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Institutional culture and internationalisation: A study of Black African academics'
experiences at Rhodes University

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Abstract

This research sets out to examine institutional culture and internationalisation in higher education in contemporary South Africa, by analysing the experiences of black foreign academics at Rhodes University. Much has been written on the adaptation processes of foreign students in South African universities (Ayliff and Wang, 2006; Dzansi and Monnapula-Mapesela, 2012; Mudhovozi, 2011). There is also a host of literature on the black South African experience of adaptation and (non) belonging at historically white universities (HWU) (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Cornell and Kessi, 2017; Soudien, 2008). Comparatively less is written on whether there are any unique pressures regarding institutional culture that black foreign African academics face at historically white institutions such as Rhodes University.

The black experience may be misrepresented as a homogenous one by much of the literature on higher education transformation (Batsai, 2019). But there are a host of factors that could change your experience of being 'black', such as your class, and gender and quite recently there has been a push to further examine the effect that one's nationality has on their experience of being 'black' in the academy (Batsai, 2019). Institutional culture refers to the "behaviours and values that make up the unique psychological and social environment of a certain institution" (Toma *et al.*, 2005). Internationalisation of higher education in the context of Africa, particularly South Africa refers to "the intentional or unintentional process to integrate intercultural, international and global dimensions in higher education" (Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa, 2017).

In analysing the experiences of international African academics, this research is trying to give a voice to an often-overlooked group of individuals. This research is also meant to portray the black experience in South African higher education as an experience that is not homogenous but reliant on a host of unique identity factors such as gender, class and also their nationality.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Introduction

The field of research is the Sociology of Higher Education. The title of the research is 'Institutional culture and internationalisation: A study of black African academics' experiences at Rhodes University.'

This study explores the experiences of black African academics' at historically white institutions of higher education in South Africa. It is undeniable that the internationalisation of higher education is a global phenomenon. In the rapidly transforming South African university, interesting tensions arise at the intersection of the simultaneous demands for internationalisation and indigenisation. Individual academics experience these tensions in particular ways, based on their identities and experiences. This research project is focused on capturing the experiences of black African academics at a historically white university (HWU) in South Africa.

An exploration of black African academic's experiences can give insight into how foreign nationality and race jointly affect one's experience as a black academic at HWU in democratic South Africa. Undoubtedly, it's impossible to take an analysis of any institution without also taking into account class and gender (Soudien, 2008, Shackleton *et al*., 2006). However, there is a large archive of data focusing on gender (Shackleton *et al.*, 2006), as well as class (Soudien, 2008) as the main categories of analysis in discussions on higher education. My study will consider these categories as important, but I will expand the focus to include nationality. 'African academics' here refer to non-South African lecturers from the continent. The inquiry is based on an interest in how one's social subject position as a black African scholar affects one's experience of institutional culture. Much has been written on the adaptation processes of foreign students in South African universities (Ayliff and Wang, 2006; Dzansi and Monnapula-Mapesela, 2012; Mudhovozi, 2011). There is also a host of literature on the black South African experience of adaptation and (non) belonging at HWU (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Cornell and Kessi, 2017; Soudien, 2008). Comparatively less is written on whether there are any unique pressures regarding institutional culture that black foreign African academics face at HWU such as Rhodes University.

When looking at studies on "blackness" the black experience may be misrepresented as a homogenous one, meaning it is shared by all people that fall within the 'black' group (Batsai, 2019). But there are a host of factors that could change your experience of being 'black', such as your class, and gender and quite recently there has been a push to further examine the effect that one's nationality has on their experience of being 'black' (Batsai, 2019). This is aptly highlighted in the recent anthology; *Black Academic Voices: The South African Experience* (2019) particularly in the chapter entitled, 'Black and foreign: negotiating being different in South Africa's academy' (Batsai, 2019). This recently published contribution to the newly emerging conversation will be explored in Section 2.5.1. The renewed interest in the Africanisation and decolonisation of university curricula and culture have opened interesting debates on academic identity and belonging in South Africa (Cornell and Kessi, 2017; Sennett *et al*., 2003). The research interest on institutional culture at South African universities, however, has been highly concentrated on national issues of class, gender and race with an apparent gap in the literature on intersectional studies which focus primarily on nationality in the context of transformation. My study is looking to bridge that gap.

