA; the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 between the USA and Japan, the 1923 USA Supreme Court case *United States v. Thind*, the 1924 national origins quota system, and the Immigration Act of 1965, the analysis of these immigration laws, (Johnson, 2004) is able to present to us the relationship between legal construction and the social construction of immigrants as the "other". This provides a powerful tool to understand how the subordination and marginalisation of immigrants is established and maintained, particularly in the USA, which provides this study with useful insights, into the relationship between racism and immigration. To further understand the relevancy of the Critical Race Theory in this study, we are going to discuss real life scenarios where Black African immigrants in South Africa have found themselves subjected to racism by other Black Africans. But the crucial axis here is my ability to adequately associate racism to xenophobia, and the history of South Africa, so that we can draw the connections between xenophobia, teachers and immigrants.

4.5.1 CTR in the context of xenophobia and racism in South Africa

Throughout the above sections, the term "New Racism" has been used but not extensively explained. While the events of 2008, 2015 and 2019 are undoubtedly acts of xenophobia, but do not capture the essence of the South African scenario. Sometimes scholars try to associate the tern, *xenophobia* specifically with the South African context, because otherwise it can be a general term, applicable anywhere in the world, but Afrophobia or Nigrophobia; (Gqola, 2008; Mngxitama, 2008; Fanon, 1967; Chinweizu, 1994), are depicted as the fear and dislike of black people and their culture. To narrow the definition down, *Afrophobia* is a term that conveys the fear and/or dislike of Africans and their culture. These descriptions however do not detail

all the actions that unfold when immigrants are subjected to xenophobic attitudes. It for this reason that in the context of this study, the term xenophobia is not only limited to attitudes of hostility but also encompasses the actions that are accompanied by those attitudes. Tafira, (2011) argues that the definitional deficiencies associated this term limit the reader to grasp the complex social realities that are experienced by Black South African communities, which propel xenophobia. Some scholars have called for the deconstruction of the term xenophobia and repurpose it to refer to culturally based racism, because as Tafira (2011) states, Black South Africans attitudes or hostility is not only founded on hate or fear of foreigners alone but based on the differences that exists between them and Black African immigrants, which is noticeable on the basis of nationality, dress, customs, social and territorial origins, language, speech patterns and accent.

Upon analysing the areas where the xenophobic inspired attacks erupted in 2008, we see that Alexandra in Johannesburg, was the first hot-spot, and then they spread out into other areas of Gauteng Province and eventually to other parts of the country, like UMlazi Township in Durban which is home to people of different ethnic, racial and religious influences, Magwaza, & Edmore, 2020). Other scholars describe uMlazi as "*a classified, a multi-cultural township with a diversity of ethnic groups coexisting within a society*" (Lubbe, 2008. p.20). The historical establishment of this predominantly Black township is the same as that of Alexandra. The living conditions in uMlazi are poor, as residents are prone to violence, hunger, denigration, and homelessness, where Black African foreigners are accused of crimes such as drug dealing, robbery, rape and exposing the community to unsafe conditions as stated by Lubbe (2008). Similarly, immigrants are blamed for over competition for resources and limited employment in the country; (Yakusho, 2008; Vromans, et al., 2011; Haymen, 2013).

The thrust of these events is based on the extensively motivated hostility by racism, and precisely a new form of racism, where we see black on black violence and hate,

which is a similar situation of what characterised the apartheid era, where the white government is said to have encouraged tribal and political parties' hostility among each other, as a divide and rule tactic; (Ntshoe, 2002; Glaser, 2008; Taylor, & Shaw, 1998). In the historical background of the study, I present Alexandra and other townships and their socio-economic status. It is also in Alexandra where Zimbabwean immigrants live side by side South Africans. However, living together has created social challenges between these groups, because South Africans tend to perceive Zimbabweans as socially, culturally, and economically inferior, basing their reasoning from the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe; (McGregor, & Primorac; Matsinhe, 2011). The crux of the matter under the CRT is that race is a social construct, therefore it would not be a far-fetched idea to associate xenophobia in South Africa with 'Black on Black' hate, because Tafira, (2011) claims that racism is not always necessarily based on the skin pigmentation, but on differences necessitated by an individual's or group's social status, language, nationality, habits, and ethnicity.

Even though we cannot eliminate the use of the term xenophobia, but there is enough evidence suggesting that the hostility that is displayed by Black South Africans towards Black Africans, should be understood in the context of racism. I would also like to bring the readers' attention to the interconnectedness of the Critical Race Theory and the Marxist Theory in the context of this study. After analysing the racism inspired xenophobia in SA, we can thus assume that the nature of these events is deepened by the capitalist nature of the South African economy, pre- and post-apartheid.

The final matter I would like to discuss under the South African context pertains to the very structures of language which deeply impacts society and shape the way in which it thinks. Language can profoundly evoke different frames in the mind or perceptions about people; (Cervi, 2008), hence we tend to have labels of primary potency in the way in which we perceive others, which potentially can reinforce

stereotype ideas that are responsible for the way in which we reduce immigrants to non-humans. To conceptualise this phenomenon, Lakkof (2009) argues:

> *Every action our body performs is controlled by our brains, and every input from external world is made sense of by our brains. We think with our brains. There is no other choice. Thought is physical. Ideas and the concepts that made then up are physically "computed" by brain structures. Reasoning is the activation of certain neuronal groups in the brain given prior activation of the other neuronal groups. Everything we know, we know by virtue of our brains. Our physical brains make possible our concepts and ideas, everything we can possibly think is made possible and greatly limited by the nature of our brains…* (Lakkof, 2009, p. 2).

This neurological analysis of linguistics, I believe can also be applied in the South African context to analyse the racist attitudes that Black South Africans have towards Black African immigrants. The feeling of othering that I have exhaustively described above, is in line with this notion of frames, considering that racism is rooted in alterity, or the idea of othering, which is an idea that is intrinsically linked to the notion of identity; (Cejas, 2007) which produces words such as "us and "them" which inevitably leads to the invention of naming with labels that depict inferiority for those being named. "Racism as a process needs legitimating mechanisms and semantic constructions of meaning in the act of naming the other in order to exclude it, thereby creating a "*rejection of the other'' and at the same time naturalizing the inferiority of the other and immobilizing them*," (Cejas, 2007, p. 475), hence the widespread use of derogative words such as *ikwerekwere, igrigamba, izayizayi, igoduka,* to refer to Black African immigrants. These concepts or names are semantically and linguistically meant to homogenise or to normalise the concept of foreigner, that foreigner, the ''other'' is constructed as the antithesis or contrast of an ''us,'' is black and comes from other African countries; depicts him illegal by definition and, most probably, a criminal. He cannot speak any of the lingua franca, so he is defined by the derogatory term *kwerekwere* which means unintelligible sounds of a foreign language; (Cejas, 2007).

4.6 Teacher Identity Theory

It is crucial that we first understand teacher identity from a general identity perspective. Identity as a concept, has many definitions, we can then deduce how teacher identity is shaped, based on these. Below is a table that displays the different definitions. The common thread that runs throughout these definitions is that identity is a continuous relationship of an individual to the world, which is characterised by his/her experiences and interactions with others in certain contexts. Moreover, identity is an embodiment of discourses, knowledge, power, and social values which can be used as an analytic tool to study society and schools. Varghese (2006) claims that teacher professional identity is defined as based on how a teacher sees him/herself, and gets influenced by relationships with the world, and how she/he responds in such a context. Therefore, below I attempt to present to the reader with a (Miller, 2009) analysis of the different definitions of *identity* as a concept, in *Table 1*, followed by the Vygotskian approach to teacher identity through the lens of teacher professional development, and a post-structuralist view. I am employing these perspectives to justify the claims that I later make regarding this concept.

Teacher Professional Identity Definitions

"how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how that person understands possibilities for the future"	Norton (2000, p. 5)
"a constant ongoing negotiation of how we relate to the world"	Pennycook (2001, p.149)
"relational, constructed and altered by how I see others and how they see me in our shared experiences and negotiated interactions"	Johnson (2003, p. 788)
(Re: teacher professional identities) "defined here in terms of the influences on teachers, how individuals see themselves, and how they enact their profession in their settings"	Varghese (2006, p. 212)
(Re: professional and personal identities) "instantiations of discourses, systems of power / knowledge that regulate and ascribe social values to all forms of human activity"	Morgan (2004, p. 173)
"transformational, transformative, context-bound, and constructed, maintained and negotiated via language and discourse"	Varghese et al. (2005, p. 21)
"being recognised as a certain 'kind of person' identity is connected not to internal states but to performances in society. It is also 'an important analytical tool for understanding schools and society."	Gee (2000–2001, p. 99)

Table 1: An analysis of Identity definitions (Miller, 2009)

4.7 Vygotskian Theory on professional teacher development

Teachers stand at the centre of the fundamental goals of education, which is improved learning for all students; (Eun, 2010). This thus characterises teacher professional development as a route or platform for quality teaching. However, literature shows that professional development appears to be failing at the implementation stage, and the question to ask is how to integrate professional development with classroom reality. Literature claims that the level of challenges associated with teachers failing to exercise skills acquired during professional development programmes, largely have to do with students' population diversity, as demographics change due to globalisation, we also see the nature of classrooms globally constantly changing in terms of the matter that students bring along, such as language and culture; (Scarcella 1990; Leyba, 1994; Samway and McKeon, 1999; Ariza, et al., 2002; Miller, et al. 2009). The emerging nature of immigrant learners in many classrooms is steering teacher professional development to a direction where an urgent need has been

identified for teachers to be developed to deal with student diversity; (McLaughlin, 1994). To address this gap in teaching from a theoretical background, a Vygotskian perspective presents to us different principles that focus on the mediational nature of human development and learning, according to Eun (2010). This theory appears useful when addressing teacher professional identity, especially in classrooms with immigrant learners.

For purposes of this study, we are not going to discuss all the six principles associated with human development and learning, but we shall select those that resonate with the research topic. The first tenet posits that during learning, there is a more competent or capable person, who can support the development of a less competent person. In this case, this could both apply to teachers and learners. A teacher is more competent and capable to support a learner, but also a teacher needs the same support from a more competent colleague/s. Within this general premise, mediation and internalisation are the mechanisms that explain why and how development occurs; (Eun, 2008). Vygotsky and Luria (1994), claim that children do not have the ability to directly interact with their surroundings or environment, until a teacher facilitates the interaction in the situation, with her/his skills, and required knowledge.

Through the mediation process, children begin to internalise the acquired knowledge that the teacher is transferring or modelling. Over time, children will begin to independently and cognitively learn and interact with peers. This therefore tells us that human development is dependent on the presence of a more knowledgeable or competent person, who constantly guides and supports the less competent person with necessary cognitive tools and cultural skill, which Vygotsky refers to as symbolic mediators. A key observation in this Vygotskian principle, is that development occurs in a specific social, historical, and cultural context, it is not an abstract occurrence, argues Gauvain, (2001) and Rogoff, (1996, 2003). This translates to the notion that there is no one-size fits all development approach or a universal claim,

because what is considered as aims and purposes of educational development, is based on the needs of a current educational context.

The same theory is also true for teacher professional development programmes. Teachers as life-long learners, evidently require guidance as well. A less competent teacher can only reach her/his potential level of development if guided by a more competent colleague. Vygotsky argues that both novice and the expert teachers gain from this process. However, opportunities for feedback and follow ups should be made available for both teachers to arrive at their own co-constructed ideas; (Eun, 2010). Teacher collaboration involvement processes and models are key in professional development, not only to allow teachers to generate valuable knowledge and skills, but also to support the development of teachers' capability to work collaboratively in achieving a common goal; (Guskey,2000). This model of professional development encourages the idea that schools are communities of learning, and that teachers and their students are both striving to learn.

These models, and principles of effective teacher professional development can be viewed from a classroom perspective, because any classroom at any point in history and society will consist of uniquely diverse group of learners. Diversity presents itself in different forms. Among them, there are developmental levels needs, interests, race, background knowledge and many more. Globalisation is one of the catalysts for growing learner diversity. Education researchers according to Eun (2010) note that teacher education programmes appear to be encouraging pre-service teachers to dilute academically challenging curriculum to accommodate linguistically and culturally minority students. This approach is criticised by scholars because the argument is that professional development programmes are supposed to empower teachers with skills and knowledge necessary to reach out to any student regardless of his/her background. It is for this reason that Gonzalez, et al. (2005) and Eun (2010) argue that future teachers should be equipped with cultural tools to enhance the instruction process.

Based on the above ideologies, the school environment ideally should be able to develop cultural tools that are relevant to the culture of the school. Therefore, teachers are expected to modify forms of instructions and curricula material to adapt and respond to the specific education contexts in their classrooms and ultimately, schools. Cultural tools are the means of mediation between students and teachers. The cultural tools are also brought into the classroom by students themselves. This provides a springboard for teachers to bridge the cultural gap, that potentially exists between them and students, by manipulating these foreign cultural tools to develop a curriculum that is multi-cultural. By borrowing students' cultural resources is key in developing new understandings based on student background knowledge. However, while applying this principle is useful, but also teachers are advised to be cognisance of the non-static nature of culture and being careful of not reducing student cultural experiences to only special events or typical foods and customs; (Kramsch, 1991) and (Amanti, 2005).

To understand teacher identity, it is crucial for this study to validate the relationship between teacher professional development and classroom practices. DiPardo and Potter (2003) state that teacher emotions and feelings are perhaps the glue that binds all Vygotskian principles of development, however, because of the great emphasis prevailing on cognitive aspects of human functioning, it appears to be neglected. Within this development theory, cognitive, emotional, physical, and motivational aspects of development are integrated into a unified system. This means that each aspect cannot be addressed independently without considering its development outside the influence of the other. It is against this background that a teacher's life should be studied from this standpoint. Eun, (2010) argues that teacher intellectual and cognitive aspects of teacher knowledge competence and expertise have been prioritised at the expense of emotional and ethical dimensions of teaching.

To appreciate teacher identity, it calls for a deeper understanding of the theory of development, and its tenet; that all aspects of human functioning are intertwined,

hence, teacher subject knowledge and his/her social interactions, will all be influenced by feelings, motivations, beliefs, and values that each teacher holds. With the stressful nature of teaching emanating from the constant dynamism of the educational context, teachers are faced with a great demand of adapting and professionally developing. This calls for professional development programmes to address the emotional and motivational aspects of teacher's work.

4.7.1 A post-structuralist view

Teacher emotions undeniably play a significant role in the development and construction of teacher identity. From a post-structuralist lens, emotions and teacher identity is constantly embedded in power relations, ideology, and culture; (Zembylas, 2013). At the centre of professional teacher identity, lies the concept of identity. Researchers have relied on various theories from different disciplines to define the concept, because there is no single theory responsible so far, to explain and describe it, hence many scholars have taken the liberty to draw knowledge from different theoretical perspectives. To reinforce this view, Zembylas (2013), for example, utilises theories from three different viewpoints; Ericksonian and Neo-Ericksonian identity theories, the socio-cultural approach, which is founded on Vygotsky's work and seals the argument with a post-structuralist view, based on the work of Foucault, Butler and Bhada.

Like Zembylas, it is crucial to compare the different theories to formulate a well-rounded argument, therefore, we shall start with the Ericksonian and Neo-Ericksonian Theories, so that we can establish how such views influenced post-structuralist ideas. The former together with Development Theory, are associated with the psychological and philosophical traditions of identity, which is a type of identity formation based on the interaction between an individual and culture. However, according to the post-structuralists claim, professional teacher identity is not exclusively a traditional psychological or sociological perspective. It is for this reason that according to post-structuralism, teacher identity is not independent of

power and agency; (Zembylas, 2013). Power is critical in the formation of identity and the trajectory it follows thereafter. Identity according to Zembylas (2013), hinges directly on emotions and their situatedness and involvement in the context. Considering these claims, post-structuralism undermines any presumed essentialism of teacher roles and identity. This challenges the idea of a single narrative about teacher identity and roles, as it has been previously presented traditionally and orthodoxically, as a grand account.

This perspective puts teacher identity in a light that portrays it as a fluid concept, that changes depending on teacher's experiences, emotions, school context, beliefs, socio-cultural, socio-economic, and political factors. Ozbarlas (2008) argues that teacher identity could be consistent with contextual factors, classroom practices, however Karathanos (2009) states that there could also be a contradiction in the relationship between teacher professional identity and practices, displaying incongruency. With careful consideration of this knowledge, teacher identity appears to be a significant subject to explore, seeing that there are education reforms implemented globally and locally, altering familiar classroom demographics.

Zembylas (2013) discusses the importance of investigating the role played by emotions in the subject of teacher identity. This yields a deeper understanding of what is referred to as "*teacher-self*" in this work. Britzman (1986,1991) argues that the idea behind such a task is to develop an analysis that could possibly inform us about the role of emotions in teacher resisting change or even embracing self-transformation. In challenging the assumption that there is a singular teacher-self and teacher identity narrative, popular in how teachers are described, Zembylas (2003) refers us to the post-structuralist perspective which proves to be useful because it addresses many traditional dichotomies in such a way that other theories have failed to. From this path, we also gather that to effectively make a connection between emotions and teacher identity, it involves interpreting teacher narratives of their own experiences. This is so because according to Connelly and Clandinin (1998,

1995,1987), Connelly, et al. (1999), Carter (1993), Feuerverger, (1997), teacher narratives are crucial to the study of how teachers put their thoughts together, their culture and behaviour, which could be manifested in the classroom.

4.6.2 A critical analysis of teacher identity

Teacher identity involves making sense of the past and present experiences of teachers; (Lee & Schallertb, 2016) and being able to connect teacher agency and teacher professional development argues Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) and even more crucially, being conscious of the idea that education and teaching to a certain extent, is a political undertaking; (Mockler, 2011). Considering this aspect of teaching, that it is a social, cultural, moral, and political practice, it is not a far-fetched idea therefore to cluster it under a socio-cultural context; (Burns & Richards, 2009; Crookes, 2010; Freeman & Richards, 1996; Golombek, 1998; Kubanyiova, 2006, 2012; Yuan, & Lee, 2014). This social aspect of teaching grounds it under the sociohistorical ontology. This means that teaching is a response to the demands of a certain historical epoch, where teachers do not only teach, but also apply their minds during the process of teacher knowledge construction; (Breen, et al., 2001; Feryok, 2012; Golombek & Johnson, 2004; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Johnson & Golombek, 2011; Tsui, 2007, 2003). Basing our understanding on this perspective, teacher identity can be defined as a social activity. This is a process whereby teacher knowledge is developed with the incorporation of new knowledge, as a continuous process. The environment or context on which this knowledge development occurs, is said to be characterised by cultural and linguistic heterogeneity. Therefore, this implies that teachers should be sensitive to learner diversity, particularly social diversity. In other words, part of what teachers need to learn during teacher education, and implement during in-service, is to always respond to the pedagogical needs that are created by the contextual factors of the teaching landscape. While this critical analysis of teacher identity in teacher education, was for the context of Brazil; (Sanchez, et al., 2018), but it also fits into the SA education scenario, where the sociohistorical aspect of teaching has tremendously shaped teacher identity, in many areas, including trade unionism.

4.8 The Critical Theory of Multiculturalism (CTM)

The previously discussed theories generally give us the impression that teachers are intrinsically connected to aspects of teaching that go beyond the curriculum, which ultimately further contribute towards the shaping of their identity. In the historical background section of this study, we see that Black South African teacher during apartheid South Africa, the circumstances that they faced at that time, forced them to redefine their identity either as professionals or workers, and they chose the latter. The development of this neoliberalist discourse among Black South African teachers, is today rebuffed by critical scholars who believe that teaching should be responsive to diversity, cultural and even economic inequalities that are present in classrooms, which are marked by increased economic and social gaps between the poor and he rich, as well as geopolitical displacements, leading to multicultural classrooms; (Sanchez, et al., 2018). It is for this reason that a belief exist that teacher identity has the potential to shape classrooms and schools to transform into a multicultural and multiracial society and sites for cultural democracy instead of perpetrating new forms of nativism and racism. While teacher identity can be viewed through the lens of cultural diversity, this perspective should be approached with caution. Focusing solely on cultural diversity without critical engagement risks undermining the broader agenda of social transformation and may inadvertently deepen existing societal inequalities. Kanpol and McLaren (1995) argue that teachers operating within culturally diverse environments must engage in a process of re-learning and reconstructing their professional identities. This reconstruction should specifically address issues of unequal power relations, which, in the South African context, includes confronting racism directed towards immigrant learners.

In this study, I am not advocating for the complete rejection of a multicultural approach to teaching, particularly in the context of South Africa. Even without the influence of immigration, South Africa continues to grapple with the challenges of addressing its inherent cultural diversity. Thus, a form of culturally responsive pedagogy remains essential. However, it is equally important to critically examine

how neoliberal ideas reinforce inequalities between the privileged and the marginalised or disempowered in society. These dynamics inevitably extend into classroom settings, influencing both teaching practices and learner experiences. This view is consistent with the perspective that capitalism favours established racial, ethnic/cultural and gender biases; (Giroux, 2008). The crux of the argument within the CTM is questioning the ability of teachers to recognise the unequal power relations that exist in their classrooms, which are responsible for the limited cultural interactions, that are meant to occur or that are weaponising culture to isolate others. In the context of African Black culture, an adult occupies a position of power, and that is still the case with teachers; (Hammett, & Staeheli, 2011; Mokhele, 2006). Even though, constitutionally, South Africa has made considerable progress strides in addressing the issue of rights for learners through the South African Schools Acts; (SASA, 1996), through the country's constitution, but it is still difficult for Black teachers to acknowledge that learners also have certain parameters of power. This position of power is not only problematic for South African learners but could be even more detrimental for immigrant learners. Immigrant learners are subjected to multiple layers of marginalisation: first, by virtue of their age and limited agency as children, and second, through their societal positioning as immigrants. Their cultural and social disempowerment places them at a heightened risk of exclusion and inequality within the educational environment.

In the context of South Africa, where the past is framed within the concepts of diversity, and heritage, and social hierarchies are primarily characterised by culture and race, poses a challenge because such is perceived as a norm, and not something that requires society to commit itself to do an introspection about the potential challenges of diversity. At the core of diversity is the difficulty of concept definition and diversity management, coupled with a question of transformation strategies that adequately address intolerance; (Vandeyar, 2006). These challenges are extended to schools, which are regarded as sites that encapsulate the characteristics of the wider South African society. It is against this view that while they are expected to transform

to accommodate diversity, but they themselves are battling with institutionalised marginalisation of certain learners based on their social status.

Empirical evidence suggests that education in SA is still fraught with race-based desegregation; (Vandeyar, 2006). Desegregation is defined by Zafar, (1998) and Rist (1979) as system process that involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the sane school, without paying much attention to the quality of the relationships. The end goal of desegregation is assimilation, a concept and theory we have discussed at length, in the previous sections. Closely associated with the expectations for minority groups to acquire the culture of then majority group, is the colour-blind approach to diversity by teachers. White teachers in schools that the desegregation study was conducted in Vandeyar (2006), appeared to suppress the negative images they held for Black learners, by saying that they did not see colour. This is one way of hiding racial sentiments, suggests Vandeyar (2006). Colour-blindness is one of the ways that can overtly reinforce marginalisation of learners by teachers, in the name of multicultural education or assimilation. Therefore, if a school symbolically embraces transformation without making meaningful efforts or investments in improving the quality of contact, attitudes, institutional arrangements, policies, and the overall ethos of the school, a multicultural approach to teaching risks becoming a tool for the depoliticisation of culture; (Sleeter, 1996; May 1999; Banks, 1993, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Such an approach overlooks the power dynamics and structural dimensions of racism, thereby failing not only South African learners but also immigrant learners, who experience compounded forms of marginalisation.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter provides the theoretical premise for the study. These theories offer a focused and specific viewpoint that is further developed in Chapter 6 during the data analysis. There is also a consistent connection between these theories and the literature reviewed in the previous chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses and justifies the research design and methodology of the study. I begin by describing and explaining the purpose and aims of the study. Secondly, I present and discuss the chosen research design. Third, I outline the study's population, sampling methods, and the research tools/instruments employed. I then describe the methodology in detail, including the procedures followed to access the schools and the data generation instruments used. This is followed by a discussion of the data analysis process. Finally, the chapter concludes by addressing the ethical considerations, measures of trustworthiness, and limitations of the study.

5.2 Research Paradigm

I position this empirical inquiry within the Constructivist and Interpretivist paradigms. These perspectives enable the researcher to examine the phenomenon of education and immigration in their natural context. An interpretivist stance, epistemologically linked to Constructivism, seeks culturally developed and historically grounded interpretations of the social world (Crotty, 1998; Gray, 2014). This paradigm views the world as an interpretation shaped by how participants interact with it. In this study, I focused on teachers within their natural teaching environment, the school, allowing me to interpret the concept of teacher identity based on the meanings that teachers themselves attach to it.

The construction of meaning and knowledge according to constructivism is a societal driven process through interaction with reality; (Schmuck, 1997). Therefore, this view places the study in the Constructivist Paradigm. The rationale behind the constructivist lens is that knowledge creation is constructed by a researcher together with the participants of the study, through beliefs, values, meaning making and self-understanding; (Henning, et al., 2004). It is from this view that knowledge, meaning and reality vary and are viewed from different perspectives, which makes them multiple, hence there is no single one truth according to the constructivism, argues

Mouton (1996). I interviewed teachers from different provinces, with different ethnic groups, and it would not be far-fetched to assume that under these two paradigms, they responded in a way that they personally perceive teacher identity based on their own experiences with immigrants. This thus leads us to the next discussion, an ontology in which this study wishes to apply.

Based on the lens of the study, and the methodology, the study postulates that there exist multiple, socially constructed realities, where the truth is defined as a consensus construction. The ontological position of interpretivism is relativism. "*Relativism is the view that reality is subjective and differs from person to person*" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). Teacher identity and the roles that they are expected to assume, or that they think, they should assume, inform each other, and in the process, construct interpretations about who they are, conceptually, professionally, and personally; (Zembylas, 2003). Teacher identity is not independent of emotions and their situatedness or involvement in the context. The study therefore seeks to challenge the idea of a single narrative about teacher identity and roles, as previously been traditionally or orthodoxically presented by society, which teachers themselves have been subjected to. An Interpretivist paradigm rooted in the post-structuralist perspective, seeks to undermine these presumed idealisms of teacher roles and identity.

This study wishes to present that teacher identity can be studied in a setting like a classroom where teachers are emotionally engaged in forming their identities, and where personal, social, and cultural/historical aspects for teacher identity formation are explored, and where the role of power relations and teacher agency in identity formation is also explored. From an epistemological aspect, it is argued that research participants cannot be objective or present a natural reality about their experiences, instead they are bound to present the researcher with a social reality perspective, which when analysed, a dialectical or hermeneutic method is applied. "*The world does not exist independently of our knowledge of it*," (Grix, 2004, p. 83), hence subjectivism. To arrive at a connection between teacher identity and teacher roles, involves a great deal of interpretation. Narratives of teachers' own experiences is a

crucial lens to study teachers' thinking processes, culture, and behaviour; (Connelly & Clandinin, 1987). The construction of teacher personal stories, images through their narratives, offer the researcher an interpretive reconstruction of the teacher's life, hence the use of semi-structured interview questions.

5.3 Research Design

The study uses the Qualitative Design because it attempts to make sense and interprets the phenomena of immigration and education in terms of the meaning teachers put on them regarding their identity and classroom roles. Denzin and Lincoln, (2011) describe qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive material practices that clearly present the world to the researcher. As an activity that locates the observer in the world, it has a transformative agenda. Through this approach, it turns the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos.

> *It crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matter. A complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts, and assumptions surrounds the term. These include the traditions associated with foundationalism, positivism, post- foundationalism, post positivism, post-structuralism, post-modernism, post-humanism, and the many qualitative research perspectives and methods connected to cultural and interpretive studies*. Denzin, & Lincoln, (2005, p. 3).

5.4 Population of the Study and Sampling

The study employed both Purposeful and Snowball Sampling. Purposive sampling requires one to think carefully about the parameters of the population being studied and to choose sample cases based on this reflection (Silverman, 2010). I purposefully selected schools located in Limpopo specifically in Musina, for the obvious reason, for its proximity to Zimbabwe, and being the gateway to other cities in the wider South Africa. Schools in Gauteng were also selected for being in Johannesburg, an African economic hub. While I was conducting interviews at Gauteng Jeep School (GJ) in Johannesburg central business district (CBD), one of the participants

suggested that I visit schools in Alexandra, and she was able to directly link me with one of the Heads of Department (HOD) at Gauteng Alexandra School (GA), precisely because it is her former high school, and Alexandra is her home township. The HOD was subsequently tasked by the deputy principal of GA School to oversee the interview process. After learning about my study, he provided me with contacts of the deputy principal of Gauteng Ivory Park School, (GIP) and for the HOD of Limpopo Musina School (LM) in Musina. He was once a teacher at GIP, and the deputy principal of GIP comes from Musina as well, which is also the HOD's hometown. On the other hand, LM School is located close to his village, and his sister-in-law is residing close to the school, which made my stay in Musina much easier than I had anticipated. I then selected Kwa-Zulu Natal Pietermaritzburg School (KZNP) based on my personal knowledge of schools in Pietermaritzburg.

The selection of township, city, and rural schools was influenced by socio-economic factors prevalent in South Africa, particularly wealth distribution and access to economic opportunities. Cities, as hubs for employment and essential services, naturally attract both local and immigrant populations. Townships, due to their proximity to urban centres, become desirable residential areas for many, including immigrants who are seeking accessible housing and education for their children. As a result, township schools emerged as a logical choice, not only because of their geographic proximity but also due to their ease of access, being located within close reach of residential areas.

The data was generated from twenty-six (26) Black South African teachers in four (4) public secondary schools in Midrand, Alexandra, Ivory Park, Musina and Pietermaritzburg and one (1) private school which is both primary and secondary, in Johannesburg CBD. To protect the identity and anonymity of the participants, I have used codes instead of the real names of the schools, as they appear on the table below:

Province	Town	Location	School Name	status	Gender	No. of Participants
Gauteng	Johannesburg	Alexandra Township	GA Secondary	Public school	Females	3
					Males	2
Gauteng	Johannesburg CBD	Jeepe	GJ Secondary & Primary	Private school	Females	3
					Males	2
Gauteng	Midrand	Ivory Park	GIP Secondary	Public school	Females	1
					Males	3
Limpopo	Mussina	Musina Township	LM Secondary	Public school	Females	4
					Males	3
KwaZulu Natal	Pietermaritzburg	Pietermaritzburg	KZNS Secondary	Public school	Females	2
					Males	3
					Total	**26**

Table 2: Research Participant, geographical locations, gender, and number of participants per school

5.5 Research Instrument

I used both semi-structured face to face individual interviews, with a maximum duration of sixty (60) minutes, and a minimum being (forty) 40 minutes. Conducting semi-structured interviews assisted me to generate information from the participant in a manner that I was able to probe and ask clarifying questions. Cohen, et al. (2000) assert that interviews are one of the best methods of generating data because, a researcher can always return to the participant and ask for clarifications or even ask more questions based on the previous response. In addition to this, Cohen, et al. (2000) argue that the researcher through interviews, captures the reality of the participant's lived experiences and thoughts about a particular situation, and in this instance, I was attempting to capture the view, reality and meaning that teachers hold and attach to immigrants, and how that informs the way they perceive their identity and roles in classroom with immigrant learners/students.

The reason for using interviews is justified by the paradigm of this study, which informs us that participants cannot be objective or present a natural reality about their experiences, instead they are bound to present the researcher with a social reality

perspective, which when analysed, a dialectical or hermeneutic method is applied, which calls for a great deal of data interpretation in order to respond to the research question, address the objectives or the purpose and critical questions. Interviews are effective in understanding the relationship between individual and his or her relationship or interpretation of the world. With this approach, as a researcher I can interpret how teachers perceive immigration based on their identity and roles.

Initially, the data was going to be generated from teachers teaching in schools located in the Limpopo Province only, but upon reflecting on the diversity of Black people in terms of ethnic groupings, which was a critical criteria in designing the apartheid laws, I decided to involve two more provinces, Gauteng, which is the hub of trade, which has been attracting immigrants from time immemorial, and Kwa Zulu Natal, where the phenomenon of immigration exists, but, teachers seem not to be aware of, as per my observations during the time when I was a teacher myself in the province. This approach, allowed me, to understand teachers not only from a professional point of view, but also from an ethnicity perspective. The proposed number of interviews was thirty (30), but I ended up interviewing twenty-six (26) teachers, due to delays in the issuing of the ethical permission coupled with Covid-19 Lockdown restrictions.

During the interviewing process in Limpopo, I discovered that the proposed reason for choosing Limpopo was justified after all. As I was interviewing different teachers, I gathered that Limpopo was like a "little Zimbabwe" in South Africa, probably not only Zimbabweans, because there is also a sizeable number of Malawians and Mozambicans, but Zimbabwe nationals seem to be the ones who are dominant, including professionals, such as teachers and other categories of immigrants. All interviews were recorded in English, even though, I had anticipated that some participants may code switch or even respond in either Venda, Tsonga, or Pedi, which did not happen. This has afforded me with ease because there is no need for translation. I paid special attention to all the responses including meta communication from the respondents to analyse and interpret the data. From this data, I am identifying common emerging themes, which I discuss in detail in the data analysis chapter.

5.6 Literature Selection

I consulted various database when I was performing a literature search. Even though Google Scholar is not a traditional database, but it enabled me to find indexed scholarly literature across the education discipline and other disciplines that are relevant in the study. Google Scholar is useful because it can draw data from diverse sources including university repositories, conference proceedings, research organisations and academic publishers; (Mikki, 2009). Importantly it provides links to external sources where the full text may be accessed, sometimes for free of charge. I used key words such as "immigration, teachers, apartheid, teacher roles/teacher identity, teacher education," and others, which later got expanded to refine the search into specific subheadings and enable me to structure my review.

I also utilised the Educational Resources Information Centre (ERIC) for sourcing literature. However, this database presented limitations, as it contained a relatively small number of articles that included my key search terms. Furthermore, many of the relevant articles I located were behind paywalls, restricting full access to the materials. I had to exercise the exclusion criteria, which included eliminating papers that discuss immigrant teachers' experiences, because my focus is on immigrant learners. I primarily focused on literature published between 2008, a period marked by the eruption of xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, and 2024. However, I also considered earlier works, dating back to the 1980s, that address relevant theories related to teacher identity and second language acquisition. In total, I reviewed approximately 250 sources, ultimately selecting 101 key references for inclusion in this study. These sources primarily consist of journal articles, book chapters, and master's theses.

Winchester and Salji, (2016) suggest that researchers should search for literature by conducting a comprehensive bibliographic search of peer reviewed articles and books. Based on this suggestion, I skimmed through abstracts, claims, conclusions,

and findings of different articles online to get the gist of these literature sources, to decide whether to include or exclude them. I was also interested in the gaps and contradictions that appeared on these literature sources because this informed the study holistically. Finally, I coded the literature into themes, which I have used as headings in this article.

5.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis according to McMillan and Schumacher (1993, 1997) is a process of organising, analysis and interpreting data. This view is supported by Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) by stating that data analysis is a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the information that the researcher has generated. Data in this study is organised in three (3) stages that I expand below:

5.7.1 During data generation

During the interviews, I took detailed notes on the proceedings. After each session, I carefully examined the data and wrote summaries to capture the key issues and emerging themes. This reflective process allowed me to refine subsequent interviews, adjusting the questions and focus based on the insights gained from earlier sessions. Notes that were taken during the interview are useful because they support the oral interviews, since it is impossible to recall each participant's reaction/s, during the time, when he/she was responding to the questions, hence I found it crucial to corroborate interviews with notes, where I jotted down every reaction, surroundings, and any other information that I regarded important.

5.7.2 Data reduction

Data reduction is a strict selection, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transformation of data, that is in a form of field notes (Creswell, 1994). Through this process, I fine-tuned themes that emerged from the interviews so that they became meaningful. In other words, I looked for patterns in the data. These patterns are useful during the construction of recommendations, because they inform the researcher

about the common issues that participants raised out of concern or dissatisfaction and need to be addressed by relevant authorities.

5.7.3 Data categorisation

Finally, I categorised data according to themes derived from research questions. This allows me to see if all the research questions had been addressed. Researchers can also generate data that goes beyond addressing the research questions; she/he might also want to categorise it properly, because data generation is not limited by the research question. Concisely, data is generally interactive, moving from a more general to a more specific observation; (Creswell, 1998). Data analysis may begin informally during interviews and continue during transcription when recurring themes, patterns and categories are occurring; (Silverman, 2000). I adopted this approach as well, where during an interview, I picked up common sentiments among the participants and made a note against it. This assisted me when I was engaged in formal data analysis.

5.8 Ethical Considerations

McMillan and Schumacher (1997), define the term *ethics* to generally refer to the idea that something is good or bad, right, or wrong and proper or improper. Therefore, I had to adhere to ethical considerations by obtained permission from school gatekeepers and obtaining ethical clearance. From Eotvos Loránd University Faculty of Psychology and Education Ethics Committee, I was granted the ethical permission. The Limpopo Department of Education also granted me the permission through the Limpopo Province Research Ethics Committee (LPREC). Over and above, permission was obtained from the schools' deputy principals where the study was conducted. I obtained informed consent from all the participant, through the consent forms that they signed. I assured them that their anonymity, privacy and confidentiality is protected by using pseudonyms for each participant and school during data analysis.

5.9 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is a way in which the researcher can persuade the reader that the findings in the study can be trusted and that there are of a high standard; (Johnson and Turner, 2003). In qualitative research, trustworthiness minimises biases and errors. To ensure this, I have included direct quotes in the presentation and discussion of data in Chapter Four.

5.10 Limitations of the Study

Apart from the previously anticipated limitations, such as a language barrier since the data collection also took place in Limpopo, where about five native languages are spoken, which I speak none, did not happen unfolded, instead, I faced a new set of challenges that posed limitations during the data generation stage.

- The sensitive nature of the research topic may have limited the participants' full engagement since this topic is surrounded by controversy, taboos, and social sensitivity.
- Time was another serious limitation, because I had allocated 60 minutes to every interview, but because teachers were busy with the trial examinations, and others with "*catch up*" revisions, since it was just after schools had reopened after a national Covid- 19 Lockdown, some participants could not avail themselves for the whole hour, such that other interviews took about 45 minutes.
- I found some participants digressing a lot from the questions that I posed, which to some extent the entire interview became an off-topic discussion, therefore challenging to generate responses that addressed the purpose of the study, and its research questions, it was not easy to include their responses in the data analysis.
- In the private school setting, participants were selected by the principal, which may have influenced their responses, potentially limiting the expression of their independent views.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter begins with an explication of the paradigm under which this study is premise. The second part of the chapter elaborates on the research design and methodology. The main features that are discussed involve the qualitative nature of the study, the sampling method, the target population, research instruments and data analysis process. An outline of addressing trustworthiness is also presented. Finally, the chapter presents limitations and ethical considerations of the study.

CHAPTER 6: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by presenting the schools' and participants' contextual historical background, and relevant information about the area on which the schools are located. This provides us with insights of the status quo of the socio-economic state of the locations, and ultimately, that of the residents, which is largely attributed to the historical racial governance policies of South Africa. This context informs us about the contributing factors towards teacher identity against the background of immigrants in the country. I then discuss the findings that I arrive at through data generated from participants from five (5) different schools, all secondary and one which is combined secondary and primary, located in different provinces, cities/towns, and townships of South Africa. I have used pseudonyms for both the schools and participants. Participants' identification is indicated in Table 3 below:

No.	Schools' pseudonyms	Participants' Pseudonyms
1.	Gauteng Alexandra (GA)	GAEducator 1 (GAEdu1)
	Gauteng Alexandra (GA)	GAEducator 2 (GAEdu2)
	Gauteng Alexandra (GA)	GAEducator 3 (GAEdu3)
	Gauteng Alexandra (GA)	GAEducator 4 (GAEdu4)
	Gauteng Alexandra (GA)	GAEducator 5 (GAEdu5)
2.	Gauteng Jeepe (GJ)	GJEducator 1 (GJEdu1)
	Gauteng Jeepe (GJ)	GJEducator 2 (GJEdu2)
	Gauteng Jeepe (GJ)	GJEducator 3 (GJEdu3)
	Gauteng Jeepe (GJ)	GJEducator 4 (GJEdu4)
	Gauteng Jeepe (GJ)	GJEducator 5 (GJEdu5)
3.	Gauteng Ivory Park (GIP)	GIPducator 1 (GIPEdu1)
	Gauteng Ivory Park (GIP)	GIPducator 2 (GIPEdu2)
	Gauteng Ivory Park (GIP)	GIPducator 3 (GIPEdu3)
	Gauteng Ivory Park (GIP)	GIPducator 4 (GIPEdu4)
4.	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 1 (LMEdu1)
	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 2 (LMEdu2)
	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 3 (LMEdu3)
	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 4 (LMEdu4)
	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 5 (LMEdu5)
	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 6 (LMEdu6)
	Limpopo Musina (LM)	LMEducator 7 (LMEdu7)

5.	Kwa Zulu Natal	(KZNP)	KZNEducator 1 (KZNPEdu1)
	Kwa Zulu Natal	(KZNP)	KZNEducator 2 (KZNPEdu2)
	Kwa Zulu Natal	(KZNP)	KZNEducator 3 (KZNPEdu3)
	Kwa Zulu Natal	(KZNP)	KZNEducator 4 (KZNPEdu4)
	Kwa Zulu Natal	(KZNP)	KZNEducator 5 (KZNPEdu5)

Table 3: School's and participants' names

6.2 Contextualisation of schools

There is an undoubtedly unlimited connection between education and the socioeconomics of countries, world over; (OECD, 2011). The South African education landscape is largely shaped by the past events; (Wills, & Hofmeyr, 2019). Apartheid policies forcibly removed Black individuals from locations that were deemed suitable for white people, according to the Native Land Act of 1913 and other subsequent land and resettlement policies. This piece of legislation was passed mainly as an interim mechanism to maintain the status quo of racism; (Beinart, & Delius2014). Its consequences included allowing white people to amass more than 80% of land and a situation that led to mass relocation Black people to poorly planned townships and homelands. The understanding behind the existence of this historical context is not only for those who want to understand a South African greater complex history, but it is also relevant to those who wish to frame contemporary debates such as the relationship between immigration and teacher identity. Schools in South Africa can either be categorised as rural, township or urban schools in terms of their location.

Rural areas are a product of a configured economic formations by the apartheid government. The discovery of gold in Johannesburg, induced a South African industrial revolution, which gave rise to a new class of Black farmers in the countryside. For some time, this situation persisted without the intervention from the colonial authorities; (Bundy, 1977). However, as the need to safeguard the interests of colonial agriculture and the mining industry grew, as well as to secure a steady supply of cheap labour, the economic landscape of rural South Africa, also transformed; (Bundy, 1988). Black people were forced to abandon their native lands and exchange their labour for an income in the mines, argues Wolpe, (1980) and

Ndlovu, (1917). In addition to this, the loss of rural arable land to the white farmers through the Native Land Act of 1913, rendered the countryside burdened with poverty.