The theoretical framework for my study is 'intersectionality', which is the theorization of the intersection of multiple inequalities (Walby *et al*., 2012; 224, Mokhothu & Callaghan, 2018). Intersectionality was founded in America, following the rise of black feminism. As intersectionality transcended social groups it also spread to other corners of the world, no longer only being applied within a western context (Hancock, 2007: 4). Intersectionality's popularity as a buzzword and its perception as not just a single rigid theoretical framework but as a way of interpreting the divisions and order in social life across different aspects have allowed it to be used in various ways by various groups of people, this includes Africans (Meer & Müller, 2017: 3-4). In Africa, intersectionality focuses on the multiple aspects of oppression just as the intersectionality utilised by African American women. The difference comes when you change the context of the study, the oppressive forces within society which are the focus of the intersectional analysis change with it (Meer & Müller, 2017: 3). One of the celebrated factors attributed to intersectionality is its malleability, helping it to be easily adaptable/ adjustable to an analysis of any group or society (Meer & Müller, 2017: 3-4). This malleability was an attractive trait when looking for a theoretical framework for my study on foreign black academics, as the subjects of the theoretical framework can be adjusted to consider different sets of subjects. The ability to properly make this a fitting theory for the research to understand the complexities of the

research question; regarding nationality and exclusion of black foreign academics at South African institutions is of importance. It is noted that the range of social categories that inform individuals' lived experiences can differ noticeably from the stables of race, class and gender (Meer & Müller, 2017: 3-4). With the rise of internationalisation, these social categories have expanded to include nationality (Mokhothu & Callaghan, 2018).

Academic citizenship is a common theoretical device used in intersectional studies on higher education (Macfarlane, 2007). Academic citizenship refers to 'the responsibilities, virtues and duties of academic faculty of an institution, it ultimately refers to their membership within the academic community' (Macfarlane, 2007). One's social location and identity (beyond the university) profoundly affects one's academic citizenship within the university.

To date issues of inclusivity and equality at South African universities tend to focus on race, understandably, as South Africa gained independence from Apartheid rule less than three decades ago. The South African discourse on racial inclusivity could benefit from insights into what is called the 'double marginality' experienced by black African academics from outside its borders. 'Double marginality' describes the intersection of two paradoxes or constraining factors (Dennis, 2004). In the case of this study, the two factors would be that of race and nationality, which are both separately and jointly bases of marginalisation and sites for transformation in the HWU.

There are many and often contradictory social forces impacting the direction of academic migration trends. On one hand, the era of globalisation has put pressure on universities to open, massify and internationalise (Stromquist, 2007; Bartell, 2003). Internationalisation of higher education in the context of Africa, particularly South Africa refers to "the intentional or unintentional process to integrate intercultural, international and global dimensions in higher education" (Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa, 2017). On the other hand, in South Africa, there are internal political pressures to 'endogenize' and 'indigenize' academic culture with the rise in decolonial studies locally and abroad (Paterson, 2017). Also, employment equity legislation has limited the recruitment of foreign academics in favour of post-apartheid affirmative action (Laplanche-servigne, 2018). These multiple factors create a unique environment for foreign academics working in South Africa and their experiences of institutional culture, change and belonging.

Institutional culture refers to the 'behaviours and values that make up the unique psychological and social environment of a certain institution' (Toma *et al.*, 2005). The issue

of job security indubitably affects the environment for foreign workers as employment legislation implies that it supports the employment of black South Africans over foreign black Africans this is illustrated by the Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998 (Employment Equity Act, 1998). But this is not to say that foreigners live in perpetual fear of replacement, for there is much that foreign academics bring to the various campuses which they reside in terms of experience, unique educational backgrounds and diversity of perspective which help solidify their status as academics (Msila, 2017). There is an opportunity to learn from foreigners and promote pan-Africanism in universities. Pan Africanism which means 'all Africans' and is an ideology which seeks to unify and uplift all Africans in the global community (Msila, 2017). In Pan-Africanism the belief is that Africans should come together to progress further as Africans in unity through the sharing of knowledge and defiance against western forces, essentially making Africa for Africans and helping all Africans in the process (Msila, 2017). Much has been written about the effects of internationalisation on higher education at an institutional level. Some of the key effects of globalisation on universities are privatisation, expansion and diversification (Altbach & Teichler, 2001). This research takes as its key focus the contours of internationalisation as experienced at an individual level.

In contrast to the near absence of literature on the experience of foreign academic professionals in Africa is a comparatively wide availability of literature on the adaptation process of foreign students at university. Most of those papers focus on cases in more developed countries (Gill, 2007; Fletcher and Stren, 1989).