On the other hand, townships are another form of settlements that emerged during apartheid. They were low-cost houses that were meant for housing Black labourers. The Townships reflect and represent a dilemma and tensions that existed among the decision makers of the apartheid regime, "*between the need to keep Black people close enough as cheap labour supply, but far enough away to ensure a safe social distance, with an option of rolling out the blade wire to maintain that distance if it was ever at risk of being breached*" (Philip, 2014, pg. 31). Townships are a product of a uniquely South African concept of urban and housing planning policies. They had a unique architectural structure that resembled a dormitory style house built far away from the city centre and white residential areas. They were uniformly built, in rows. The first South African township was built in Cape Town in 1901, to keep Black people at bay, for fear that they were going to spread the Bubonic Plague, after o its outbreak; (Philip, 2014). Today after two decades of democracy, South Africans still live-in housing that is reminiscent of apartheid, and to this day townships still suffer from the burdens of poverty, unemployment, and lack of access to services, argues Schatz et al. (2011).

Therefore, rural and township schools typically face serious challenges based on the lack of infrastructure, sanitation, electricity, learning and teaching resources; (DuPlessis, & Mestry, 2019). These challenges according to Hlalele (2014) are not unique to South Africa, they can also be identified in other developing and some developed countries. These challenges present rural and township education in a disadvantaged light when compared to urban schools. They are largely servicing poverty-stricken communities, argues Lindeque &Vandeyar (2004). This characterisation of rural and township education is directly linked to apartheid and colonial policies that systematically excluded Black people from access to opportunities; (Hlalele, 2014).

6.3 Location background of schools

6.3.1 Johannesburg Jeepe

Jeepe is not far from the once famous Carlton Centre, in Johannesburg. The streets are not quite clean, but better compared to other parts of the city, that I had seen. Along the streets, stand people, whom most spoke foreign languages, selling second-hand clothes and shoes and hair wigs, while others seem to be just loitering around. I made a few stops, enquiring both in English and South African native languages, about some items that they sold, but I was also interested in establishing the background of people who hanged around this part of the city. On the busy street of Jeepe, is Gauteng Jeep (GJ). It is a private (independent), both a primary and secondary school. It is in a high-rise building with numerous floors. From outside, you would not be able to recognise its existence right away, because it looked like a typical everyday residential or business buildings that are in big cities in the country. Based on the information gathered during the interview sessions, it appears that teachers at this institution are either professionally unqualified or retired. One participant, a retiree from a public school, managed to secure new employment at GJ. From the discussions held, it seems that a significant number of the teachers are unqualified, viewing their positions at GJ as temporary while they pursue part-time education qualifications or search for more secure employment opportunities.

The principal of the school is a foreigner/none South African. In his office, there are CCTV cameras, that display every action in every area of the school. The school is situated in a pulsating area of the city of Johannesburg in a multi-storey building. The learners that I was able to interact with, while waiting for the principal or for the next participant teacher, appeared to be South Africans, because they have typical South African names, which suggests that the school caters for South African parents and children who cannot be admitted to other schools for various reasons. But also, again, I picked up from casual conversations that I had with the staff, that those learners who have not passed Matric, are admitted into this school, to restart their secondary schooling. Matric is a short form for Matriculation, which is a South

African system of education for the final year of high school and the qualification received on graduating from high school, and the minimum university entrance requirements. On the walls, indeed I could see photographs of young men and women who were either in the top achieving categories or in the school's leadership roles, displayed. The school was described to me, as being one of the famous schools around Johannesburg City for obtaining high Matric results.

The (five) 5 teachers that I ended up interviewing, were exclusively selected by the principal himself. He either phoned them on their mobile phones and summoned them to his office or sent one of the administration staff to call them. Upon meeting me, they immediately made it known that I had caught them at a remarkably busy time of the year term. Some were conducting revisions, grading scripts during their free periods, and conducting exams and tests, others teaching, catching up with lost content during the Covid 19 Lockdown. Participating in the interview, was visibly delaying them, an information that was plainly communicated to me by the first interviewee, before the interview began.

6.3.2 Gauteng Alexandra

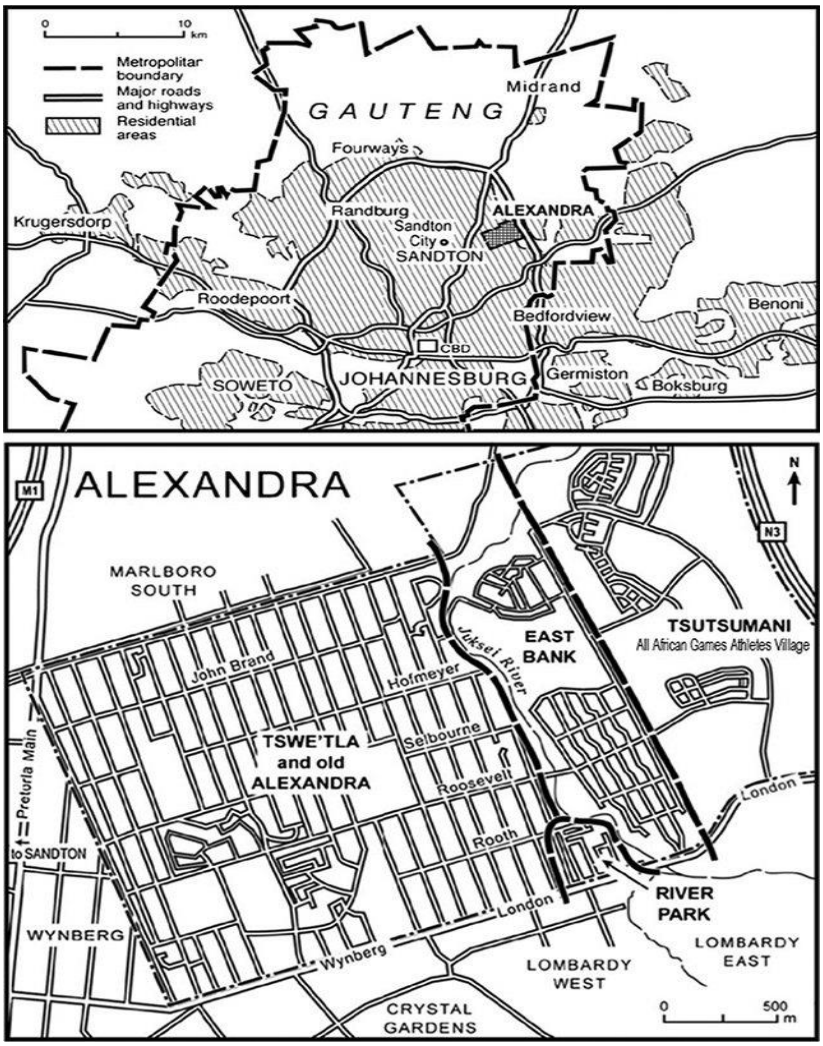
Gauteng Alexandra High (GA) is a public school, one of the high schools located in one of the oldest townships of Johannesburg, Alexandra. This is one of South Africa's oldest apartheid townships situated outside Johannesburg's wealthy suburbs.

> *Alexandra is a poor black dormitory township located in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Its low socio-economic status and lack of racial desegregation is in complete contrast to its geographical neighbour, Sandton, which a wealthy, multiracial elite call home* (McKay, 2015, p. 100).

Originally, Alex, as affectionately known, was situated away from the city centre, which explains why it was rejected by white business owners, which led to its late development in 1912 into a native township (McKay, 2015). It became one of the few South African townships where Black people could live within legally designated

white residential areas enabled by the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act; (Bonner & Nieftagordien, 2008). To separate Alexandra from the urban areas of Johannesburg, the apartheid government used spatial barriers (see Map below), such as roads, highways, and industrial areas; (Lipton, 1989).

The present state of Alexandra presents the extent of inadequate service delivery from the government, and its ensuing consequences. Generally, the situation in the education sector around Alexandra, is that schools suffer from limited infrastructure and facilities, such as school toilets, libraries, laboratories, and computer centres. Teachers and learners continue to endure overcrowding from high enrolment, where learner-teacher ratio is relatively high, coupled with a low matriculation success rate. From this context, learners appear not to have a way of escaping poverty, instead, they are trapped into the cycle of abject and intergenerational poverty, (McKay, 2015). This situation is described by (Nattrass & Seeking, 2001; Crankshaw, 2008; Bond, 2011), as precipitated by former racial policies, but also argue that there is specific post-apartheid, and post democratic policies that can be blamed for the continued inequality and poverty in Alexandra.



Map 1: Spatial layout of Alexandra Township Source: (Kotze, Mathola, 2012)

As I entred the township, travelling from Johannesburg city, I was met with piles and piles of waste lying and lining the road. The houses are old, some well-maintained but most of them, are informal, built on the pavement, leaving pedestrians with little or no place to walk. Although I did not go to all the sections of the township, but based on what I saw, it gave me a general picture of poverty and overcrowding, as a South African myself. I also spotted some spazas or tuckshops (typical township convenience shops) belonging to Pakistanis and Somalis. The general mood that I detected, was that of poverty and unemployment. At the school, I met two local ladies, one works as a toilet paper distributor to the learners, and the other one, works at the school kitchen. While I was waiting for the participants, because they used their

free periods to participate in the research, I had a conversation with them, trying to get the sense of immigration from their perspective. Although they spoke in Tsonga and Sesotho, I could understand a few words, describing the effect of the impact of immigrants on the community, which was aggravated by the lack of food, jobs, and services from the municipality. The extent of the perceptions about the topic of immigration in Alex could be detected from the reaction of some teachers. When they were approached to participate in the study by the senior Head of Department, who was tasked by the deputy principal, to facilitate the interview process, others declined, and others agreed. This also shows that at GA School, the participants could exercise their right to refuse, unlike at GJ School.

6.3.3 Gauteng Ivory Park

Gauteng Ivory Park High School (GIP) is also a public school, located in Ivory Park, a residential area that began as an informal settlement, located in the north-east of the city of Johannesburg; (Masuku, 2015). It is specifically situated between Midrand (suburbs), the industrial areas of Olifantsfontein and Tembisa and Kempton Park. Originally, Ivory Park is a product of a squatter settlement, which was a project of the then apartheid Transvaal Government. In 1990 it had set aside land that was supposed to be developed as a residential area for middle-class Back people, however, this decision was reversed, hence appropriating 700 hectares of land with the intention to settle squatter domestic workers (who had no desire to reside on their employees' servants' quarters), former hostel, and shack dwellers, therefore, Ivory Park became a transit camp for squatters; (Mmakola, 2000). At its inception, it was designated for 95 000 squatters, however as the squatters became permanent residents, with no intention of moving, the population increased from 186 000 to 250 000, these are statistics are provided by the Midrand Metropolitan Local Report (1996). This background presents us with a view that two years after the inception of democracy, already, disadvantaged Black South Africans were living in squalor, living in over-crowded informal settlements like Ivory Park, which was accompanied by high levels of unemployment and limited-service delivery. A study conducted by

Masuku (2015) reveals that Ivory Park since its establishment in 1990, has suffered socio-economic challenges.

> *Most people live in a state of dire poverty. The area is geographically remote from the stronger economic nodes in the city centre, and the settlement is plagued by myriad socio-economic challenges, including illiteracy, child-headed households, and hopelessness. There is a battery of social ills, like drug and alcohol abuse, peer pressure and petty crime.* (Maduna, 2010, p. 8).

From the taxi-rank (designated station for public transport), I walked to the school, and along the way, I spotted women who were dressed like AmaShangane from Mozambique, (the Shanganes in Mozambique dress slightly like the South African Tsonga. Shangane is sometimes interchangeably used with Tsonga, but of course, this ethnic labelling is politically and historically challenged in South Africa), selling mainly vegetables like cassava, which is common in Mozambique, tomatoes, green leafy vegetables, and fish. These food items are very common in the staple diet of Mozambicans; hence I was able to conclude that they were from Mozambique, a country I have visited a couple of times. On the final day of the interviews, on my way home, I went to one of the stalls, to buy cucumber. The elderly woman who was in charge, offered me some fried fish, which I accepted, and she insistently offered me more and more, until I decided to sit down and eat. It was at that point that I began to ask questions related to their nationalities and how they found Ivory Park. This interaction offered me important insights about immigrants in the country.

Map 2: Map of Johannesburg, showing the location of pre-dominant Black residences, including Ivory Park. Source : (https://https://aidc.org.za/ivory-park-occupation-ends-tragically/)

6.3.4 Limpopo Musina

Limpopo Musina School (LM) is one of the public schools located just outside of the small town of Musina, in the Limpopo Province, in the Vhembe District, about 18.3 km from Beitbridge boarder gate, separating South Africa from Zimbabwe. Musina is a transit town for Zimbabweans who are travelling from Zimbabwe to South Africa, Pophiwa and Rukema, (2018). However, among these immigrants are also unaccompanied children, as noted by Netshidongololwe (2016). The phrase *unaccompanied minors* is commonly used in immigration law and in airlines policies to describe foreign nationals who are separated from their parents, either on arrival or during their stay in a host country; (Levison, 2011). Unaccompanied children are generally vulnerable to be being abused and exploited sexually and through forced cheap labour. They also become victims of loss of culture and social networks; (Eshia, 2010; Magqibelo, et al, 2016). Those who are lucky to continue with their education, experience challenges in their education progress.

Zimbabweans are estimated to be more than any other African immigrant nationals in South Africa; (Harris, 2001; Muzondidya, 2008; Polzer, 2009). Some come

through legal means, and some, utilise the illegal access. Illegal immigrants often get stranded and destitute, sleeping in taxi ranks sometimes, while some find ways of earning an income, through selling sweets and fruit on the streets. There are many of such Zimbabweans in Musina, both young and old. Mussina, historically, if we trace its colonial history, movement between South Africa and Zimbabwe was already taking place facilitated by apartheid economy's demand for miners in Johannesburg. However, even after the inception of democracy, South Africa continue to see the influx of Zimbabweans, emanating from the collapse of their economy back in Zimbabwe; (Netshidongololwe, 2016). Generally, Musina is treated as a gateway to Johannesburg and other South African cities that offer prospects of a better life for immigrants. Therefore, the dynamics of immigrants in Musina should be understood in the context of a wider history.

At LM School the staff is mixed, there are Musina local immigrants, and foreign immigrant teachers. The domestic immigrants come from neighbouring villages, one of them is called Venda, and commute every day by a staff bus. The foreign ones, come from Zimbabwe and they have been living in South Africa for many years, some are even married to local women. The main local languages spoken in Musina are Tshivenda/ Venda, Xitsonga and Sepedi.

6.3.5 KwaZulu Natal Pietermaritzburg

Pietermaritzburg is the capital city of KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa. It serves as a significant administrative, educational, and economic hub for the surrounding region. The city is bordered by several historically Black townships, including Edendale, Imbali, Caluza, Sobantu and Ashdown as well as Indian and coloured townships, like Eastwood, Woodlands and Raisethorpe; each with its own unique historical and socio-economic characteristics. Of these, Sobantu is geographically closest to the city centre, which makes it the most accessible township from Pietermaritzburg itself, as well as from adjacent rural communities and informal settlements surrounding the city. The establishment of Sobantu Township was a

typical product of the former South Africa's apartheid laws. Sobantu Township is originally a Black location; (Beinart, 2001; Christopher, 1994), situated about 5KM to the East of Pietermaritzburg City's CBD, in the Province of KwaZulu Natal; (Napier & Mthimkhulu, 1989). It is for this reason that children residing in informal settlements on the outskirts of the city, such as Kwa Jika Joe, tend to go to school in schools located in nearby townships. One of the schools like this, is Kwa Zulu Natal Pietermaritzburg School (KZNP).

Settlements such as Kwa Jika Joe exist because of the continued inequality in the country. Big and small cities exhibit a clear line of divide between those who own wealth and those suffer from the pangs of poverty; (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Kwa Jika Joe by 2018 had a population of about 5000 people, of which females were the majority. According to Mkhize (2018) the residents in this settlement, predominantly speak South African languages, such as Sesotho, siSwati, isiZulu, IsiXhosa. However, there are other groups of residents who are not South Africans, and live here as well, such as the Basotho from Lesotho and Emaswati from Swaziland and Malawians who speak Chichewa. Therefore, informal settlements in South Africa, are also home to foreign immigrants. Like any other informal settlement in South Africa, Kwa Jika Joe among many of its social challenges, also faces high levels of unemployment; (Mkhize, 2018). Even though such a location inherently is a hub of poverty, but other residents have found alternative ways of earning an income, through self-employment, but also earning the government's social grant. Mkhize (2018) reveals that some foreign immigrants have illegal access the social grant, which are otherwise reserved for South African nationals.

6.4 Emerging Themes

I present the findings in accordance with the themes that emerged from the data analysis process. I was able to deduce from all the 26 interviews eight themes that attempt to present the participants' views. These themes are interwoven in most of the cases. The chapter unfolds through the following themes:

- Role of teachers in nation building and the curriculum
- Language teaching and challenges
- Teacher commitment
- Knowledgeable teachers and diversity responsive curriculum
- Teacher Professionalism and challenges
- Xenophobia and teacher frustration
- Interpretation of teacher identity
- Change, teacher autonomy and teacher agency
- Gaps in the education system
- School context
- Teacher attitudes
- Teacher flexibility

6.4.1 Role of teachers in nation building and the curriculum

Adam, (1970) defines teacher role as a term that implies action that is performed in the classroom by the teacher but can also refer to the behaviour of the teacher, which ultimately shapes the way the role is performed. Teacher roles are influenced by various factors, either by their own expectations or by societal beliefs. Makovec, (2018), largely argues that teacher roles shape teacher identity and teacher professionalism.

GJEdu1 was the first teacher that I interviewed. He is 41 years old, teaches African Languages, English, and History, he is not a qualified teacher, but studying towards a teaching qualification, part- time. I requested him to discuss the background of the learners that are enrolled at his school. Already I could sense that he was being careful with his words, after I had explained to him the details of the study. The gist of the interview fundamentally investigated the diversity of learners in the school, in terms of nationalities. Here is one of the extracts transcribed from the interview:

GJEdu1: *Well, our learners here are …. as good as any other learners in the country, but within the circumstances, that it is within the city, within the city centre, even the situation that south Africa now has become multi-racial, and in as much as well that it is tribal…. experiencing a large influx of learners of foreign…. of…of … foreign nationals as well as learners coming from outside the province, because of the fact that the city centre is people who are here to work, so most of the people or learners that we have are the children of parents who are actual migrant labourers. That the kind of learners we have. As far as their academic background is concerned is that they are largely challenged by the fact that, mainly you may find that they are challenged by the issue of language, especially the language of teaching and learning, which is English, take for instance, learners from Natal, learners from Limpopo whom are, they finding it difficult to transition, you know, in that little ability that…, mmm… that little proficiency that they have with the language, fast forward, at the level they are required to be HERE, ahhhh…. Because, if you can notice most of the teachers are foreign as well, that will mean the language that is used most of tine, is English. In anyway, 99.9% of the subjects that we do, that we learn… that we teach here are in in English. So, that's the challenge that we have with that background with such learners. However, learners who have been local, who grew up in Johannesburg, who are either from Soweto maybe the outskirts of Johannesburg, those learners, they are okay, they are coping well, unless if I were also to give you a situation where, for the fact that we are a private institution, where for the fact that we are expected to perform better than any other institution* [inaudible] *so we have this expectation from learners and parents, that they bring learners here, in most cases learners who are week expecting us to perform miracles* [inaudible] *more intervention programmes to see to it that those learners pass, and that's what we live up to.*

Question: You say that some of your learners are foreign learners, could you please elaborate more on that, are they foreign in terms of the being born here by migrants or immigrants or foreigners because they came here already foreigners?

GJEdu1: *Mostly… At the moment… at the moment, unlike it was back then, in 2010, going down, at the moment, we have a 50/50 situation where mostly, you may find a situation where +/- 50% of them, were born here of foreign parents, and others of cause have just arrived, it's a 50/50 situation, we haven't had, we haven't reach the situation where we can say 90% or 80% of them are born of foreign national parents, but as you know the situation, we still have a large influx of foreign nationals or foreign brothers and sisters who come here for work and as soon as they establish themselves here they always bring their children, and that becomes the case, and we also have cases where parents from other countries, for instance, the Congolese, we have a lot of Congolese children whom their parents, who are, (if I may say this word) well off or who are monied, who able to send their children here, not that they are here working, but they want their children to get a better education, they send them down here and we have a huge number, in fact, this has always been one of our traditions, that we have children from those countries that are brought here to learn, only for that purpose, sent by their parents who are able to pay* [inaudible] *they are usually legally under a guardian of some sort from their country, a friend or an uncle who was also her, that type of thing. Those are the types of foreign nationals we have.*

This response highlights the complexity of learner diversity in South Africa, noting that in addition to international immigrants, there are also internal migrants, learners relocating from other provinces. This internal and external mobility presents significant challenges for language instruction, given the linguistic diversity in the country. With nearly ten official South African languages spoken nationally, schools, particularly those in metropolitan areas like Johannesburg, a major economic hub, must navigate the demands of incorporating multiple languages into their curricula. In addition, it emerged that some teachers hold the perception that certain immigrant nationals possess greater financial means, enabling them to afford opportunities that may not be accessible to many South Africans. Although this was not explicitly stated by **GJEdu1**, the implication was evident, particularly in the hesitant and deliberate way the term "money" was articulated. The perceptions held about African immigrants may contribute to some of the underlying causes of xenophobia identified

by Dodson (2010), with poverty serving as a primary catalyst for resentment and hostility. Adjai and Lazaridis (2013) conceptualize this phenomenon as a form of 'new racism'.

GJEdu1 acknowledges that his school has enrolled foreign learners, whose parents have money and can afford to bring their children to study in SA, and that, that does not evoke any bad feelings towards Black African immigrants, because according to him, this is an international trend, where even South Africans travel abroad and even within the continent itself to study and seek knowledge.

GJEdu1: …*there's nothing wrong with that, actually it shows that foreigners trust the South African education system.*

To further elaborate on these sentiments, **GJEdu1** asserts that teachers should adopt a nation-building role, regardless of whether they are educating local or foreign learners. He views himself as a key contributor to national development, emphasising that teaching, being the foundation of all professions, plays a vital role in South Africa's economic, social, and political progress. As a result, he no longer sees teaching merely as a job, as he once did in his youth, but now regards it as a meaningful profession. He says that he wishes, teaches were cognisance of these dynamics in education. He believes that teachers have the capacity to reason better than an average lay person, because they are an epitome of transformation. Teachers need to rationalise the way in which they process information, which he refers to as 'high moral order'. However, along the interview, he slightly changed his convictions, when I asked him, why is that teachers who have grown up in the same neighbourhood, and or even have even studied at the same institution, but when it comes to xenophobia, they will have different ideas?

GJEdu1: *Even though teachers are expected to act in a certain way, especially to serve the best interests of the country and people, however, I understand your point,*

and it makes me think differently. Yes, it is possible for that to happen because people are different, they are not the same, but at the end of the day, teachers need to rationalise all these connected aspects of life, we don't want mentally crippled teachers. A teacher is a nation builder, that is the key role of a teacher.

To illuminate his sentiments, he used the metaphor of a mother hen, who protects her chicks from snakes, which in his opinion a teacher should protect all learners, regardless of their nationality. This is because, according to him, a teacher is an integral part of the education system, hence it is important to have teachers who have the spirit of nation building, and more importantly, teachers who are rational.

Similar sentiments were also shared by **GJEdu3**, who teaches in the intermediate phase at GJ School. She is 29 years old. She has worked briefly in China as a foreign language teacher, before returning to South Africa, where she is pursuing a qualification in education part time, while being employed as an unqualified teacher at GJ. She says her experiences abroad are the ones that have extensively shaped her attitude significantly, because at some point in her life, she was an immigrant. She believes that teachers should be enlightened on how to respond to the needs of immigrant learners, she refers to it as treating others with humanity, which she bases on the African philosophy or concept of Ubuntu, *which means you are, because I am, and I am, because you are.* The humanisation of teachers is dependent on the development of a consciousness that renders fallacies about immigrants invalid, Ladson-Billings (2009). This concept of *ubuntu* sets out to portray underlying hospitality, interdependency, and an inherently African belief in brotherhood and sisterhood, as we see **GJEdu4**, referring to African immigrants as brothers and sisters. The late Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1989), says that Africans believe in something that is difficult to translate to English, called *ubuntu,* in isiZulu and *botho* in seSotho and Setswana Languages. This is the essence of being human. Africans naturally know when *ubuntu* is present or not. It is an ancient African construct founded on humaneness, gentleness, compassion, and hospitality.

Her responses were rather surprising because as a young person who is growing up during a time when immigrants are tormented, I would have expected that she would be easily influenced to think about immigrants in a racist manner. However, she dispelled my speculations, and told me that, her schooling background has shaped the way in which she thinks, particularly now that she is a teacher herself. She credits her primary school education for the way in which she perceives her identity and roles as a teacher. But she quickly mentions that even though she treats every child equally and does not discriminate, but other teachers may respond to learner diversity differently, because we are humans after all. It is an important aspect of her teaching that she pays attention to each child's individual need, regardless of his or her nationality. She says that she only intervenes when she detects that a learner is experiencing challenges and then communicates with the parents, to discuss possible intervention programmes, such as extra lessons.

While she explained her roles, she emphatically highlighted that academic struggle are not a challenge faced by African immigrant children alone, South African children are equally susceptible. In her opinion, teachers give immigrants a second chance in life, as well as help them boost their confidence. She mentions that sometimes, some learners do not articulate English words in an "acceptable accent", which can potentially lead to bullying. Second language acquisition is an important area of the curriculum that teachers should understand, together with its role in forging a relationship between the language learner and the social world and being a tool for creating a sense of self-esteem; (Peirce, 1995). This means that GJEdu3's views are congruent with second language acquisition theories.

However, I find this view problematic because it unconsciously excludes the immigrant learners, positioning him or her as a token of transformation or justice, where they may be indirectly stereotyped, and viewed as children who need to be rescued. For example, in the USA, there is a tendency for teachers to bundle learners

under one category. Short, & Echevarria, (2005) argue that English language learners are disservice because teachers generally do not treat them as individuals, but as if they were one-dimensional based on their limited ability to be proficient in the English language. Teachers should be consciousness of the reality that immigrant second language speakers come from diverse backgrounds, languages, and education profiles, which makes them unique, and thus require tailor made attention. It is therefore wise that teachers do due diligence and research about the learners' different backgrounds, because they may find that some can read and write above grade level in their own language; others have had limited schooling. "*Some enter school highly motivated to learn because of family support or an innate drive to succeed; others have had negative school experiences that squelched their motivation*" (Short, & Echevarria, 2005, p.8). Learner background is also extremely important for teachers to understand because some, come from middle-class contexts, while others are affected by poverty such that they cannot afford to have school resources. Another important factor is the ability of children to associate English words with their own native languages, or South African home languages/native languages with their own native languages. All these and other factors, make immigrant learners unique, but certainly do not position teachers as saviours, as GJEdu3 implies; "*I am here to help, to take them from here to there..."* (GJEdu3, 16 August 2021).

GJEdu3 also reveals that she can tell if a child is an immigrant or not, by a mere look into his or her name and surname, and that is where she begins to have an interest and ask questions about the background of the learner. I asked her if this is not equivalent to stereotyping. She says that it is certainly not, because this is the reality. There is no way a South African parent can name a child with a name that is derived from a foreign language. Again, this line of thought speaks to issues raised in section *1.2 Historical Background* of the study, where I discuss the presence of other immigrants in the country, yet Black South Africans, somehow, think that immigrants are only the Black Africans.

Another participant who shares similar view about the changing roles of teachers in schools is **GAEdu1**. She teaches isiZulu Language and Geography at GA School. With her background in community outreach work, where she previously worked for a Non-governmental Organisation, (NGO) that partnered with the Kwa-Zulu Natal Department of Health (KZN DoH), she describes her teacher roles as having the ability to change, based on the needs of the learners. She believes that she should be a teacher who is observant in class because learners are different from each other in terms of academic performance, but also because they carry different social and emotional baggage.

GAEdu1 appears to align with **KZNPEdu5**, who maintains that his role as a teacher has not fundamentally changed, given his longstanding commitment to teaching for social change. Nevertheless, both educators acknowledge that the increasing diversity among learners over the years has necessitated a more deliberately proactive approach in their teaching practices. Both believe that teaching is a rewarding job, even though the government may not reciprocate teacher efforts in a way that it is expected to. They believe that learners who have been in school and managed to further their studies, pose no social threat to the government, because they would be educated and employed, which alleviates society of poverty, crime and other social ills. They also believe that these learners are like a seed that teachers sow, and upon germinating, bears fruits that feed the community, therefore teachers are tasked with the duty to teach with an intention to transform society.

Connected to this idea is that teachers have a specific role to rekindle the interest to learn among learners, because according to **GAEdu1**, some leaners based on their individual circumstances, lack role models, whom they can draw inspiration from. This is caused by the social ills that society is experiencing, whereby a person that is generally expected to motivate and inspire children is instead trapped in the cycle of poverty and crime. This is where the role of teachers becomes critical. However, she is quick to acknowledge that this is not an easy task, as schools in certain

communities, particularly in impoverished Black areas, have increasingly become sites where learners, often lacking adequate parental support, are effectively "dumped." Regardless of these glaring challenges in the education system, she appears positive, because she says that going an extra mile to keep leaners motivated, makes her sleep peacefully at night. To illustrate her conviction, she refers to the case of a particular learner whose name is displayed on a notice board at a local mall in recognition for her exceptional Matric results. This learner is recognised for her resilience in overcoming a poverty-stricken background and challenging living conditions. She is referred to as a "legend." However, her success is largely attributed to the unwavering support and guidance provided by her teachers throughout her educational journey.

I would like to highlight that an interview with **GAEdu1** was one of the longest among all interviews, because she is passionate about her profession such that I decided to allow her to speak for extended time. It was visible that she spoke from the heart, even her facial expression displayed a great sense of enthusiasm. Her emotional rendition of her childhood experiences, where she candidly tells me that she used to travel long distances to school on foot, whether it was raining or scorching hot, but she never surrendered, and she states that she usually quotes from these real-life experiences, when she is motivating her learners, "…*there is light even when I'm walking in the dark*" she says. Her opinion about childhood experiences having the ability to influence career choices, are echoed by Mr. **KZNPEdu2** a Mathematics teacher.

KZNPEdu2 was born in northern KwaZulu-Natal, a predominantly rural area of the province. He describes himself as coming from a disadvantaged background. His decision to pursue a career in teaching was strongly influenced by his Mathematics teacher, whom he regards not only as a mentor but also as a parental figure. Most importantly, this teacher inspired and motivated him to continue his studies with the aim of improving his family's social status. It was from his role model that he could

see that it was possible even for him to effect change. Therefore, he moved to Pietermaritzburg, where he pursued a Bachelor of Education majoring in Mathematics. He asserts that teachers have a dual role in imparting both formal and informal knowledge to learners. He draws a clear distinction between these two types of knowledge and emphasizes the importance of the teaching approaches required for each. He believes that creativity is central to effective teaching, advocating for a simplified teaching method that can accommodate the diverse needs of all learners. In his view, this approach is an essential tool for successful pedagogy. He also emphasises that teaching should be context-based because it simplifies knowledge.

He recounts a situation in which he was tasked with teaching a Mathematical text. To make the content more accessible to the learners, he requested that they bring any computer-generated receipt from home for the discussion. He argues that this approach created an inclusive platform for all learners to engage, as each learner found something to contribute, whether it was the time of purchase, the price of an item, the name of the cashier who processed the sale, or other relevant details. He believes that immigrant learners who may struggle to conceptualise Mathematical concepts may benefit from this practical text interpretation and calculations. He also believes that Mathematics teachers have an equal role to teach learners about discrimination. He shares one of his strategies for initiating discussions on social issues, such as discrimination. He explains that discrimination, at its core, is an act of exclusion. To illustrate this concept in a mathematical context, he uses the example of the factors of numbers. For instance, when discussing the factors of 36, a teacher can explain that 10 is excluded from the list of factors, but this exclusion does not negate the fact that 10 is still a valid number. In the same way, teachers can explain to leaners that immigrants may not be South Africans, but that does not exclude them from being human beings. However, he acknowledges that assuming these roles can be met with challenges because of time limitation, because subjects like Mathematics somehow restrict teacher flexibility, because of the syllabus workload. Regardless of such limitations, he believes that teachers still need to break boundaries and defy

stereotypes. He attributes this to the professional characteristics of teaching, that shape teacher roles, such as being a facilitator.

As alluded in Chapter 3, professionalism in education is a term that is evidently blurred by inconsistences and unfounded assumptions, argues Freidson (1994). This contention reveals that there is no commonly agreed upon meaning of the term professionalism, but it is a highly contested concept. However, in both **GAEdu1** and **KZNPEdu2**, appears to be a congruent line of argument about the changing role of teachers in schools, particularly in the implementation of the curriculum. McCutcheon, (1988) argues that teachers are an integral part of the curriculum hence their involvement is prior the implementation process but begins at the enactment stage. It is for this reason that imposing the curriculum on teachers will hinder their ability to intellectually and socially identify issues of interest, which is a constantly changing process. This thus positions a teacher as a professional. This is referred to by Reid (1978) as a deliberationist view on the curriculum. This implies that teachers are collaborative, interactive and highly skilled people, among other qualities, and this implies that they can exercise professionalism when executing their teacher roles. Automatically, this presents a teacher as the designer of the curriculum and by inference, shifts the role of the government from that of controlling to being a supporter and provider of resources that are deem necessary for teacher professional development and teacher functionality. Msibi and Mchunu (2013), argue that this ideal way of addressing education challenges, particularly post-apartheid South Africa, is not possible because the government still depend on expert knowledge and curriculum design, that teachers are expected to teach, which is an act that undermines teacher professionalism.

Teacher professionalism and teacher roles are discussed by **GAEdu1** in her view of how teachers ought to address diversity in the classroom. She demonstrates a strong awareness of the cultural and linguistic diversity within Gauteng province and recognizes its profound impact on schools such as GA. She contends that while

diversity can enrich the educational environment, it also poses challenges for social cohesion. The primary difficulties for teachers emerge within the classroom, where schools must select a few dominant languages to offer at the home-language level due to the wide array of languages spoken by learners. Regarding content subjects such as Geography, she argues that teachers must exercise discretion; for instance, explaining concepts in isiZulu could be perceived as favouritism, potentially leading to conflict. Therefore, she advocates for the use of English as the medium of instruction in such subjects, positioning it as a neutral language that minimises linguistic bias. She argues that it is easier for teachers to consciously or unconsciously fuel tribalism, especially in a country like South Africa where there is volatility around such issues. Therefore, she believes that if teachers adopt such a stance, it will create an inclusive learning environment, that will also be passed on to learners, because education is also meant to shape behaviour and opinions.

GAEdu1 seamlessly integrates her professional identity with her role as a parent. She shared that she is a mother of three, and spoke with pride about her eldest son, who studied engineering and is currently employed at a fitter and turner company, while also managing his own business specializing in the installation of oxygen tanks and the renovation of intensive care units in hospitals. Her expression visibly brightened as she spoke about his accomplishments, reflecting a deep sense of personal pride. She admits that she is extremely happy about her son's achievements and encourages her to wake up in the morning and change her learners' lives. She believes that by being a teacher she is having a much broader role, than when she was an outreach programme worker. She says that now she is faced with the duty of serving children that hail from different parts of the country, unlike before, her work confined her only to a specific group of clients, but now she can spread her impact broadly. "*It is adventurous because it touches all the corners…so, I'm happy*." She says.

She believes in reflecting about her job constantly, but admits it can sometimes be a traumatising process, because according to her, the teaching environment makes

teaching a personal experience. With the poverty that she witnesses in the community, concerns her gravely, and it causes teacher frustration, to an extent that sometimes she must use her personal resources to meet the needs of learners. She presents a situation, whereby there are cases of misbehaviour among learners, but due to various reasons, teachers fail to diagnose the real reasons why learners behave that way, which can lead to a harsh reaction from the teacher and retaliation from the learner. This is because teachers expect all learners who are ready to learn, meanwhile learners are dealing with deep seated issues such as violence, sexual abuse, poverty, bullying and having to assume adult roles because parents work in different cities. Therefore, she suggests that teachers should particularly now that there are many changes in the world that affect education, to be vigilant and be able to identify and help learners who are in distress. "*We even have to accommodate what we don't even know*…" In her view, it is critical that teachers become accommodative in their nature, even to those learners who are at school just to receive lunch, with no real intention to learn. She further states that reflecting on her profession assists her to be open-minded and be mindful of issues that may be present in the classroom that need her response. She says that if teachers take time to know their learners, those who are international (she uses *international* interchangeably with *foreign),* those who speak isiZulu, Setswana, to help adjust and adapt to the needs of the learners, which may mean extra teaching time or any other support system, available. She argues that the role of a teacher shifts all the time, it is not stable, because different situations require a teacher to wear various hats and exercise flexibility, and in her view, it is impossible for teachers to neglect these roles.

Even though she believes in open-mindedness, but she still considers the issue of immigration a threat to safety. She concedes that teachers should embrace change and accept internationals; however, she deems some immigrants have an agenda to destroy South Africa and then return to their home countries. Some of the issues she raises is illegal immigrants who are involved in acts of criminality, especially in Alexander and the over-population chaos they create in the township. She highlights several concerns, notably the involvement of illegal immigrants in criminal activities,

particularly within Alexandra township, as well as the overcrowding and associated disorder they are perceived to contribute to in the area. She asserts that many immigrants choose to settle in Alexandra specifically because it allows them to evade payment for municipal services. She acknowledges that achieving a balance between maintaining an open-minded attitude and exercising critical judgment toward immigrants is a challenging effort. Such attitudes may be influenced by previous encounters with immigrants outside the classroom; if these experiences were negative, they may inadvertently affect the way a teacher interacts with immigrant children in the classroom. Although such behaviour would be considered unprofessional, it remains a possibility, as teachers are also subject to human emotions and biases. This concern was similarly raised by **GJEdu3**, who emphasized that, while the mistreatment of children based on their nationality is unequivocally unacceptable, it may nonetheless occur due to the inherent fallibility of teachers. Despite these challenges, it remains imperative that teachers strive to exercise objectivity and impartiality in their professional conduct.

6.4.2 Language teaching and challenges

Across all the interviews, language teaching emerges as a topic discussed from various perspectives. Based on the response from **GJEdu1**, it can be inferred that language presents significant challenges to learners broadly, affecting not only immigrant learners but also South African learners. GJEdu1 specifically highlights two provinces, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal, as the regions from which some of the learners attending GJ originate. Even though he did not mention this information, but it is worth mentioning that these two provinces are one of the highly rural provinces in South Africa. But there is no evidence suggesting that all children from these provinces particularly struggle with speaking English. It is an assumption that since Gauteng province is regarded as an urbanised province, therefore, all learners who live there are proficient in English. The terms urban and rural are a product of the history of apartheid, according to Gardiner (2008). Today in the democratically free South Africa, such distinctions present complications because there is no common understanding in terms of what constitutes urban or rural. The perceptions, experiences and outlooks that generally exist among south Africans regarding what comprises of rural or urban areas, is mainly dependent on the apartheid agenda. Urban

areas were declared by the former white government to be the domain of white people, in terms of landownership, businesses, residential meanwhile Black people were confined into rural areas. Once they [Black] got an opportunity to work in the cities, they resided in townships which were another product of the apartheid system, located in the outskirts of cities. This method of movement and economic advancement control led to the development of distinct cultures; (Gardiner, 2008) for urban and rural areas, respectively.

One of the glaring realities is that rural populations are still viewed in a negative light because of the definition attached to rurality. Rural areas are associated with poverty, lack of education and access to resources and infrastructure, therefore the assumption among urban South Africans is that those South Africans who reside in rural areas are living in pre-modern South Africa. Even though this would be an incomplete generalisation according to Gardiner (2008), but it still holds a degree of truth. Therefore, this begs the question; how far can the legacy of apartheid motivate people to view each other in this light? Could the presence of immigrants further expose other sentiment, founded on the ideology of apartheid? These questions are theoretically addressed in the theoretical framework, but I would like to interrogate them even further based on the issue of language that **GJEdu1** raises above.

The excerpt below from an interview with **LMEdu4** from LM School in Limpopo, a 53-year-old LO HOD teacher, who is retiring in three years, the topic of language is discussed. When I was about to end the interview, I casually shared with her that I was lodging somewhere near the school, and at this house, they spoke Sepedi, which came as a surprise to me, because I had assumed that since they are living in Musina, naturally, they would speak, Tshivenda. This somehow re-ignited our interview. **LMEdu4** told me how foreign learners struggle with speaking the 'real' local languages, since in Musina, there are three dominant native languages spoken; Sepedi, Tshivenda, Tsonga, and the tendency is for people to mix all the languages and end up speaking a different and unique language (dialect), that has developed over the years, because of his language mixing. This new language happens to also find itself into the classroom, which complicates the language situation even more.

Question: But do you think, foreign children, especially with language, need support, a lot of support?

LMEdu4: *Yah, some of them, they pass with flying colours even though they are from outside* [immigrant], *but they are passing home language more than the people from around, they know those things* [inaudible]

Question: And those who are not passing, do you think that teachers need to put more effort, because if you fail home language you don't proceed?

LMEdu4: *yah, yah, especially home language*

Question: Because if you fail home language you don't proceed?

LMEdu4: *Especially grade 10-12, you don't proceed.*

After asking her a series of probing questions based on her reasoning on the emphasis put on mastering English as a medium of instruction and the learners' obligation to pass a home language (mother tongue) with 40% or above in order to proceed to the next grade, she revealed to me that she does not support this idea, that I had proposed, to scrape off English as a medium of instruction, by gradually accepting the use of a home language vocabulary/words in an event a learner forgets the correct English word to be used, and not be penalised for that. Her defence was that South Africa cannot afford to replace English with local languages, because learners are required to enrol at institutions of higher learning after completing Grade 12, where professors and other lecturers may not speak the mother tongue of the learner, therefore, shifting to the use of a mother tongue as a language of instruction, will reduce the chances of learners to adjust and fit in the outside world. However, she agrees that the seriousness that is placed on home languages should be abandoned. She made an example of her daughter who had been going to an English medium school as early as kindergarten, who can speak Tshivenda (the family's home language), with just a bare minimum understanding. With this example she is trying to explain that immigrant learners cannot be subjected to the strict requirements of South Africa's home language policy, which when not met, they may end up failing, meanwhile they had passed the other subjects. This puts them at an unnecessary disadvantage.

The challenges around the issue of language, appear to be exposing other deep-seated problems in schools with immigrant learners. **LMEdu1** acknowledges that indeed discrimination of foreign learners does happen, and she says that she has witnessed it in her school. Her position as an LO teacher and an HOD has positioned her well to understand challenges that learners experience, but she also attributes her professional attitude and tasks to a qualification she obtained in Psychology, before studying towards a qualification in education. She states that treating immigrants with respect is still a challenge for the Musina community, not only learners, even foreign teachers, are discriminated, and that can be picked up from the vocabulary that is used when referring to foreigners. This kind of behaviour is not strange to her, since as an outsider (she says she is from Venda, Venda, is a rural village just outside of Musina, where some of the teachers reside and commute to school daily, buy a stuff bus, Venda is also a language), she and her fellow VhaVenda are subjected to discrimination by their colleagues who were born and reside in Musina.

Therefore, the tendency of othering and subjecting those who do not share the same ethical or tribal background with the supposedly dominant group, can also be extended to immigrants, in her opinion. This type of prejudice could be a reason for a need to study racism from a different orientation, from that of racism of colour, which is based on the model of Black versus White superiority and power, treated as a single overarching factor, but instead consider interrogating the interplay of diversity and cultural pluralism, that exists between Africans themselves; (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013).