Within South Africa, there are policies in place to attract highly qualified foreign academics into the country but there are also policies in place to mitigate internationalisation which is often perceived as a threat to the employment of black South African academics. The loss to locals which is perceived to come as a result of academic internationalisation is based on the occupation of potential employment or studying opportunities by Non-South African academics. The Employment Equity Act is instrumental in grounding this perception and driving interests back to local academics (Malan, 1976: 59; Kabwe-Segatti, 2008: 125).

The purpose of the Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998 is to "achieve fairness in the workplace by upholding equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the eradication of unfair discrimination and to also implement affirmative action measures to amend the difficulties in employment experienced by certain groups of individuals, to ensure fair representation in all working fields and levels in the workforce" (Employment Equity

Act, 1998). The Employment Equity legislation has often resulted in the denial of employment based on an individuals' nationality as preference is given to South African nationals. This limitation also happens to affect foreigners already employed within South Africa as they too are at risk of termination when an equally qualified South African happens to also apply for their position. This only occurs in instances when a foreigner works on a contractual basis when the contract ends, others can apply for the position and in that case, if an equally qualified South African applies, they are meant to receive the job.

Rhodes University is an appropriate place to conduct the study based on its reputation of being a historically white university. The university has a policy that directly deals with the appointment and employment of international staff members. The policy refers to the draft Internationalisation Policy Framework developed by the Department of Higher Education and Training (Policy for the Appointment and Employment of International Staff Members, 2018). The policy is in place to "attract and retain international talent into South Africa by the government and other stakeholders" though that must not interfere with the opportunities of employment of equally qualified and experienced South African citizens. Employment of international talents helps locals as they must make sure there is a skills transfer between the international staff and South African residents, this in accordance with the Immigration Act of 2002 Section 19(5) & (6). In the case of the institution of Rhodes University, the skills transfer is from teacher to student, as well as with other academics.

The purpose of this study is to gain an expanded view on issues of inclusivity, marginality and culture at universities which moves beyond race and gender, to include nationality.

1.2.   **Goals of the Research**

The main objective of this research is to examine to what extent black African academics at Rhodes University feel their status as both black academics and foreigners have shaped their experiences of the university's institutional culture.

The secondary objectives include:

a)   To respond to the over-representation of literature on class and gender in higher education studies by including nationality

b) To understand the limitations and opportunities which black African academics experience based on their status as foreigners in South Africa.

1.3. Research Methods and Methodology

Because of the focus on the meanings and experiences of individuals, the study will fall into the qualitative research paradigm. The qualitative paradigm will be best suited for the study as it is used to gain an understanding behind reasons, motivations and opinions, its main contribution to my proposed research is the examination of lived experiences and interpretations of individuals (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017: 50). The qualitative paradigm is best used in studies where the voice of the participants needs to be heard, individually and not as a collective. My research will consist of varied accounts of lived experiences and the qualitative paradigm will allow these experiences to be told through the words of the participant as more detail can be gathered to better explain the opinions and views of participants.

The qualitative instrument to be used in the study will be in-depth interviews utilizing open-ended questions. The type of interviews utilized will be semi-structured interviews due to their; reflexivity, absence of standardization, openness, naturalism and flexibility (Sarantakos 2012: 280). The semi-structured in-depth interviews will allow more value-laden engagement between the interviewer and participant (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 78). This form of data collection allows for an interactive experience between the interviewer and the interviewee, this is where the interviews can allow for the depth needed to gather rich data as interviewees will be able to discuss their points of view and what affects them individually at length (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 79). The data the research is seeking could be obtained through questionnaires and interviews using a quantitative paradigm, however, the delicacy and nuance of this topic and the responses of participants would be lost in the quantitative research paradigm. In this study responses differed from one another, in some cases minutely and in others vastly, the quantitative paradigm cannot account for such subtle and drastic changes in responses.

The sampling method of this study is purposive sampling which involves the selection of participants based on certain objective criteria (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 79). The selection criteria for this study are the following; (i) being a black non-South African citizen originating from Africa, (ii) being educated within their country of origin and (iii) currently employed at Rhodes University. This sampling method is to be used in conjunction with snowball sampling as there are ethical concerns on how the participants required for this study are approached. Snowball sampling is used because potential participants would not feel intimidated or coerced into participating in the study. They can also be approached

privately without the knowledge of peers within their faculty. Why was the method of approach of concern? The participants in the study will be discussing sensitive topics, from their experiences of the university to their opinion on whether xenophobia is present within the institution, Confidentiality and anonymity of participants had to be ensured not only from the beginning of the study but also from the initial approach from the researcher to the potential participants.