It is evident that the issue of language in education is complex and cannot be approached with a one-size-fits-all solution. Each teacher brings a unique perspective shaped by their individual experiences and professional backgrounds. In my conversation with **GJEdu2**, I gained an additional insight into this issue. **GJEdu2** is a 26-year-old part-time Bachelor of Education student at the University of South

Africa and joined GJ School in 2019. Although relatively new to the teaching profession, she holds a National Diploma in Language Practice, indicating a strong foundation in language use, though she is not formally qualified as a teacher. At GJ School, she teaches Sepedi and English. I asked her to describe the school and provide an overview of the learners' backgrounds.

GJEdu2: *It's the best in the province, [*in disbelief, I asked if that was true, and she qualified her statement] w*e are number one, in terms of the results, I think the best school, that's how I can describe it.*

GJEdu2 appears convinced that GJ School is doing its best to meet the needs of foreign learners in terms of teaching language subjects, for example, she mentions that home languages teachers usually have extra lessons with learners who are struggling in that area. She says that it the duty of language teachers to identify such learners and help them. When I asked her why teachers should bother to conduct extra classes, while there is no remuneration for it. She said that it is not about the payment, but it is about commitment and making a meaningful contribution to the school.

6.4.3 Teacher commitment

GJEdu2 notes that teachers at GJ School demonstrate a strong sense of commitment in supporting learners. While she acknowledges that such dedication should be an intrinsic quality of any teacher, her remarks suggest that teachers at GJ School may feel a sense of obligation to provide additional academic support, such as extra classes, possibly influenced by the expectations associated with working in a private school context. The nature of GJ School as a private institution is important to consider, as it offers valuable insight into how teachers in public versus private schools may perceive their professional identities and responsibilities, particularly in relation to immigrant learners. This distinction is further contextualised by **GJEdu1**, who recounts how he came to occupy his current teaching position at GJ School. While employed at a sister institution, a vocational college, he became aware of the situation at GJ School, where learners were left without a Sesotho teacher due to the

illness and subsequent passing of the previous teacher. He initially came to GJ School just to assist the learners who were without a teacher, until he was requested by the principal to apply and register for SACE.

In South Africa teachers are expected to register with the South African Council of Educators (herein referred to as SACE). This is a body that according to its website, registers fit to practise educators and lectures, promote their continuing professional development, and maintain the professional teaching and ethical standards. SACE is one an example of structures that are at the disposal of teachers to take advantage of in creating knowledge. As part of professional development, regime, knowledge creation is a product of transformation and deed learning by teachers; (Frost, 2008). He claims that these learners in this school were denied education for a long time, because it was not easy for the school to quickly replace the deceased teacher, because *"…normally, qualified teachers do not normally take up jobs in private schools because of the dynamics that I wouldn't like to disclose here" (*GJEdu1, 16 August 2016).

I asked him if he thinks Black South African teachers are open and willing to embrace changes that come with the presence of immigrants in schools. He said that he cannot speak on behalf of public-school educators, because he has taught in a private institution all his life. I then asked him, if private school teachers are more acceptable to changes, and why. He says that indeed, they are, and it is because of competition. He claims that competition forces them to provide the best because there are other private or independent, (as it is defined in the South African Schools Act (DoE 1996), schools that are also motivated by business rivalry. **GJEdu1** claims are in harmony with Lewin (2003), Lewin and Sayed (2005), who argue that at the end of the 20th century, we saw the mushrooming of private schooling, in the wider Sub-Saharan region, even though it was a different case for South Africa, with a low increase, however, there are still reasons attributed to such, for example, an excess demand, differential demand, increased competition in domestic and internationally portable

qualifications, but more significantly, the liberalisation of economic activity, which creates a platform for entrepreneurial activity and profits; (James 1993; Sayed & Rose 2001). While a modest increase in public schools in South Africa is noted by Motala, & Dieltiens, (2008), but Gauteng province where GJ School is located, saw an increase, compared to other provinces in the country, (DoE 2003). It is understandable that private schools in South Africa, particularly post-apartheid appeared as an alternative to the education gap that public education could not fill; (Stander, & Hernan, 2017). However, through compliance standards and quality assurance regulatory bodies requirements, private education institutions are compelled to offer lucrative, competitive education, that will also reward them with profits, which renders private education a business.

This background is significant because it informs us about potential reasons why teachers in public schools may have a different attitude from that of teachers employed in private institutions. **GJEdu1** claims that while change is inevitable, one way or the other systems force teachers to change, but public-school teachers appear to be oblivious to this fact, they are complacent, they are not subjected to pressure from the employer. This is because their jobs are secure, and they are protected by trade unions, which is not the case in private schools. That is why, it is almost inescapable for teachers like him, to ignore changes in the education sector. He further argues that teachers in public schools are comfortable, while in private schools, *"teachers have pressure, they are expected to prove themselves in order to attract more clients, this is the reason why foreigners prefer private schools, to public schools*." (GJEdu1, 16 August 2021).

GJEdu2 projects similar views as well, she states that public school teachers are protected by labour law, which is not applicable in the private school settings. The school would rather lose the teacher, instead of losing learners who are clients. She also speaks about the need for teachers in such a school to "*attract more customers*" (GJEdu2, 16 August 2021). I asked her if this still counts as teacher identity where

we see teachers pro-actively identifying learner academic challenges, and attempt to address them, or it is a management decision, does it still count as teacher efforts? I had to ask this question because even the teachers that participated in the interviews were selected by the principal. This would then lead us to assume and generalise that in private schools, teacher identity and teacher roles are shaped by school management's decisions, because since they are unqualified teachers, they cannot be employed by public schools, therefore, the private school, in this case is his or her only source of formal employment, hence, the need to adhere to the demands of the workplace. If this is the case, then it would be aligned with the Constructivist Paradigm applied in this study, postulating that new knowledge and meaning creation is an act of the researcher and research participants through the way in which they perceive intentions, beliefs, values, and reasons, meaning making and self-understanding; (Henning, et al., 2004). The assumption is that Black South African teachers at GJ School, at least those whom I interviewed, appear to view the school in this light because of the certain understanding that the school is driven by results, and in South Africa, it is a well-known trend, even for public schools, that schools are gauged by their Matric results, which is something that even attracts national attention every year, in January, when the results are released by the Department of Basic Education. So, if a school attains a high pass rate percentage in Matric results, parents might be inclined to enrol their children there. It is in this light that we can suppose that in this context, teacher identity and teacher roles are determined by a teacher's status of employment, where acts of discrimination of learners could jeopardise one's job, especially when the employer is a foreigner himself.

6.4.4 Knowledgeable teachers and diversity responsive curriculum

Without knowledge, teachers run the risk of deliberately or unconsciously misconstruing reality. GJEdu2, explains to us that if teachers live in a bubble, and have no desire to learn, they may become part to racism or xenophobia. She claims that she is open minded and is willing to learn about other people, especially those who are from other countries. She says that at the time when she was physically studying at the university, she met and established relations with foreign students,

which concludes that it is an individual's decision to seek knowledge and be equipped, so that we do not react in a manner that displays ignorance.

GJEdu1, highlights the issue of change, he says that change is inevitable, one way or the other, teachers need to change to fully embrace immigration. He says that we need to accept that there are constant changes in the teaching fraternity. GJEdu2, believes that transformation is not yet at the level where we can confidently say that schools are completely transformed, to meet the needs of immigrant learners. She cites the Sepedi curriculum, (she teaches Sepedi, one of SA home languages). In her opinion, the Sepedi curriculum has attempted to a small degree, however, to address issues of xenophobia in South Africa, because already, there is a poem that speaks to tolerance, depicting Africa as a continent for all, with no borders. **GJEdu2**, even though she supports content that could assist in shaping teacher attitude and identity, ultimately learner attitude regarding Afrophobia, she is however quick to mention that South Africa still needs to address the issue of immigrants entering the country.

GJEdu2 appears to adopt a balanced stance on the issue, presenting multiple perspectives without aligning herself explicitly with any single viewpoint. This approach may reflect a conscious strategy to navigate the sensitive terrain between appearing xenophobic and being perceived as unpatriotic. Such positioning can be interpreted as a form of identity construction, illustrating how she draws on and negotiates the knowledge and discourses available to her to maintain a socially acceptable and professionally responsible image.

GJEdu1: *…there is no alpha and omega in knowledge. Teaching is not a rigid but a flexible profession. Accept and incorporate change.*

GJEdu1 links his response with the concept of teacher identity. He understands teacher identity as the ability to identify your inabilities, and the ability to create relations because teaching is not an isolated task, we grow confidence in admitting

that there are things that we do not know. He even makes an example of instances where teachers can learn from learners, and according to him, that does not take away anything from the teacher, but instead, adds value to his or her profession.

Similarly, **GJEdu3** believes that teacher identity cab be defined as the type of teacher that an individual assumes. It could include grade or learner age preferences. I asked her, why would a teacher have preferences because teachers are expected to teach any grade at any environment. She agrees; however, teachers are humans, they are allowed to choose what they prefer. This is also because, she understands teaching to be a noble career, where a teacher can potentially get attached to learners, even if the environment is not permissive, therefore there is nothing strange about it.

GJEdu3: *Teachers learn about themselves when they teach.*

To grasp the intrinsic relationship between education and immigration, and how this interplay shapes teacher identities and their perceptions of themselves and the curriculum, it is essential to consider the broader societal concerns arising from issues such as economic sustainability, cultural acculturation, social transformation, political power and representation, equitable resource distribution, school governance, curriculum reform, language diversity, and bilingualism; (Goodwin, 2002). Within this context, it is reasonable to assume that some teachers may internalize hierarchical cultural values, including the belief in the superiority of elements historically associated with whiteness, such as the English language. In contexts where demographic shifts necessitate curriculum revision, such as the increasing presence of learners in South Africa who neither speak nor understand English, it is worth considering whether the Department of Education should reformulate its language policy to reflect this linguistic diversity. However, this proposition is met with resistance by some participants, who regard English as a dominant and universally accepted language. This resistance may be rooted in the internalisation of Eurocentric norms, often described as a form of mental slavery, where elements associated with whiteness are idealised. Such attitudes can contribute

to the marginalisation of Black African immigrants, even as immigrants from European, American, Australian, or Asian backgrounds are more readily accepted.

This view can also be analysed from another angle. In 1972 the former president of Uganda, Idi Amin expelled and deported over fifty thousand Asians. Based on the British colonial policies, Asians assumed position of economic power, and the Ugandan society came a source of cheap labour; (Francis, et al., 2021). The legacy of these colonial policies laid a foundation of bigotry in the country that later culminated into animosity against Indians, hence we see Amin only expelling Asians, leaving out Europeans. Colonialism played a central role in brewing Black on Black hate. In South Africa, there was also a similar context, where the apartheid system favoured immigrant mine labourers over native South Africans, which then caused friction between natives and immigrants.

Since South Africa transitioned to a democratic dispensation, about twenty- eight years ago, the discourse concerned with navigating the politics that positioned white people as the legitimate conveyors of knowledge to be taught and learnt in schools, and which knowledge was and was not suitable for the "native," has continued to dominate the public discourse. Seekings (2008) argues that apartheid stood out as an extreme attempt to order a society explicitly and systematically according to racial categories. This act, came with the normative practice of privileging white identities, which has remained a legacy in South Africa, that even though apartheid, is legally abolished, but in the subconsciousness of Black South Africans, the ideology of othering continues to exist, as an inherited trait of apartheid. Seeking (2008) also claims that it would be a surprising miracle if post-apartheid South African society were not shaped profoundly by the existence of apartheid, remaining distinctive in terms of the social, political, or economic roles played by 'race', because apartheid was a unique holistic system, it touched the very fabric of society. It was its systematic depth and breadth, where the powers of a modern state were deployed to order society along 'racial' lines, going far beyond racism and racial discrimination,

to a generalised social engineering around state-sanctioned racial ideology and legislation, which still lingers around, portrayed by some teacher attitudes.

Given the central role teachers play in addressing the educational needs of immigrant learners, several scholars argue that teacher education should be foregrounded in discussions of immigration and education. Goodwin (2002) argues that teacher educators and institutions of teacher education must assume a greater responsibility for the care and instruction of immigrant learners. This perspective highlights the argument that many teachers are inadequately prepared to meet the diverse needs of immigrant students in their classrooms. While this concern is valid, it is equally important to consider broader, often overlooked, structural and historical factors, such as South Africa's socio-political legacy, which may contribute to current challenges beyond mere professional shortcomings; (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). Existing literature tends to emphasize teacher preparedness in response to shifting learner demographics yet frequently neglects the deeper historical and systemic forces shaping these dynamics.

Teacher readiness is further discussed by evaluating teacher education to ascertain how the profession conceptualises immigrant children and teacher education. While this view may seem to be held more in the USA, it is also a reality for South Africa. However, this teacher inadequacy, as claimed in the literature, is not the only discord detected, the history of South Africa should be considered as well, (as I have mentioned earlier). I believe that teacher identity and roles that are inevitably changing owing to global phenomena such as immigration, are not exclusively the product of gaps in teacher education but are also shaped by the historical trajectory of South Africa, which has its foundation on prejudice and discrimination, significantly on Black South Africans.

The extension of marginalisation of Black South Africans from accessing knowledge, can be detected today, where Black teachers appear to be failing to apply knowledge in addressing contemporary issues. Knowledge construction is significantly one of

those aspects of education that were shaped by apartheid. This led to the positioning of white teachers as professionals while casting African teachers as mere technicians. Msibi and Mchunu, (2013) argue that curriculum reforms in South Africa seem to continue to challenge the professional identity of teachers suggesting that government has given up on the professional agenda of the post 1994 democratic dispensation and seem to be making the curriculum 'teacher proof'. These scholars suggest that attention should not be directed solely toward curriculum reform, but also toward the development of professionally competent teachers. Considering South Africa's historical context, this perspective may imply that Black teachers working in predominantly Black schools could be disproportionately affected by the challenges of addressing immigration-driven diversity in their classrooms. This raises important questions about equity in teacher preparation, ongoing professional development, and the lingering effects of historically unequal education systems.

Cross and Ndofirepi (2013) assert that understanding the historical background, assists in figuring out changes that might be occurring in the country, or even attitudes and changing roles and identities of those involved, for example in education. Some of these perspectives are from a sociological and anthropological point of view. To understand teacher identity in South Africa in the context of immigration. Cross and Ndofirepi (2013) attempt to centre its production as a dynamic process which reveals the complex ways in which the teaching profession identity has been constructed over the years in South Africa. Therefore, they argue that identity cannot be isolated and limited to naturalisation, because it is a product of a social interplay between the individual and the larger community, which is a sentiment that is also echoed by Wenger (1998). That is why it is crucial that we also discuss the way in which immigrant children are treated by teachers in the classroom and school.

LMEdu2, a 38-year-old female siPedi and Life Orientation teacher, from another community outside Musina. She says that her main challenge as a language teacher is diversity of the learners, on top of that they mix all the language, which creates a

dialect that she does not understand. She believes that the school is in an environment where the community hails from different norms, language, culture orientations. They do not seem to have a uniform culture. Her job becomes difficult because she must teach them official siPedi. She accepts that this situation is frustrating to her, but as a teacher who have studied teaching methodologies, she must try until the learners are able to reach the acceptable level of language proficiency, according to the curriculum requirements.

LMEdu2 *"As teachers it our duty, its our mandate to make sure that these learners get help, but what I have realised is that they can speak proper siPedi, but cannot write it correctly"*

She states that she was not informed by the school management about the immigrant learners in the school, she just discovered them by herself. But she also raises another dimension of immigration, children born from an immigrant and a local person. Those children are also struggling when it comes to studying languages in the classroom. However, she also holds views from the multiculturalist theory, arguing that immigrants should be "*if you are in Rome do as Romans do*." She argues that addressing language issues can be sustainable if immigrants are willing to embrace the South African culture. She does not believe that South African education cannot be altered to accommodate immigrants. **LMEdu3** raised similar concerns, as a language teacher. He opposes the notion of the government relaxing pass requirements, arguing that such a move prioritises quantity over quality and risks watering down educational standards. He similarly rejects the idea that immigrant learners should receive exemptions from language requirements during assessment, maintaining that all learners should be evaluated according to the same criteria. While he defends South African learners' limited fluency in both English and indigenous languages, attributing it partly to the linguistic diversity introduced by immigrant learners, believes that the presence of foreigners in RSA will adversely affect local languages in the long run.

Learner diversity in LM school seems to be posing a challenge for language teachers, although, they emphasise that even though they are facing such challenges, they have a responsibility to assist the learners reach the desired language proficiency, particularly because language is a failing subject, therefore, it is important that learners pass languages, either English or native languages. **LMEdu1**, is a Life Sciences (Biology) and TshiVenda teacher. She is also concerned by learners not being competent in languages, because they turn to mix all the available languages that spoken in the area. Apart from the issue of language, she does not think immigrant learners pose any other challenges in the school, they have somehow become a huge part of the Musina community. The proximity of Musina to the Zimbabwean border contributes to several cross-border challenges, including kidnappings, illegal border crossings, smuggling of goods, and petty crimes such as theft, which collectively contribute to a perception of Musina as an unsafe and high-crime area. While acknowledging that some Zimbabwean nationals may be involved in such activities, she emphasises that she has never viewed immigrant learners within the school negatively or associated them with criminal behaviour.

The knowledge that teachers possess is crucial in addressing social challenges in South African schools. **GAEdu3** a Physical Science and Natural Science teacher believes that teachers should involve themselves in different professional development programmes so that they can be capacitated to change society. He himself is involved in different programmes, such as being a facilitator for ICT. This is because teachers are living during a time when everything is changing, and they should also change as well. For him it is not difficult to adapt to change because he has studied various Black cultures. Exposure to difficult cultures is important because teachers should learn not do things the same way, this is important to make headway in life. He argues that the way we see things and do things should change if we want to witness a positive future.

Question: Is teacher evolving part of teacher identity?

GAEdu3: *Yes, teachers should continuously evolve. They should find best ways to relate to learners. This means capacitating yourself with new skills. The manner in which information is used in society can lead to the development of misconceptions about certain topics, and gaps are created, so the teacher should minimise those gaps. Teachers should not share information that can be misleading in future. That is how teachers can correct society but creating order and relevance for going to school. This starts by first defining education; "meaning making." We must train the mind to think differently, for example; understanding the consequences of our actions, which calls for consequence management. Teachers must encourage a change in thinking and acting. In a diversified society like South Africa, and even more diversified continent, it is important to look at immigrants as members of society and what expectations do we expect from them, such as language exchange. This should be a win-win situation. From an education perspective, skills transfer.*

GAEdu2, a 54-year-old female, who after being a housewife and raising children, decided to study a qualification in Education, and started working at GA in 2015, which was her first formal job. She says that her character motivated her to become a teacher, after seeing how the youth in her community face social challenges. She is passionate about youth development programmes. Although teaching was not her first career choice, witnessing the profound impact of societal challenges on young people inspired her to contribute to addressing these issues. Motivated by the behavioural difficulties faced by learners in township schools, she chose to focus her Honours Degree research on Inclusive Education. She believes that teachers must actively seek knowledge and empower themselves to tackle the evolving challenges in education. Reflecting on her experiences of growing up during apartheid and now teaching in post-apartheid South Africa, she highlights the glaring differences in the country's social and educational trajectories. As a result, she embraces the philosophy that "*a child is raised by a village*," advocating for collective responsibility in nurturing learners. However, on the contrary, she is not pleased with how society pressurises teachers, where all teaching and learning responsibilities are solely put on

the shoulders of teachers, which she refers to as society wanting its "*bread buttered on both sides*."

6.4.5 Teacher Professionalism and challenges

Question: You said something about some children may be coming to you to tell you that mam', (madam) teacher so and so said something offensive to me because I am foreigner, maybe they call me certain names, right?

LMEdu4: *Even people from the community, not foreign learners only, even the learners from here,* [get discriminated too].

Question: They bully foreign learners?

LMEdu4: *Mmh* [shaking her head in disagreement] no *they come to me to tell me that a certain teacher has said something offensive to me.*

Question: I also assume that you are regarded as a counsellor, because I know in some schools Life Orientation teachers are like school counsellors of the school, somehow, they assume that job. Do you also have learners who come to you and tell you that mam I'm struggling with this subject, I'm struggling with Tshivenda, Sepedi, for example, foreign children who may not be able, for example, Shona speaking, Chichewa speaking or Portuguese speaking whatever language, maybe they come to you and report, mam' I'm struggling with such a subject. Have you ever experienced?

LMEdu4: *Too much*!

Question: and what are the interventions that maybe you might incorporate…?

LMEdu4*: I just tell them to go to a certain teacher who is not teaching, maybe, for example I am teaching Life Orientation in Grade 11 now, if there is a problem in Life Orientation, I just refer him to the other teacher teaching another grade. Yah, I just refer then to such people. Because there are some learners who cane, I think two weeks now,* [inaudible] *and they have a lady teacher who teach Maths Literacy in grade 12, and they don't understand her, when they try to ask her, mam' here we don't understand, she will tell them that lets go on, you will study yourselves.*

Question: Do you approach that teacher?

LMEdu4: *No, I don't, you just refer them to the other teachers so that they can* [inaudible] *because they already have a negative attitude towards her, you can't go to her, you must just refer them to other teachers.*

LMEdu4 believes that teachers should exercise professionalism all the time, regardless of their feelings about the presence of immigrants in the country. The first step towards professionalism according to her, is the ability of senior teachers to mentor younger, new or junior teachers about the challenges and opportunities posed by immigration in schools situated in the Limpopo Province. She says that it is important for a teacher to know and be aware of the type of learners she or is going to teach. Since the department of education does not provide workshops to this effect, and principals together with the school management team, (SMT) do not either, it becomes the duty of other teachers. If such an orientation does not happen, as it is the case at LM School, teachers will be frustrated. When I asked her, how did she know that there were immigrant learners in her class then, if there was no orientation? She says that it is something that a teacher discovers on her or his own. "*You just meet strange names in the classroom, that you can't even pronounce, that's when its revealed to you.*" (LMEdu4, 23 August 2021).

I was concerned by this, if a teacher in not aware of the presence of immigrant learners in the classroom, she or he can utter offensive words, such as *ikwerekwere* intentionally or unintentionally, particularly in subjects like LO, considering that as teachers we are socialised differently. **LMEdu4** disapproves justifications for xenophobic expressions. She says there is no reason for teachers to use such words. In her opinion, this is a sign of unprofessionalism. Teachers should learn to select their words, they should have that type of social intelligence, where they do not say things that can potentially hurt others. She also stresses that it should be obvious to teachers that each schooling community is addressed differently, a teacher cannot address learners the same way she or he addresses parents, and the opposite is true.

She gave me an example of herself, that as an HOD, she cannot speak to teachers the same way she does to learners, it a matter of understanding the manner of approach, she says. These sentiments are consistent **GJEdu1** opinions, when he says that teachers should have high moral order thinking.

LMEdu4 also raises a very important view, out of all the participants, she is the only one that did. "*...learners will always tell you when you offend them, they can reason.*" (LMEdu4, 23 August 2021). This further underscores the importance of teachers being sensitive to and responsive to the emotional and psychological well-being of their learners.

She also brings forward another issue that came up frequently during the interviews. She believes that as Black South Africans we cannot justify xenophobia, just because we have bad past experiences with immigrants, does not translate to treating immigrants with hostility. "*When I'm at home I fight with my husband or children, but when I get into the bus or at school, I should leave those issues behind and address it when I get home. I know it's not easy, but teachers should learn to behave like that and adjust. Even here* [at LM School] *there are some learners who complain about teachers who are xenophobic, who use offensive words. Teachers are professionals, they just don't do such things, it shows immaturity.*" (LMEdu4, 23 August 2021).

The issue of professionalism was brought up by various participants including **LMEdu7**.

"*Teachers should remain professional regardless of their human nature, it makes the working environment harmonious, and treat everyone equally, and there will be no personal feelings, creating a conducive environment for teaching, and that is bound to produce good results (Matric). If not, personal issues crop in which details the core business of teaching, which compromises teacher performance*" (LMEdu7, 24 August 2021).

Question: But what about external factors, they can derail the agenda of education as well?

LMEdu7: *Teachers are trained to handle stations, and your training should repay you to handle such situations. We must be exemplary to learners, because we like parents to them. If you are professional, you can handle such situations. Remember children imitate teachers, if we are unprofessional, they will copy us.*

He contends that a qualification certificate merely serves as proof that a teacher attended university, but true professionalism should be demonstrated through conduct, regardless of formal documentation. He draws an analogy with the military, arguing that just as soldiers are expected to adopt a specific discipline and behaviour following their training, so too should teachers embody professional values and practices because of their training. According to him, professionalism in teaching should be evident in one's attitude, commitment, and ethical behaviour, not solely in credentials.

LMEdu7: *In my view, teaching is in the person, it's unfortunate that now people choose teaching because they are motivated by money, teachers are born, they are born with the desire to help others, then go to college to sharpen their skills.*

However, **MLEdu5** a 27-year-old female Geography teacher, contends that upholding professionalism is not always possible when teachers are confronted with difficult contextual realities. She expresses a sense of despondency, citing a lack of motivation among learners as a key source of frustration in her teaching environment. As a coping mechanism, she adopts a serious demeanour and avoids making jokes or forming casual rapport with learners. Furthermore, she highlights the additional challenge posed by immigrant learners who struggle with the language of instruction. In response, she feels compelled to teach exclusively in English and simplify complex terminology to make subjects like Geography more accessible to all learners.

6.4.6 Xenophobia and teacher frustrations

"*Teachers* need *to be honest with themselves, and admit that teaching is not their calling, but if they want to continue staying, they should do justice. I am about to retire, but I'm still doing my job*." (LMEdu4, 23 August 2021).

The above excerpt was said in the context of teachers who are not willing to accept the current education context in South Africa, which is another cause for teacher frustration. **MLEdu4** believes that the government cannot solve the issue of xenophobia unless people decide to change their mindset. She says that xenophobia is only in our minds because there are instances where some teachers at LM School who despise Zimbabweans, meanwhile they themselves have relatives in Zimbabwe. She associates this type of attitude with the effects of apartheid, because, as South Africans, we cannot accept our different ethnic or tribal orientations, it is impossible to accept others. Before, she began working at LM School, she worked at another school as a Mathematics teacher, at this school, she says that some of her colleagues who came from Venda, like her, were never accepted, because the area was predominantly a BaPedi (Pedis) dominated, which is unfortunately the same situation she is encountering in Musina.

GJEdu1, believes that SA is experiencing xenophobia based on her history of apartheid. He cites the history of the 1934-1934 Great Trek Voortrekkers, where the 19th century Dutch settler descendent pioneers, who later became known as the Afrikaners, left the British Cape Colony to establish themselves in the interior. How is it possible then that democratic SA could establish herself in just 27 years? He claims that the time is not enough, because the system of apartheid itself too close to five decades to be reinforced. He thinks that the challenge of immigrants is one of the teething problems SA is experiencing. Teachers can only try to solve the issue to a certain extent, the rest is up to the government. As a History teacher, he says that it is frustrating to teach concepts and units that discuss xenophobia and racism, even

finding examples that may not later be interpreted as insensitive, is also a challenge. He believes that learners are innocent, regardless of what Black African immigrant do. He however highlighted that he only agrees with the motion that says that illegal immigrants should not benefit unduly from SA government resources.

The manner at which **GJEdu2** argues her point across, evidently demonstrates that she believes that as a teacher she has a role to defend immigrant learners and be just, but she is also speaking from a place of frustration like a concerned citizen, who is watching the sovereignty of her country being shredded into pieces. She mentions that the way in which we treat immigrants should reflect humanity, but the downside of such a mentality is that it is contributing to the illegal entry of immigrants into the country. She is afraid that at the present state as far as immigration is concerned, it seems as if foreigner who has passport can enter and leave SA haphazardly, including those who do not have legal documents to be in the country. Immigration processes should be a controlled and regulated by the relevant government authorities. She thinks that immigration should be managed through the Critical Skills Visa that are outlined by the Department of Higher Education (DHET) and Department of Home Affairs (DHA). The Critical Skills Visa has just been newly gazetted, a week ago, because before 2022, DHA, had different regulations. She claims that South Africa should benefit from the presence of immigrants because right now, they are a burden to the country. Even though her argument seems reasonable, but she does not speak about legal immigrants who are in the country through work visas, as well as refugees and asylum seekers. This could be indicative of the possibility that the term immigrant among Black South Africans is assumed to refer to Black African foreigners, regardless of their residence status.

The prism at which **GJEdu2** is contesting arbitrary could be interpreted as xenophobia because her views may be adapted to fit into the rhetoric that immigrants are “thieves” stealing jobs, compete for meagre resources and inadequate service delivery. **GJEdu1** although, he did not dwell much on this point, but he nevertheless

raised it, suggesting that xenophobia is a government's business, because from the country's security cluster report on xenophobic attacks, it transpired that, this was an act motivated by an economic deprivation of Black South Africans, while Black African immigrants are economically flourishing. He does not see this matter resolved effectively if parliament is taking a back seat in terms of policy formulation. "*Policy is key, there should be control and measures in place, because right now, there's only one loaf of bread, yet everyone wants a bite*" (GJEdu1, 16 August 2021).

GJEdu2 prefaces her thoughts by presenting the capacity and power of teachers to diffuse the tension that against the presence of immigrants. But she is also able to give us what she believes is the realistic context. She says that teachers cannot be exclusively regarded as professionals, which is an opinion that nullifies **LMEdu4** views on teacher professionalism. **GJEdu2** maintains that teachers are human, at the end of the day, they also experience challenges like everyone else. She however accepts that emotions have no place in the classroom, but it is not an easy undertaking, she says. The topic of emotions seems to be understood from a one-dimensional view, that of a psychological definition of emotions, with examples such as anger or anxiety and joy, yet emotions can extend to experiences such as teacher burn-out, described by Maslach et al., (2001) as emotional depletion, which should determine teacher job satisfaction, and reasons for frustration or satisfaction. However, **GJEdu2**, manages to a link the latter to her views. She tells me how the presence of immigrants in her community (Alexandra) has brought frustration to teachers, as members of society.

According to **GJEdu2**, even before teachers arrive at school, already, they are frustrated, by what they come across every day in the morning on their way to school. She asserts that Black African immigrants are erecting informal housing structures all over the neighbourhood of Alexandra, even on the pavement, making it difficult for community members to used public facilities such as roads, with ease. Their involvement in criminal activities also adversely affects society. She says that we should remember that what happens outside of the school premises, will directly

affect teacher performance, teacher attitude and teacher emotions. It is therefore in this light that the presence of Black African immigrants, seems inescapable by teachers. She emphasises that teachers who are trapped in the immigrant discourse, are generally, teachers in public schools situated in townships.

She alleges that Black African immigrants, whom she refers to as foreigners, are involved in acts of criminality. She quickly puts a disclaimer to this allegation and says that it is not solely immigrants who are participating in crime, South Africans are also equally responsible, she however qualifies this with statics, she says more than 50% of foreigners are criminals. This motivated me to ask her xenophobia is justifiable. She did not directly answer my question, until I probed her further, and that is when she finally said that it is unjustifiable, however due the feeling of exasperation, South Africans end up instigating xenophobic attacks. This claim is consistent with Dodson (2010), where causes of xenophobia are explored to being motivated by Black African immigrants' participation in competing over resources. To this effect she spoke about the fact that some foreigners agree to be exploited by SA employers who do not want to hire South Africans, because they are intending to maximise profit, from illegal migrant labour exploitation, (as I discuss it under the Marxist Theory). She insists that there is a high rate of unemployment in the country, and the little jobs that are available, are taken by foreigners. She also profoundly remarks that we need to understand that foreigners are not only Black Africans, but there are also immigrants who were born in South Africa, there are also immigrants who originate from Asia and Europe, therefore, if we want to justly address the issue, we need to afford immigrants the same status regardless of their race. This situation is similar to that of the UK, that necessitated the Brexit Referendum. Adam, (2020) states that many Britons, prefer 'traditional' immigrants over EU immigrants, because of the notion that the latter, are unduly benefiting from government services. Hence immigration in the UK has shaped the latest political, economic, social, agriculture and even cultural decisions, regarding the potential loss of Englishness; (Adam, 2020). The general feeling which may not make sense at first, is that EU immigrants, provoke resentment, similarly as the Black African immigrants do in

South Africa. Those immigrants who come from outside of the EU, receive indifferent treatment, which is also a similar case with immigrants from elsewhere, like Asia or Europe, residing in SA. The Brexit paved way for discriminatory and hate incidents way before the Referendum, as early as 2011; (Benedi et al., 2021), with the eastern European labour magnet absorbing much of the impact.

However, sustaining the above mindset proved challenging; although it initially seemed that the participants and I were aligned in our perspectives, over time, they appeared to shift away from this shared understanding. It was **GJEdu4**, a 63-year-old retiree, who had been teaching in public schools for 40 years, maintains that there is no excuse for "persecuting" immigrants, because even the reasons that are provided, for example accusing Black African immigrants of crime, do not hold any water, because there are South Africans who are also criminals, therefore, we cannot justify xenophobia nor reduce immigrants to criminals. His argument is that teachers should always be professionals because we cannot bundle immigrants as a unit, because they are individuals. He argues that such behaviour is encouraged by a lack of exposure of most Black South Africans. To elaborate on this idea, he uses an analogy of a child who grows up without siblings, with no idea of sharing, but believes that everything in the house belongs to him or her. If such a person grows up and moves out of his or her home, it is possible that she or he might be anti-social. In the South African context, South Africa was isolated from the world for a long time, and if immigrant labour entred SA, the white government created compounds that limited the movement of immigrant, unlike today. Hence teachers need to find common ground, through the curriculum, to establish coexistence. In his opinion we should condemn xenophobia with the strongest terms possible because it defeats the idea that Africans are brothers and sisters, borders, and demarcation area product of colonialism.

While he appreciates that there is a general feeling of frustration among Black South Africans caused by the presence of African immigrants, but he also attributes the situation to the SA government failure to manage it, compared to the apartheid regime, which successfully handled it. **GJEdu5** seems to agree with this opinion,

because she claims that Black South Africans are generally lazy in nature. They do not have the entrepreneurial spirit that foreign nationals possess, they rely extensively on government hand-outs, which is the cause for animosity and frustration when Black Africans display business skill that ultimately led to their economic prosperity. It is for this reason that she thinks that teachers need to be open-minded and remain professionals during all the chaos, so that they can effectively execute their roles. However, the tendency to label and generalise about Black South Africans is a source of significant frustration for many citizens, who feel insulted and marginalised in their own country by foreign nationals perceived to be competing for limited resources. This perception, that immigrants are undermining locals, is often cited as a contributing factor to rising xenophobic sentiments.

6.4.7 Interpretation of teacher identity

"Without a doubt, big time, immigration have changed the way in which Black South African teachers teach, there is no question about that." (GAEdu1, 18 August 2021).

GAEdu1 asserts that her professional background has equipped her with the capacity to engage with learners in a compassionate and empathetic manner. Since the school has also enrolled immigrant learners from Grade 8-12, automatically, they also receive her kindness. She says that this is an important step in a teacher's professional life because her goal is to foster change, and refrain from self-centredness. **GJEdu5**, agrees with these sentiments, she says that teachers should have the ability to see and accept people for who they are. She claims that generally South Africans are judgemental and discriminative, even among themselves. This is an illness, coupled with an inner conflict, and its immigrants find themselves in the firing line, she says. She gives me an example of her primary education, where she was discriminated at a school where the medium of instruction was Sesotho, because she is isiZulu speaking. She says that the language teachers always complained that they had to accommodate her because she did not understand, until her family moved her to a "isiZulu school" that was unfortunately far from home.

She brings yet, another the issue, previously discussed, language, and reconciles it with teacher identity. She claims that sometimes teachers conveniently forget that English is the medium of instruction, especially in rural and townships. She claims that this puts learners who do not speak that language at a disadvantage. She explains that South Africa already is a diverse country, with no room for homogeneity, it is even more complicated with immigrant learners, because if they were not born in South Africa, it means they will be struggling with Geography (a subject that she teaches), at least for those who speak or understand South African native languages, have an opportunity to grasp the concepts.

Teacher identity appears to be viewed from different angles by different teachers. The common denominator is kindness and humanity. Even though this view is shared by several teachers, but by the same token, many also feel that immigration has brought havoc in the country, hence, exercising kindness, can be difficult undertaking, sometimes. For example, **GJEdu5** thinks that the influx of Mozambicans into South Africa is motivated by the marriage between Nelson Mandela and Gracia Machel. She claims that the Mozambican nationals are taking advantage of that context. This breeds a feeling of hostility among many South Africans who are trapped in the life of poverty. This feeling is responsible for the death of the spirit of *ubuntu.* Based on this philosophy, teachers are viewed as part of the interdependency chain, that is forged by this idea, that which when explored explains interdependency, as a need for each other, suggesting that an individual skill is not enough to sustain the community.

Gathongo, (2008), in his paper explores various native Kenyan Language proverbs that explains the value of interdependency. One Kikuyu proverb that holds such knowledge is *Iri murungu igiritagia iri kahia,* translated to say that the hornless animal leans on the one that has horns. According to this comparison, a hornless animal could be any professional that needs services of a teacher, and vice-versa. The personification of animals and objects in African languages illustrate hospitality and

interdependency, which appears to fade away in contemporary Africa; (Gathongo, 2008), because there is visible reckless hospitality, and too much generosity. In Kikuyu Language, they say: *Utaana muingi uninagira murokerwo ng'ombe,* which when translated to English, it means that excessive generosity depletes the cows of the one visited in the morning. Another proverb with a similar warning, is a Swahili proverb: *Mgeni siku mbili, siku tatu mpe jembe,* which is translated to mean that a visitor should not stay indefinitely, if she or he does, should be given work, (hoe). The Chewa proverb illustrates this warning by saying, "Treat the visitor well because she or he is like a morning dew which disappears very quickly with the morning sun," (Gathogo, 2008, p.280).

Another perspective on teacher identity is offered by **LMEdu3**, a teacher of English and siPedi, who argues that teacher identity is significantly influenced by the nature and background of the learners they teach. He maintains that while it may be unrealistic to expect teachers to be entirely free of xenophobic attitudes, there is a professional and ethical imperative to actively resist and challenge such biases. According to him, the social and economic conditions that fuel xenophobic sentiments are glaring and cannot be ignored, but teachers must consciously strive to rise above them in their professional practice.

LMEdu3: *Teachers' identity can't be judge or concluded over 1 incident, it wouldn't be fair. We are expected not to reprimand foreign learners. Society does not understand that teachers are human, however, we sometimes must compromise because we are the most important people to change society for the better, however, society does not see us in that light.*

Question: Do you think the presence of immigrants in our country is diluting our local languages?

LMEdu3: *Not really, maybe it depends on the group of foreigners we are dealing with. Zimbabweans speak Shona and Ndebele, which are similar to our local languages. He argues that we can't necessarily say our languages are in danger of being changed. But in the case where learners can't properly express themselves in either of the local languages, including English, language teachers assist them by offering them extra books to take home for reading, for extra vocabulary, and keep a regular assessing their level of language proficiency.*

The response from **LMEdu3** is an indication that teachers are shaped by the context of their classrooms. These sentiments were also raised by **GIPEdu2**, who like LMEdu3 is inspired by their past experiences to do better in the classroom. "*Beng a teacher has taught me that its not enough to teach and grade scripts, but I've learnt that making a change is to make a follow up on their lives outside school*." (LMEdu3, 23 August 2021)

6.4.8 Change, teacher autonomy and teacher agency

The presence of immigrants in South Africa triggers and evoke various sentiments, which are primarily based on the economy status on the main, but also on societal socialisation of teachers. Teachers are expected to remain erect against any form of discrimination, prejudice, are encouraged to turn to the curriculum and professionalism, argues **KZNPEdu3**. She tells me that it was in her plans to become a teacher, her plan was to choose a career path in the field of science, but due to her subject combinations at the university, she was forced to continue with Mathematics, hence today is a Mathematics Literacy teacher. She however states that now she enjoys being a teacher, however she is not completely satisfied, because she is lacks technology competence. What makes this even more difficult is that she does not qualify for a government sponsored programme, because of her age, she will be soon retiring. She is not pleased with this government policy, because younger teachers who are in schools now, chances are that they studied computers at high school, therefore, if the government is focusing on them alone, and excluding senior teachers,

it further deepens the problem of teacher incompetence. She is however not desponded, she still believes there is a lot of ground to cover before retirement. Even though she is not a language teacher, but she knows that there are immigrant learners in the school. She is the second teacher to link language to immigrant learners.

KZNPEdu2, as a Mathematics teacher, argues that language is not much of a barrier when teaching Mathematics, because the subject is mainly practical, therefore, any child can learn, regardless of the language. I then asked him, what if the immigrant learner in addition of not speaking any of the native languages, does not speak English, how can she or be supported? He conceded that this would be a difficult situation. My point is that there is a general assumption among some teachers that teachers who are supposed to pay attention to immigrant learners, are language teachers, which according to **GAEdu1**, is not necessarily true, because as a Geography teacher, she is aware of the limitations that language can pose in teaching the subject. Nevertheless, **KZNPEdu3** holds teacher professionalism to high esteem. She claims that is disappointed in some of her colleagues who are outrightly unprofessional. She associates their actions to selfishness, because she believes that those teachers who are less caring about learners who need special support, they would not like it if the same was done to their own children.

KZNPEdu5 tells me that since his youth, he was dreaming of becoming a teacher, to change the world. Now he knows that he can do that one step at the time, and the right place to do so, is the classroom. He says, the closest comparison to teachers are politicians, but the difference, is that politicians are far removed from the communities they serve, yet in their campaigns they promised to serve, but teachers can live directly in the community and afford learners the chance to transform their circumstances. He states that the rewards are beyond the value placed on the salary. KZN is in predominantly rural province of SA, and immigrants that decide to move to Kwa Zulu Natal, are lesser than those who are found in Johannesburg or Cape Town, hence during the interviews, it appeared that even though the school has

enrolled immigrants, but they are fewer compared to schools in Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces. However, teachers believe that the school administration is not proactive in recording registered immigrant learners' information, and sharing that information with teachers, so that teachers could be prepared to meet the learners.

KZNPEdu5 even says that, if the school administration captures immigrant learners' data and shares the information with them, that could assist in minimising their discrimination, because teachers would try to welcome then, and introduce them to the rest of the class, because perhaps some of them, are anxious about being in a new country if they were born outside SA. Coupled with the non-proactiveness of the school administration, the provincial department of education, (Kwa Zulu Natal Department of Education) is accused of taking a backseat in this issue. When hypothetically asked if the KZN DoE were to bring an immigrant learner to the school to be enrolled, do they think, after a few months, it would come back and make a follow up on the state of the learner in terms of her or his welfare and academic progression, one of the teachers said, that he does not think so, the day DoE brings that learner, would be its last day too. It is the teachers' belief that there is a strong need for the government to cone on board and equip teachers deal with immigration. Indeed, teachers should be proactive too, but they need support.