The sample group is consisted of six participants. The six participants were from three faculties, those being; the faculty of commerce, the faculty of pharmacy and the faculty of science. The reason for the specification in terms of the nationality of the participant is because I will solely be focusing on the experience of foreign academics who are African nationals as that is the target group. The reason there is the prerequisite of having been educated within their country of origin is so that they have a frame of reference to which they may compare their own personal experiences to those they have had in South Africa. The criteria are meant to ensure participants can give rich data along with personal reflections all stemming from the same current institutional location.

The potential participants were identified through the utilization of snowball sampling, while also adhering to the criteria of purposive sampling. Snowball sampling within the study proved to be slow, I was not directed to many potential participants due to other factors such as the time of year of the research as many potential participants were outside Grahamstown doing their own research. The sample only consisted of one woman and in a study that centred on intersectionality this is a major problem. This sample is by no means a representative one, however, with the time constraints of the research and the limited pool of potential participants, diversity within the participants' gender was difficult to ensure. It is also important to note that the demographic data of participants will not be disclosed within this study, as this information can be used to identify the participant therefore rendering an inability to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

The analysis method to be used for this study will be the interpretive method as I will have to induce meanings, themes and concepts from the bottom-up process of qualitative reasoning.

I will adhere to the Rhodes ethical guidelines.

CHAPTER TWO:

THEORETICAL CONTEXT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.   Problem statement: Nationality and exclusion at South African Universities

This is a time at which South African universities are undergoing a period of intensive self-reflection on the state of post-Apartheid transformation. In these conditions, it becomes especially important to consider unexplored or underexplored bases of group marginalisation. Black foreign academics make up most of the foreign academics studying in South African tertiary institutions (Dzansi and Monnapula-Mapesela, 2012: 38). The highest percentage of African foreign students come from the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which is a regional organisation set up with the main goal of achieving economic development, peace, security, and growth within Southern Africa (Savenije and Van der Zaag, 2000).

Having a large percentage of foreign academics studying in South Africa coming from within Africa gives value to this research on understanding how they adapt, and experience South African academia as there has been growing interest in foreign black academics as they are increasingly employed at South African institutions. There have been several studies that show that the adaptation process of foreign black academics in higher education is of importance, however, these studies focus primarily on the adaptation process of foreign students and overlook that of foreign professional academics in the institution such as professors, lecturers and researchers from the continent (Dzansi and Monnapula-Mapesela, 2012; Mudhovozi, 2011). This study does not focus on the foreign students at the university institution as many studies tend to do, but rather focus is placed on the adaptation and belonging of foreign black academics at the university institution. Rhodes University presents an interesting research site for studies on group identity and transformation as one of the main historically white universities in the country. The focus on historically white universities, as opposed to other South African Universities, is because historically white universities were built on discriminatory laws which still today define major fault lines in terms of race, identity and academic citizenship. The laws that were introduced to have an influence over education within South Africa were; Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953,

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953 and Extension of University Education Act No 45 of 1959 (Davenport, 1960).

Historically, the white universities were split into two categories, those which used the English medium and those which used Afrikaans (Greyling, 2007). The English-medium universities were criticised from both the conservative and liberal camps in politics, the right did not like how these universities protested against the state and the liberals felt that the universities did not protest enough against the state for they allowed state policies that impeded on the freedom of others to go unchecked (Greyling, 2007: 11). Rhodes university's past is important in understanding the path that the institution has taken over the years. Rhodes University was also referred to as an 'open' and 'progressive' university as it allowed black academics to enrol to some degree, while other white institutions upheld the state's policy of segregation, the exclusionary practices of the university were regarded as implicit and not overt like similar institutions (Greyling, 2007).

To begin we must look at the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953, as this act legalised the provision of separate unequal facilities for different races (Davenport, 1960: 20). At this point in South Africa's history, there was already the practice of separation of amenities, however, this law meant that it was not unlawful if these facilities were characterised by inequality based on the race of those intended to use them (Davenport, 1960: 20). The two laws that directly affected educational policy were the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953, and the Extension of University Education Act No 45 of 1959 (Davenport, 1960). Both acts were put in place to block African access to knowledge in order to control the information they have access to (Davenport, 1960: 24-25). The Bantu Education system was a cornerstone to the apartheid philosophy, it was simply put racial compartmentalization of education, as education of non-whites was kept separate and inferior to that of white people (Davenport, 1960). The Act also allocated funds going to the education of Africans from the tax that Africans paid which meant significantly less was spent on their education.

The Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959 came about over half a decade later in 1959, and the act put an end to black students attending 'white' universities and officially separated universities according to race (Davenport, 1960). Not only did this act close 'white' universities to black students but it also stated that 'black' universities were to be separated by ethnicity such as Zulu students attending the University of Zululand (Davenport, 1960). Although there has been progress and development since apartheid, when exclusion and

discrimination ran rampant in higher education institutions, studies conducted on South African higher education institutions reveal that Historically White Institutions (HWI) still perpetuate exclusion and discrimination that was nothing but commonplace during apartheid (Batisai, 2019; Naidu, 2005). My study will help shine a light on this and ask whether there is still discrimination experienced due to a person's race and nationality at historically white institutions.

The reason I have chosen to investigate nationality alongside race is that when an individual is not from the same country, it is easier for them to feel isolated within the institution (Pithouse-Morgan *et al.,* 2012). They often lack a support system and as a result, tend to feel more vulnerable. However, it is not simply an issue of feeling welcomed, it also has much to do with the way in which the university regards Africa, blackness and inclusivity. South Africa's recent independence may also play a big role in the institutional culture that is created at these universities for their independence was won only twenty-five years ago to be precise and some would argue that that has not been enough time for the transition into a substantively democratic regime (Badat, 2009). The institutional changes seen within South Africa are characterized by being rapid in some areas, and in other areas, institutional change stagnated (Badat, 2009). A rapid increase in black students at historically white institutions is often noted. Whereas the stasis is linked with the challenges of decolonising, de-racializing and de-gendering of the university culture and space (Badat, 2009).

The modern world is largely defined by transnationalism and globalisation: from media to trade and popular culture. The pressure on universities to internationalize is a consequence of globalization and just as with economic integration carries with it a complex combination of positive and negative impacts (Stromquist, 2007). However, historically South Africa has been renowned for uniformity over diversity, and closure and isolation over openness under the former apartheid government. However, as time has passed legislation adapted to be more inclusive of all citizens within South Africa regardless of race. South Africa became democratic, changing its political environment to a system where all citizens were guaranteed equal political rights and, concurrently adopted an open border policy which meant there could be easier immigration to and from the country. There are certain policies in place to attract foreign academic talent to the country and policies in place to retain foreign academics in the country, these policies are Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) (Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa; Mulenga, and

Van Lill, 2007). The Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) was created in 2006 to create solutions to the major skills shortage within South Africa which in turn affected South Africa's ability to meet the objectives set out by Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA), which set out to develop South Africa through an initiative which would add skills to the workforce as lack of skills was a constraint for South African economic growth and development (Mulenga, and Van Lill, 2007). There is a policy on employment equity in place which serves to ensure that the influx of foreigners does not occur to the detriment of locals, this law is the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998. Some see this law as a discriminatory one against foreigners, however, it is also seen as a law that protects the country from an uncontrollable influx of foreigners, this ensures that the country only attracts and retains the foreigners that have certain skills that locals do not have (Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998; Warnat, 2012). The existence of policies both promoting and limiting migration into the country have raised debates which contrast with the internationalisation and indigenization of knowledge in South Africa. These topics shall be investigated further within the literature.

There are studies, which look at the sense of belonging of academics at historically white South African Universities, mainly based on analyses of racial inclusion and exclusion (Naidu, 2005; Sennett *et al.*, 2003). The contribution of other studies on being black and blackness at historically white institutions is the understanding that race does, in fact, play a large role on an individuals' acceptance within an institution and how they navigate the intellectual world. Contrary to this, there have not been many studies on the experiences of academics whose situatedness is defined by both blackness and nationality (See: Sennett *et al.*, 2003). Research, for instance, on black foreign academics is argued to be limited because of the tendency to homogenize 'black' academics in discussions of South African academia. Batisai (2019) argues that reductionism often sees the experience of black foreign academics conflated with that of black South African academics. According to Batisai (2019),

> "Creating a platform where the voices of black academics from outside South Africa are heard somewhat ensures that they (non-South African academics) cease to be just an irrelevant statistic in transformation discourses and emerge as brothers and sisters whose experiences and realities, not nationality, matter in the struggle towards transforming the landscape. This, in the process, eliminates the risk of undermining the contribution non-South African black academics make in South African institutions – and their transformation."