This tell me, that some teachers are aligning with global changes, and they are finding way to adapt, and thinking that the government and school management should play a part, means that change has become part of teacher identity, teachers are recognising and acknowledging change, but more critically, are suggesting ways of addressing change. I was given an example of a situation in the USA: "*When I was in a school in America, there were three teachers in one classroom, one helping the learner who is an immigrant, who didn't speak English"* (KZNPEdu5, 26 August 2021). This is an example of how teachers become resources. I would like to believe that to address immigration in our classrooms, we should see ourselves as resources, and opportunity

creators, so that learners can be afforded an opportunity because education can give them a chance that they possibly could not get in their home countries.

Teachers have a potential to utilise the curriculum deliberately to address xenophobia, discrimination, social cohesion, peace, and diversity. This may not be realised if teachers do not accept that they themselves are learners, being in class is an opportunity for everybody to learn. **KZNPEdu4**, is a Consumer Studies teacher. She says that she must tell her learners that learning a recipe is not just for the sake of knowing how to use it, but it is also for nutritional purposes, for example, there is a reason, why vegetables and chicken, cook for a shorter tine compared to other foods, because we must preserve their nutritional value. It is the same thing with other subjects, teachers should not be restricted or limited by the Annual Teaching Plan, (ATP), and strictly follow it. She encourages teachers to study the reality of the learners and try to teach according to the needs of the learners. She says she encourages students from Lesotho and those that cone from the Eastern Cape Province to share their different recipes. She also teaches Tourism. In Tourism, she encourages learners to share their culture, religion, and tourist attractions from their countries and provinces. She believes that these are opportunities that teachers can take advantage of to be nation builders, because there is one thing that we need to remember, she says, that teachers are between the learner and the parents, therefore, if we teach learners well, they will pass the knowledge to their parents who may learn a few things about immigrants that may possibly change their perspective.

The essence of what **KZNPEdu4** and **KZNPEdu5** are expressing in the interview seems to be aligned with the claim raised in the Vygotskian Theory on professional teacher development, that teachers stand at the centre of the fundamental goals of education, which encompasses improved learning for all students; (Eun, 2010). Their sentiments also express what they believe teacher professionalism is. According to **KZNPEdu5** teacher professionalism is closely related to teacher agency. This is when the teacher teaches in a way that affords learners the opportunity to learn, but

significantly, it is the way in which one behaves, it should be acceptable and can be modelled by the learners. This line of thinking is however not accepted by other participants, like **GJEdu2**, who thinks that this is an extra job for teachers, that can potentially put an unnecessary strain on teachers, who are already burdened by the demands of the curriculum, furthermore, teachers are human beings too, it is not fair to constantly expect them to fulfil certain duties. **KZNPEdu5** seems not to agree with this view, because according to him, every job has its own expectation for employees, hence it is important for teachers to be prudent in the way in which they teach, because society is observing.

6.4.9 Gaps in the education system

Almost all the themes to an extent discuss the limitations that exist in the entire education system, but in this section, **KZNPEdu1** elaborates specifically how these gaps impact teacher professional behaviour. **KZNPEdu1** is a male teacher who teaches isiZulu. He admits that he had no intentions of becoming a teacher nor of studying for a university qualification. His poor family background did not motivate him to acquire tertiary education. His mind was made up for obtaining a blue-collar job, which he had already almost secured from a USA car company. "*I just wanted to go with a flow, there was no desire to go to university*" he says. However, one day his unemployed brother shared information that University of KwaZulu Natal Edgewood Campus was recruiting high school graduate who wanted to be trained as teachers with a government scholarship, and that is how he became a teacher.

I was curious to know if he has observed any progress over the past 17 years of his teaching career, considering that he became a teacher by default. His response is somehow elusive but gave an answer that chose to highlight government failures in supporting teachers address limitations in the profession. "*Except that you have to grow in any programme that you are in* [growth is inevitable, regardless of the career path], *yes there are programmes for growing the teacher, but really, they are not really many that have a radical impact, as a result you keep on repeating one and the same cycle of syllabus each and every time which makes you redundant at some stage*."

Question: Where is the gap? Is the gap at the university or in government, in terms of professional teacher development?

KZNEdu1: *At the university they are very professional, they teach, they've got their standard, like how a teacher should conduct himself and all those methodologies, how to teach and all that. But when you come to school or at a working level, the situation is different. You find something that is that is completely different, it's like you came from this university up there [knowledgeable] and you have to go down [demotivation] at a school level or at a work place level because you have to catch up many things, the way the syllabus is conducted, the way the workshop […] the way the department of education conducts its own, er… er… curriculums, you could see that yes there is a room to grow when you decide to study on your own on the side, but in school, except the workshops, there is nothing that makes you grown. There is something called, a programme called, what's this thing, … IQMS which is meant to grow teachers, you see? But still… you teach one thing this year and the next year, you feel like you are doing the same thing.* However**, GAEdu1** and **GAEdu5** hold a different view about university education. They both echo each other's opinions. Their contestation emerges from the fact that even though pre-service teachers are attached to a school and a mentor, but the duration of the teaching practice is too short to equip the teacher with the necessary skills needed to work in an environment like GA, for example, where often than not, they are overwhelmed by the learner diversity, in their opinion. Bartolome (1994), Middleton (2000), Montecinos, and Rios (1999), Mueller and O'Connor (2007) argue that teacher education has failed to fully prepare pre-service teachers for classrooms in South Africa, because evidence shows that they lack deeper cultural diversity awareness.

His response prompted me to ask him if it is not the individual teacher's honours to take it upon herself or himself to identify gaps and limitations in the system and subsequently take steps to address them. He hesitantly agreed to the extent of truth this claim holds but was quick to shift the blame to the context, citing that no matter how motivated a teach is, but lack of resources may kill the teacher's morale (spirit).

"*You can be a teacher with heavily armed knowledge, but the problem is the environment you are working in*." He acknowledges that teachers can improvise in a situation where there are no resources but also believes that they can only do as much. "*Yes, you can improvise, we tired have been improvising, but you will get tired of it.*"

KZNPEdu1 argues that it is not only long-term serving teachers that face such dilemmas in the workplace, that consequently adversely impacts their professionalism and roles, newly appointed teachers are also prone to these challenges as they enter the system. To avoid this, he suggests that all teachers regardless of the duration of service, they should be made aware of or reminded of the contextual factors that affect the classroom, through formal induction and orientation sessions. He believes that can assist teachers understand the challenges that learners face and thus be able to devise ways of addressing them. He states that this will play a pivotal role in the whole school set up, and "*can definitely make us better players in the game.*" **GAEdu5** resonates with these views. He states that at GA newly appointed teachers are inducted, for the same reasons that **KZNPEdu1** highlights.

While this would be an ideal approach, it is not the reality at KZNP. According to the participant, if such matters are discussed at all, they are often mentioned informally or in passing. He recalls that when he was placed at the school, the former principal casually noted that KZNP is situated in a township known for its complex social issues. However, this was not part of any formal orientation or deliberate conversation; rather, it surfaced incidentally during a general discussion. He attributes this lack of structured communication to the perception that, in some schools, the teaching profession is not afforded the same seriousness or professional regard as other occupations. "*It is the attitude that exists in the entire education system, that has made them forget that teachers need to be constantly reminded about professionalism, the type of learners, their background, and how they are expected to behave themselves. The current principal did this this year, reminding and motivating us that even though we have limited resources, but due to teacher*

sacrifices, in an under-resourced school, but teachers have persevered." (KZNEdu1, 26 August 2021).

KZNEdu1 argues that there is connection between teacher roles and gaps that exist in education, yet teachers are expected to harmonise these, a view shared by **GAEdu1** and **KZNPEdu5**. He further argues that the roles that teachers perform in the classroom extend as far as life post school. He also argues that since teachers are educated, it is therefore assumed that they can act professionally and act decisively and responsibly, which makes teaching a professional job. It is this characteristic of teachers that assist them develop a certain type of identity that is beneficial in assisting teachers understand the vulnerability of immigrant learners in schools. They can understand that an immigrant child may be fragile due to her or his constant movement, in search for opportunities. It will also be in the teacher's interest to understand that immigrant learners get rejected in many aspects, because some lack crucial documents that are crucial for their education in South Africa, and in addition to rejection, they must work as twice as much if not more, than a South African learner. However, he stresses that apart from a professional attitude, teachers should be cognisance of the connection that exists between social, economic and political issues, that can aid teachers understand the reasons behind immigration but reconciling reality of immigrants and the reality of South Africans, can be a challenge considering the inequalities that continue to persist in the country.

According to **KZNPEdu1**, KZNP School has immigrant children, but the school has not made the immigrant learner data officially accessible to teachers, teachers know about these learners, either from other learners, or from how they behave, because some tend to isolate themselves, and quiet, how they dress, because those who are Malawians often belong in the Islamic faith, therefore it is not difficult to spot them. **KZNPEdu1** argues, that a teacher who have a vested interest in the welfare of learners, can develop an interest and begin to ask questions, to understand the learner's circumstances. He states that upon talking to the child the teacher may discover that the learner is living alone because probably the parents are in other cities or countries, hence the ends up at KZNP, because apparently it is the only school

within the city radius that accepts immigrant learners for enrolment, because other schools are very strict, they do not enrol children who do not have legal papers. He assigns the eased enrolment to numbers. He refers to it as a game of numbers, because the system dictates that principal salary and teacher job security will depend on the student enrolment. If schools do not admit these learners, it become as situation of "*you don't take, you lose*." This is an irresponsible act because schools should be equipped to admit foreign learners. Lack of support for immigrant learners is a holistic challenge, because even the department of education treat their cases like normal cases, meanwhile they need specialised support. **KZNPEdu1** claims that some immigrant learners have never been at school for months because they are often on the road, relocating. This also calls for extra commitment from teachers, like him, he needs to dedicate more time teaching isiZulu. This is not always successful because at **KZNPEdu1** there is lack of support from the school management, that is why even if the teacher is not dedicate in that way, there will be no consequences.

We end the interview with the question of change. I ask him if he is aware that immigration has ushered several changes in our societies. He responded with a big "yes." He is however quick to state that these changes must be embraced, just like we are embracing Covid 19 changes, such as wearing a face mask. However, in South Africa accepting change is blocked by the anger and resentment that society has carried over from apartheid. He tells me a story of his white neighbour, whom he had just had a discussion with. The neighbour was sharing news about her new job and the possibility of buying a new car. This does not sit well with him because this neighbour in his opinion, does not have a tertiary qualification, which is a minimum requirement for his neighbour's new job. He expresses how painful this situation is, because in South Africa there is high level of unemployment even among university graduates, but because his neighbour is a white person, it is easier for her to be given a job, even though she is not qualified.

Participants from LM, KZNP, GJ and GIP expressed similar concerns regarding the inadequate documentation and communication of data related to immigrant learners.

They noted that information about such learners is often not properly recorded or disseminated to teachers. Consequently, educators typically become aware of a learner's immigrant status only when an issue arises, such as the need to summon a parent, the learner's difficulty with local languages, or when the learner's name appears unfamiliar or non-South African. LMEdu3 remarked that immigration is likely to remain a persistent issue in South Africa, yet the government's responses have largely consisted of temporary measures to address what is fundamentally a long-term challenge.

LMEdu3 argues that the enrolment of immigrant learners in township and rural public schools is driven, in part, by political agendas. He recalls that prior to 1994, the admission of immigrant learners without proper documentation was not permitted. He cites the case of a high-performing Zimbabwean learner who, despite her academic success, may ultimately be unable to pursue tertiary education due to lacking the necessary legal documentation. He clarifies, "*It's not like I'm saying we should exclude foreigners, but the correct procedure of enrolling foreign kids must be followed*." From his perspective, such situations demoralise teachers, who feel that their hard work is undermined when learners are unable to progress academically beyond secondary school due to administrative barriers.

LMEdu3 He further contends that government priorities appear skewed towards increasing enrolment numbers rather than ensuring the quality of learners produced at the end of the academic year. **LMEdu6**, a 52-year-old male educator, echoes these concerns, adding that nonprofit organisations often pressure schools to enrol immigrant learners, even in cases where the learners do not possess the required legal documentation. He suggests that such external influences complicate school governance and place additional strain on teachers who must navigate both legal and pedagogical challenges.

6.4.10 School context

There are various views that the South African society holds about the presence of immigrants in the country. As alluded to earlier in the study, teachers also hold these

views to a certain extends, as we have seen from **GIPEdu4**, **GJEdu1**, **GJEdu2**, **GAEdu1** and **KZNPEdu1** responses. What stands out in these responses is the idea of trying to demonstrate the historical, political, social and economic contextual factors of the country, and attempting to juxtapose them with the context of xenophobia, and with the same pulse, condemn it based on the professional nature of teachers.

GIPEdu4, describes himself as a politically aware individual. He grew up in the rural areas of Limpopo and studied at a "*Bush"* University. Bush university are those universities that were designated for only Black people/Bantu, during apartheid. He studied up to Honours level, majoring in African Languages. He argues that he has identified some opportunities in education, which he believes some teachers have not been able to identify, yet. He says that his choices were between education or journalism, and he chose the former. Today he writes books and teach at GIP School. He also describes himself as a *"revolutionary watchdog."* He is a teacher of Technology, History, XiTshonga and History. He believes that as a teacher he must conscientise his learners about their surroundings, including knowledge of political leaders, that lead their communities.

Throughout his teacher career, he has been involved in cultural exchange programmes including travelling abroad with learners as well as winning awards. He argues that teachers must have a clear understanding of politics, educational policies and curriculum changes, as in the case of RSA. He also emphasises that teachers should be versatile in their approach. He supports this point by elucidating on the significance of understanding the educational context in schools, because it allows the teacher to *"get to the hearts of the learners."* He further argues that teachers must possess an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural backgrounds of their learners. Echoing the sentiments of his colleague, **GIPEdu2**, he emphasises the importance of fostering a supportive environment in which learners feel comfortable approaching teachers with their challenges. To contextualise his perspective, he links the 2021 civil unrest and looting that primarily affected the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng to immigrants. When questioned on how he identified the looters, he

explained that he is familiar with the GIP community, because of his involvement in youth development programmes beyond his teaching responsibilities, therefore he has an insight into the demographic composition of the community. He claims that, based on his observations, immigrants constitute most individuals who were engaged in looting. He further asserts that, in his view, South Africans are generally more cautious and less inclined toward bold, unlawful actions compared to immigrants.

He attributes xenophobia to economic frustrations, but quickly clarifies that it is not xenophobia, but Afrophobia, because those who hold these attitudes, do not fight with Chinese or Indians, a system that is perpetuated by the legacy of apartheid, "*When you are fighting a Black person, you are fighting yourself*"

He believes that both political and economic systems in South Africa create the challenges associated with immigration. He argues that immigration is a product of capitalism. He also narrates how Western capitalists have sanctioned Zimbabwe, leading to Zimbabwe losing the status of being the world food basket, ultimately collapsing the economy.

He acknowledges that some teachers hold stereotypical views, noting that approximately 98% of the learners at the school are of Zimbabwean or Mozambican heritage. Consequently, teachers are compelled to adapt to this multicultural context. However, he points out that schools are often not sufficiently equipped to provide proper orientation for staff regarding the demographic composition and cultural dynamics of their learners. Echoing the perspective of **LMEdu7**, **GIPEdu4** argues that while formal university education is valuable, it should not be regarded as the sole source of teacher development. Instead, he emphasizes the critical role that the school environment plays in the ongoing professional and cultural education of teachers. Figueredo-Canosa et al. (2020) argue that while teacher education has begun integrating intercultural competencies, but teachers still report limited comprehensive preparation to effectively manage cultural diversity in the classroom, highlighting the need for more coordinated and inclusive training approaches.

GAEdu5 is one of the senior teachers at GA School. He is 56 years old and is in the School Management Team, (SMT). This team comprises of the principal, Heads of Departments, (HoDs) and master teachers, (depending on the composition of the staff). He joined GA in 2017, when he transferred from Ivory Park, a township which he argues shares similar contextual factors with Alexander. He originally hails from Limpopo province. He first arrived in Gauteng Province, then known as Transvaal, to look for a job, after completing high school. However, after meeting various challenges he decided to return home and enrolled at the University of Venda between 1989-1993, where he pursued studies in Political Sciences, but after realising that it was going to be a challenge to secure a job, he enrolled for a Higher Education Diploma. While working as a teacher, he registered with the Randse Afrikaans Universiteit (Rand Afrikaans University) in 1999, which was re-named to University of Johannesburg (UJ). Here he specialised in computer literacy and later enrolled for a Bachelor of Education Honours, which he completed in 2001. He then realised that he was not qualified to his satisfaction, he registered with Witwatersrand University (Wits), where he majored in E-Learning, and later enrolled with the University of South Africa, (UNISA) for Human Resources Management, specialising in recruitment and interviewing. After acquiring all these qualifications, he still believed that it was necessary to register for a Master degree but unfortunately got discouraged. Because of his age, he does not think that it is possible to receive government funding to proceed with his studies, and another reason is that when he registered for his previous qualifications, he had received government bursaries, which renders him illegible for another funding. He states that he is also a national examiner for Tshivenda Language.

I was curious to know what gave him the zeal to pursue education because he already had a job security. He says that he was inspired by the availability of and access to opportunities, which were not during apartheid South Africa. He gives an example of UJ and Wits which did not enrol Black students, he recalls that in 1991 there was a Filipino student at UNIVENDA, and apart from her, all students were Black. With

all these qualifications under his belt, he sounds like a member of an SMT that is highly inspired and equipped to manage GA, which he portrays as a context that demands skilful, competent and teachers who uphold professional values of teaching. The separate education systems in South Africa that GA highlights, has a correlation with the current lack of teacher professionalism that **GAEdu5** argues exists among his colleagues: "*My duty is to make sure that there is order in the school because teachers are lazy, just sit in the staffroom."* He expresses concern that such dynamics have the potential to disrupt the effective functioning of the school. He attributes teacher disengagement partly to factors such as obesity and the teacher classroom rotation policy implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic. Beyond these issues, he argues that some teachers exhibit a lack of accountability, which he believes is exacerbated by their status as local teachers, making it challenging for school leadership to enforce discipline or provide direction. He further criticises teacher unions, particularly SADTU, for allegedly protecting educators accused of misconduct.

Msibi and Mchunu (2013) argue that although apartheid has officially ended and the South African education system has undergone numerous reforms, its lingering effects remain evident in the post-apartheid era. The apartheid-era curriculum, which systematically rendered Black education inferior to that of white schools, was restructured to redress historical imbalances. However, as Msibi and Mchunu (2013) point out, the legacy of educational inequality continues to shape contemporary schooling experiences. This suggests that white schools could be defined as having professional teachers; (Chisholm, 1999) because white teachers were deliberately empowered so they could develop intellectually and professionally. On the other hand, Black teachers to a certain extent, they were regarded as mere technicians who lacked professional skills, knowledge and expertise. The white government made decisions on their behalf and the school, which rendered Black schools bureaucratically rigid, with top-down management approach.

The professionalisation of white teachers included having to abide by professional codes of conduct, acquiring qualification s and earning attractive salaries, compared to their counterparts; (Carrim, 2001). The apartheid system thus promoted a narrative that rendered Black teachers as unqualified and even under qualified, working in appalling conditions. However, after the dismantling of the apartheid 19 departments of education to unify all teachers in the country, with varied historical and competence backgrounds, to teach a curriculum that was designed to replace the racial and sexist apartheid ideologies; (Harley, & Wedekind, 2004; Jansen, 1997). New challenges emerged, which on the main affected Black teachers who already had skill and competency deficiencies. This meant that Black teachers were expected to change their old ways of teaching, and adopt the new pedagogy, which implied that they had to overlook the evident inequalities that exist in teacher professionality, which could be a situation that **GAEdu5** is expressing.

Various views about school context are brought up by other participants like **LMEdu6**. He is concerned by the smuggling of illegal goods, such as illicit cigarettes that are imported from Zimbabwe, as well as human trafficking. He argues that the Limpopo River is a non-perennial river, and people utilise it for illegal crossing, and people have access without crossing the border. Apart from goods smuggling, he also cites the illegal entry of other foreign nationals such as Pakistanis into South Africa through the Zimbabwe -South Africa border. He thinks that this border is a dangerous place, making Musina not a safe place as well. He argues that since 2008, he has witnessed a heavy enrolment of immigrant learners at the LM, who arrive without previous school report, as evidence of having been at school. All these issues, he claims they are because of the proximity of RSA to Zimbabwe. As a citizen of South Africa, he feels that teachers are put under a lot of pressure to account for the failure of these learners who already come to RSA already disadvantaged in languages. He reminds me that in South Africa, if you fail languages, you do not progress to the next class.

MLEdu6: In the event that an immigrant learner collapses at school and requires emergency medical attention, a teacher is typically expected to accompany the learner

to the hospital. However, upon arrival, healthcare personnel may request personal information that the teacher is not equipped to provide. This can lead to misunderstandings and, in extreme cases, unfounded accusations such as human trafficking. Such scenarios highlight the lack of institutional preparation and support for teachers in addressing the complexities introduced by immigration in the schooling context.

Like **MLEdu3**, **MLEdu6** He argues that it is unjust to place the blame for crime in South Africa solely on immigrants, as there are also South African border officials who actively facilitate illegal immigration. In his view, this reflects a broader syndicate involving both South African citizens and foreign nationals. He attributes the root of the problem to government failure, particularly in the education system, which does not adequately prepare learners to become entrepreneurs. As a result, when immigrants establish businesses, they are unfairly scapegoated. He further asserts that it is crucial for teachers to understand the complexities of immigration in South Africa, as such knowledge can help them interpret socio-political dynamics, such as open border policies, in a way that prevents the reinforcement of anti-immigrant sentiment.

6.4.11 Teacher attitude

GAEdu5 argues that teacher attitude can sometimes be an obstacle for an effective SMT, however, he claims that this is not prevalent at GA School. He claims that there have been incidents in the past when he has been called names and labelled a problem because he maintains professionalism. He states that he is a motivated someone, who still believes in being professional. "*Madam even yesterday you saw me, I was always outside, I only go to my office to eat*." I was curious to know why professionalism matters so much for him. "*To make sure that children get values, teachers should remain professional. Teachers are leaders, facilitators, guider, monitor, manager and role model. Some of these qualities are acquired over time*." He claims that as home language (native) teacher, he can use language to teach values and instil discipline. He believes that language is closely related to culture, therefore, it can be used to instil those cultural values that promote respect for diversity. He shares an

incident where he was solving a case of learners who were some learners were disrespectful to their teacher, who happens to be a Zimbabwean. After much deliberation with the parents, the matter was finally solved, and he asked the learners to apologise to the offended teacher by performing a traditional Tshivenda way of displaying respect towards elders, girls lay down in front of the elder, and boy squat. But I was curious to know how he could have instructed them to show an apology if these learners were Tswana, Zulu or any other ethnic group. He responds with so much ease, telling me that he would have done the same thing, because some ethnic groups share similar practices, for example, Tsonga and Venda share similar practices, but also, he is familiar with other practices, he attributes this to his experience as a teacher, who have lived in worked in different school in Gauteng. More interestingly he argues that it was important that the learners apologised to the teacher, the same way they would have done, if the teacher was a South African.

GAEdu4 also shares her opinions about the extent to which teacher attitudes can go in terms of shaping a learner in the classroom and beyond. She has been a teacher for 38 years and will be retiring at the end of 2021. She studied at the then Transvaal College of Education, a Bachelor of Education at UNISA and has qualification in leadership as well. At GA School she is an isiZulu master teacher. Her designated post, has the same status as an HoD, because she says that, if she liked, she would have applied for being an HoD in other schools, because already at GA School there is an HoD, but she is content with working at GA. In addition to this satisfaction, she does not regret her decision of choosing teaching as a career, she claims it has given her several opportunities to effect change in the lives of many learners, even at post high school. Outside the classroom, she and her husband own a museum at their home. She often invites her colleagues to visit and learn about the various artefacts that can assist them in teaching certain subjects. She passionately shares with me how avid she is about this project, because it is an epitome of African heritage. She says that as a Black person, she feels obligated to preserve African heritage, because it is not a common practice among Black people to preserve heritage, compared to white people.

In her view, teachers have complex roles. They are groomers and motivators. It is necessary that they see their professional life from this perspective, she argues, because learners come from different backgrounds, some come from disadvantaged backgrounds. She states that she also grew up in a poor family with uneducated parents. Therefore, from this experience, she knows that she has a duty to pay attention to her learners' behaviour, because many times, a learner who is misbehaving, is labelled and even written off by some teachers, yet, if teachers were more caring, they can learn that the behaviour is a cry out for help. Hahn (2008; 2015) argues that teachers have a role is to prepare young people for citizenship and nation building. In echoing these sentiments, **GAEdu4**, she tells me that she has an instinct to nurture learners. If she sees that she is not successful in this she gets frustrated. This is a challenge because teachers do not have a place for debriefing. She believes that the government has forsaken them, and instead prioritised results, and neglected the human nature of teachers, which exposes gaps in the holistic outlook on teacher wellbeing.

She also shares that she has and is still having immigrant learners in her class. She claims that she receives them well, because they are the best. They uphold values, work ethic and respect, which lacks in some of the South African learners. She believes that they are still grounded in values, estimating that 98% of immigrant learners that she taught in the past never disappointed her. She had a learner from Mozambique, who did not speak isiZulu, but by the time she got to Grade 10 she was the most improved immigrant learner to speak and write isiZulu, even better than local children who started to learn the language in Grade 1. This shows her determination and will power to learn, which earned her a symbol C in Matric. She concedes though that immigrant learners are not often appreciated by their South African peers. The excellent academic abilities of immigrant learners is an issue that was also raised by **GAEdu5**. He explained that one of the challenges teachers face, is the frustration that arises when high-performing immigrant learners lack the residency permit. Despite excelling in their Matric examinations, these learners cannot be officially recorded or issued results without valid permits. This places the school in a difficult position, prompting efforts to support undocumented learners,

including outreach to embassies, efforts that are often unsuccessful. When asked, he acknowledged that while such support may appear self-serving, it is also tied to the school's interest in maintaining its reputation, as Matric results are a significant marker of institutional performance and status.

They are viewed as competition, because generally they are academically gifted. This has a potential of causing conflict, which can be exacerbated by societal narratives about immigrants. However, if the presence of immigrants was viewed from a positive perspective, can enhance diversity because at the end of the day, she says, we are all Black. It is crucial that teachers promote harmony in the classroom because if they do not, outside issues, will find their way into the classroom and haunt the school. This is because, like other participants, she believes that some immigrants when they arrive in the country, end up being involved in acts of criminality because they are unidentifiable (from lack of identification documents). Their presence also affects the distribution of resources because some of them steal electricity from illegal connections. If the government, had taken the issue of immigration seriously, she says, there would be no xenophobia in the country, she blames the government for this situation.

The immigration crisis is one of the issues that leads to teacher despondency, because it is contributing to socio-economic ills, that also affect teachers, like anybody else. She argues that these issues may contribute to failure by teachers to identify issues of pertinence in the classroom. Like **KZNPEdu4**, she believes that teachers should treat all learners as if they were their own biological children and think, "*What if this is my child*?" In her view, this may be a first step in aligning teacher attitudes with change. To this effect, it necessary that teachers acquire knowledge because the world is evolving. It also gives teachers confidence. It reduces friction, between teachers and learners, because learners can spot a teacher who lacks confidence, and will not take him or her seriously, which is another cause for misbehaviour and ill-discipline among some learners. "*Now that I am retiring, I am not teaching Grade 12, but otherwise, I can any class, because of confidence*."

6.4.12 Teacher Flexibility

As a teacher myself, I believe that teacher attitude shapes how the way the teacher exercises his or flexibility on issues that they are presented with. In an interview with **GIPEdu1**, a male teacher who trained as teacher from 1983 to 1986, and began his teaching career in 1987. He teaches Life Science (Biology) and SiPedi Language. He describes the learners in GIP as mostly coming from impoverished backgrounds, characterised by informal settlements. He states that the school has enrolled a sizeable number of immigrant learners, mostly from Zimbabwe, and others from Mozambique, Malawi and Lesotho. I was curious as to how does he have knowledge of such information, because I would assume that this is data that is captured by the administration staff.

GIPEdu1: *It happens that sometimes, that there is something that requires a meeting with the parents, and that's when, as a teacher, I discover that this learner is not a South African. These foreign learners are not problematic, they always toe the line, they don't frustrate us.*

I then asked if he has any immigrant learner studying siPedi in his class. "*No, they usually study Tsonga and isiZulu, because these are languages that are mostly close to their own native languages*" (GIPEdu1, 20 August 2021).

Question: What will you do if a foreign learner expresses interest to study SePedi with you?

GIPEdu1: *It is not possible because they would have had to start the language from the foundation level, where they are exposed to phonetics and grammatical structures of the language, however, if the learner insists, we will have to try, do a one-on-one instruction, after hours perhaps. I have to adjust myself into any changes and reforms because I am flexible. I have accepted the fact that we have immigrants in South Africa, I accept them, I accept them all, they came here to look for greener pastures…*

However, he does acknowledge that illegal immigrants cause a strain on the government distribution of resources, hence the electricity is overloaded, and water is over-used.

Question: Is the "I" in you still the same as when you started teaching?
GIPEdu1: *No, it has completely change, and this affects me a lot, there is a lack of commitment from the learners, for example, they do not do their homework, and I have to wait for them to do it in class, before I continue.*

He also made it known that he is trying to use the Life Science curriculum to effect change in the lives of his learners, for example in assisting them to understand the importance of healthy living, considering some of the socio-economic circumstances that affect the learners. These views were shared by his colleague Ms. GIPEdu2. She tells me that she did not become a teacher to earn a salary, but she is motivated by the need to assist learners who come from impoverished communities such as GIP. Through LO and Economics subjects, she says that she is experiencing how her learners live outside of school and emphasises that teachers learn a lot from their learners, they just need to be flexible enough. She gives an example of how Economics exposes some of the socio-economic challenges that learners face. She narrates how difficult her childhood was, and that even though her learners are facing similar challenges, but they are better than her generation, because they would even go to school without breakfast, but now the government has introduced school feeding schemes, which help alleviate hunger among learners who come from poor families.

She states that her learners interact with her freely, she maintains the same demeanour in and outside the classroom. She believes that both learners and the community have the need to interact with teachers, therefore, she makes sure that she maintains a healthy relationship with all stakeholders. She does not believe that this is an extra pressure for her because teachers have a role to play in the community. She argues that the learners who come to school, are the very same members of community, therefore she emphasises on the importance of affording learners time, space and respect.

On the note of respect, I was curious to know how she addresses the issue of power dynamics in the classroom.

GIPEdu2: *Teachers are facilitators, not that kind of power, I like to put myself in their shoes. How can a teacher expect a positive behaviour from a child, when the parents are maybe taking alcohol? Teachers need to be aware of such things, especially in GIP, where there are informal settlements, where a family of 10 shares a one room shack. Some children even gamble, because they want to support the family.* (She cried). *I am sorry, it is touching, I am sorry to cry, to be a teacher is difficult.*

This interview proved to be the most emotionally charged of all, prompting a brief pause during the conversation. As we resumed, I inquired whether her school accommodates immigrant learners. She confirmed that it does, noting that most are from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, corroborating GIPEdu1's account. She explained that she often identifies immigrant learners through language barriers, as some only understand English and struggle with local languages. Interestingly, Zimbabwean learners seem to manage better in this regard. To address these challenges, she offers extra classes, including on weekends, though she acknowledged that this commitment often comes at the cost of teachers' social lives.

She also concedes that teachers vary significantly in their attitudes and values. Some do not take the initiative to understand the school's broader educational context, partly because issues like immigration are not typically addressed in initial teacher training. This, she noted, can contribute to teacher frustration and eventual burnout. As a result, she emphases the importance of teachers understanding both their learners and the school environment in which they work. Furthermore, she highlighted the value of critical self-reflection, arguing that reflecting on one's own past can enable a more transformative teaching approach. She shared how her own difficult childhood, and the lack of investment her teachers made in her education, has motivated her to be a more supportive and committed teacher, unlike her teachers.

GIPEdu3 a 27-year-old Mathematics teacher narrates how his former Mathematics teacher who was also the school deputy principal sowed the seed in him; hence he was inspired to become a teacher himself. Like his colleague, **GIPEdu2**, he believes that teachers should be flexible in nature. For example, he believes that teachers

should improvise, when they see a gap, but it should be within his or her means, like buying a textbook or exercise books for learners. He also argues that contrary to popular belief, teaching is not a bad career. Teachers can assist the government in addressing social ills, such as drug and substance abuse, crime and teenage pregnancy, among others.

I wanted to understand what his view as a teacher about the narrative that immigrants are stealing jobs from South Africans. He was quick to say that immigrants are hardworking, the jobs that South Africans regard as less paying jobs, immigrants are willing to take them.

Question: Would you accept a job that will exploit you?
GIPEdu3: *I can't answer much on that because I'm not aware of such jobs, but we should understand the real meaning of exploitation. This is similar to what people say about teaching, that it doesn't pay well, but it is not about the money, it is about uplifting learners*.

6.5 Conclusion

Participants responses show that teachers are aware of the educational changes that are precipitated by the presence of immigrants in South Africa. They are also conscious of the fact that their identity and roles cannot remain unaffected by these changes. However, the key theme that cuts across the thematic areas, is that teachers should strive for professionalism. It appears that the participants primarily understand that teachers need adapt to change, however, the challenge is that they do not think that the government has programmes in place to assist teachers and schools embrace changes that can potentially change their identity and roles. Furthermore, teachers believe that the history of apartheid largely contributes in the way in which Black teachers in particular respond to immigration, particularly when the immigrant is a Black African. In addition to the historical legacy of apartheid, some teachers believe that the ANC government is responsible for the Afrophobia and xenophobic attitudes that exist among Black South Africans towards Black African immigrants. This is because of lack of service delivery, unemployment and poor government policies,

particularly, with issues of border and immigration regulations. The issue of language was raised several times by the respondents, citing the burden it puts both on teachers and immigrant learners, however, this challenge can be addressed by revising the Department of Basic Education language policy, and as well as investing in teacher education and training, so that teachers are prepared for real life context.

CHAPTER 7: RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the study based on the data analysed from the participants of the study. The results are categorised into results and implication for

teachers, policy makers and teacher educators. The results and implications are answering the research questions.

7.1.1 Results and implications for teachers

Teacher practice is not an activity confined to the classroom; rather, it is deeply embedded in broader socio-political and institutional contexts. Many participants emphasise that their roles as educators extend far beyond instructional duties. In response to shifts in the educational landscape, such as increased learner diversity due to immigration, teachers are often expected to adopt new roles and identities to meet emerging challenges. However, this expectation is complicated by a lack of adequate support from the government, and school management. Participants expressed that the heavy workload, coupled with insufficient systemic backing, limits their ability to be responsive and flexible in their practice. These constraints can contribute to teacher frustration and, in some cases, unprofessional conduct, particularly when navigating complex issues such as immigration in schools.

Despite these challenges, some teachers maintain that professionalism must be preserved, regardless of the context. They argue that teachers should strive to demonstrate adaptability and uphold professional standards, even under difficult circumstances. Significantly, teacher attitudes and practices are not formed in isolation; they are shaped by broader social, economic, and political realities, as well as by individual histories of socialisation. Understanding these factors is essential in any effort to support teachers in addressing the realities of increasingly diverse educational environments.

Teacher identity and roles are bound to change because they are shaped by contextual factors, as it came up quite a few times in the interviews. Teacher professional identity is not independent of their personal identity and social context. Teachers need to monitor their own beliefs and strive to cultivate professionalism regardless of the circumstance. Although this may not be a practical approach due to contextual issues, it can be achieved through continuous professional development programmes. It was

also sternly mentioned by participants that teachers are not effectively participating in the curriculum implementation, yet it is crucial that they understand it as a guideline, and that they can use it to effect change not only in schools but also in the world. Teachers should familiarise themselves with the political landscape of the country and international issues. Participants believe that one of the reasons why some teachers are xenophobic, is because they do not understand global issues, and how these issues affect South Africa, like any other influential country in the world. Therefore, implications range from lack of professionalism, which is believed to be the driver of other teacher attitudes, such as discrimination, racism and xenophobia. The implication also extends to the need for teachers understanding the historical legacy of apartheid, for instance, is crucial for teachers working in township and rural schools, where educational disparities continue to reflect systemic inequalities. In this way, contextually informed teaching becomes a vital component of meaningful and socially responsive pedagogy.

7.1.2 Results and implications for teacher educators

While there are divergent views on this issue, but a prominent view states teacher education in South Africa suffers from deep deficiencies, hence pre-service teachers seem to be clueless about real life situations, even though they are mentored during teaching practice. These gaps suggest that candidate teachers learn theories that do not address the reality of South Africa' education context. On the other hand, institutes of teacher education should also invest in knowledge development and improvement for in-service teachers need regular development programmes. The history of Black teachers' education still shapes the way some teachers view teaching. Some of the participants were trained in former apartheid teacher colleges that deemed Black teachers unprofessional, which is a legacy that still lingers on. Therefore, teacher education curriculum should be positioned to addressed such.

This therefore implies that teacher educators' practice should not be limited in the faculty but should physically visit schools and assist teachers often. Their visibility and action in schools is believed to have the potential of improving teacher identity.

Furthermore, these results are of the view that teacher education should incorporate the Critical Race Theory in the syllabus, considering that South Africa is a country built on the foundation of racism, which is assuming a different trajectory, with the presence of immigrants. Teachers should be trained in a curriculum that addresses real life situations.

7.1.3 Results and implications for the government

Teachers are aggrieved with how the government is handling immigration issues. Teachers believe that the immigration crisis that exists in the country is the fault of the government. Some South Africans are of the notion that immigrants are stifling an already crippled service delivery system. It is important for the government to take these issues as a matter of priority and urgency because the ramifications create a vicious cycle of violence which also finds its way into schools and classrooms. Teachers are concerned with the enrolment of immigrant learners that do not have relevant documents to live in the country, they believe that the department of education is not taking the matter seriously, and while this issue lacks urgency, it is teachers who are supposed to pick up the pieces.

This therefore implies that the government of the republic should have policies that regulate immigration in South Africa as well as address the socio-economic collapse, so that immigrants do not find themselves scapegoated. These policies should be extended to school by putting programmes in place, where the department of education makes a follow up on how schools and teachers cope with immigrant enrolment, as well offering immigrant learners support., particularly with language learning.

7.5 Conclusion

Indeed, these results reveal deep seated issues in the South African education system, that immigration has exacerbated. These range from teachers who struggle with

assuming new roles to address change and embracing a new identity that will assist in the execution of the roles.

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the summary of the study. Based on the data generated during field work, it shows that teachers are aware of the situation that is created by the

presence of immigrants in the country, and how it consequently affects the way in which their identity is perceived to be, either by society or by the teachers themselves. While some teachers believe that there is not much that teachers can do in terms of addressing xenophobia, which is a feeling that is created by resentment and hostility towards immigrants, primarily motivated by the economics of the country, on the contrary, others think that teachers have a critical role to play, because by and large, immigration as a global phenomenon, is chartering a path of change, that teachers cannot escape, which ultimately shapes their identity and roles.

8.2 Summary

The education system of South Africa is embedded on a deep history of apartheid that is still responsible for the way in which by and large Black South Africans perceive an *outsider*, which is an attitude that could be extended into the classroom as well. Even though some participants did not air their views strongly about the presence of immigrants, nevertheless, it is evident in their responses that immigrant learners in Black South African public schools pose a challenge to teacher identity and teacher roles. However, some of them believe that if there could be structures provided by the department of education and school principals, teachers can develop new competences and learn to address change, without feeling that it is an extra burden to teach immigrant learners. The belief that some immigrants, particularly, illegal immigrants, are in the country to commit crime, is prevalent among some teachers, which is position that does not warrant xenophobia, according to them, but government swift action both in designing effective immigration policies and improving social-economic conditions of the country, because on the main, the deteriorating economy of South Africa is believed to be fuelling xenophobic attitudes.

8.4 Recommendations

Based on this summary, I make the following recommendations:

- Teacher education should prepare teachers for the real teaching context, and immigration studies should be part of the teacher education curriculum.
- Government through the department of education from national to provincial and district offices, should visit schools physically and find out about immigrant learner enrolment, and thereafter design context responsive teacher professional development training programmes.
- Teachers should strive to understand the composition of their learners at the beginning of the year, and upon finding that there could be African immigrant learners, then design the lessons accordingly.
- Teachers should be knowledgeable about global trends such as immigration, so that they may be able to teach in a way that is responding to the challenges that come with it.
- Teachers should always strive to uphold professionalism regardless of their personal sentiments.
- The Departments of Home Affairs and Basic Education should design policies that meaningfully address immigration in the country.
- As professionals, teachers can design the curriculum through "deliberationist" approaches, that is why the government should revise using experts who have no knowledge of the classroom to design a curriculum that teachers are expected to teach

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has offered us recommendation that teachers, teacher education and the government, which is the employer, and the designer of the curriculum could implement to address challenges caused by immigration. Teachers can benefit from this study by learning from some participants how they have tried to adopt new teacher identities and new teacher roles in enhancing professionalism.

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APPENDIX

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

PROJECT TITLE: **Immigration and Education: Changing Identity and Roles of Teachers in schools that have enrolled immigrant learners in Limpopo Province South Africa.**

(*it is compulsory for the researcher to complete this field before submission to the Ethics Committee*)

PROJECT LEADER/SUPERVISOR: Dr. Szabolcs Eva and Dr. Gabriella Baska
(*it is compulsory for the researcher to complete this field before submission to the Ethics Committee*)

1. You are invited to participate in the following research project:

   Immigration and Education: Changing Identity and Roles of Teachers in schools that have enrolled immigrant learners in Limpopo Province South Africa.

   (*it is compulsory for the researcher to complete this field before submission to the ethics committee*)

2. Participation in the project is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the project (without providing any reasons) at any time.

3. It is possible that you might not personally experience any advantages during the project, although the knowledge that may be accumulated through the project might prove advantageous to others.

4. You are encouraged to ask any questions that you might have in connection with this project at any stage. The project leader and her/his staff will gladly answer your question. They will also discuss the project in detail with you.

5. *Explain the risks and discomforts associated with the study (Description of foreseeable risks or discomforts to participant if applicable)*
   (*it is compulsory for the researcher to complete this field before submission to the Ethics Committee*)

   There are no risks associated with this research.

6. Should you at any stage feel unhappy, uncomfortable, or concerned about the research, please contact **Ms Joyce Mokobi at the Limpopo Office of the**

Premier, Private Bag X9483, Polokwane, 0700, Tel: 015 287 6564/6552; Email: MokobiJ@premier.limpopo.gov.za.

Interview schedule September 2020

1. **What are the implications of immigration and education on teacher identity and roles?**
   1.1 What do you understand to be an immigrant**?**
   1.2 How would you describe your occupation, in terms of being a job or a profession?
   1.3 How is your job related to your identity as a teacher?
   1.4 How is your identity related to your role/roles as a teacher?
   1.5 How do you think society perceive you as a teacher?

2. **How can teachers cope with education changes that impact on their identity and roles?**
   2.1 What changes have you identified that have potentially affected education?
   2.2 How do teachers perceive immigration in relation to their profession identity and roles?
   2.3 How has immigration impacted your professional identity?
   2.4 Do you think, it is your responsibility to address the changes?
   2.5 What can you do to cope with these changes?

3. **To what extent has the legacy of apartheid influenced the way in which teachers perceive their identity and roles, during immigration?**
   3.1 How can you describe apartheid?
   3.2 How do you think it is still affecting and influencing the way in which we treat foreigners?
   3.3 How is the way in which teachers teach foreign learners, influenced by apartheid?