My study will seek to explore the primary, first-hand accounts of foreign academics currently working at historically white South African universities. I will explore to what extent their identities as foreign Africans influences their institutional experiences and to what extent they feel that these experiences are understood at an institutional level and represented at a politico- intellectual level. I am conducting the study through an intersectional lens, which recognizes multiple sites of identity that a person may experience simultaneously. Hitherto, research on institutional belonging has almost primarily focused on singular forms of oppression, e.g. being black at a historically white institution, or being a woman in male-dominated universities (Sennett *et al.*, 2003). Nationality is seldom represented as a site of experience, belonging and identity construction at historically white universities.

2.2. Intersectionality as a framework for understanding the experiences of foreign academics

Intersectionality is the theorization of the intersection of multiple inequalities (Walby *et al.*, 2012; 224, Mokhothu & Callaghan, 2018). The first renditions of intersectionality emerged in the writing of women of colour in the 1970s. At the time, racial tensions were high and simultaneously women were being oppressed. Women of colour were excluded from women's movements, and as a means of detailing their struggle, they wrote manifestos, which had the common theme of the intersection of multiple inequalities, which was later, referred to as intersectionality (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008; Cole, 2009; 170). This theoretical framework has transcended feminist studies in becoming a framework that can be applied to other sociological studies (Perlman, 2018; Collins, 2002: 252). Having gone beyond gender, intersectionality is used to study the intersection of multiple identities including nationality, which makes it a fitting framework for this study, although it is not possible to overlook gender, it will not be the focus of this study (Perlman, 2018).

The multiple identities and interlocking bases of marginalisation which black foreign academics may be subject to within historically white South African higher universities can have an overlapping effect on the sense of academic belonging experienced by these individuals. Intersectionality will help analyse the experiences of foreign black academics within South African institutions while also considering how their membership in different marginalized groups can create a unique effect on these experiences, as they experience an individualised set of inequalities based on their multiple identities (Perlman, 2018; May, 2015).

2.2.1.   The Introduction of Intersectionality into general discourse

The term *intersectionality* was coined in 1989 by the civil rights activist and legal scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw in her essay titled, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex" (Perlman, 2018; May, 2015: 18; Collins, 2002: 18; Hancock, 2007: 9). Crenshaw spoke about the overlapping of discrimination that black women face that is unique to them, also how intersectional experience is greater than the sum of sexism and racism, meaning it is not just simply adding both forms of discrimination, it goes further than that (Hancock, 2007: 9). Intersectionality looks at the intersection of more than just two inequalities (Hancock, 2007: 9). In simpler terms, intersectionality is a break from single-axis thinking about identity (May, 2015: 63-65). As an interpretive framework, intersectionality explains various types of social phenomena such as discrimination and exclusion on various basis (Collins, 2002: 252). The term intersectionality, according to Merrill Perlman (2018) is defined as,

> "The interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage; a theoretical approach based on such a premise"

In this definition, multiple intersecting identity markers are depicted as the foundation for how one may experience individual belonging in a given group or institutional setting. Belonging to more than one group can cause an individual to experiences inequalities from each identity, simultaneously; this is referred to as the double jeopardy theory (Gaebel, 2012). Key to the double jeopardy theory is the belief that the inequalities suffered by the individual are characterized by a compounding effect, meaning they do not add on to one another but instead the inequalities intensify due to their presence together, worsening an individual's experience (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). However, intersectionality does not only refer to subordination, but intersectionality can also denote privilege for instance in white heteronormative men, their privilege is seen as a perk to their membership in prominent groups with power within society, specifically being male and white (Carastathis, 2008). There cannot be an assumed experience subordination of black foreign academics due to their membership to marginalised subordinate groups, the study will investigate which form of intersectionality presents itself in the experiences of black foreign academics. This study, the major factors of participants that are under analysis are that of foreign- African nationality and blackness. These two factors individually have been researched extensively. Studies on race are more prominent within the academic field when it comes to the adaptation process of students, there aren't many studies which focus on staff members (e.g. lecturers) (Cornell and

Kessi, 2017; Soudien, 2008). Whereas, studies on foreigners within South Africa's academia usually centre on academics who are not from Africa such as the academics coming from Europe, or studies do not particularly focus on where the foreigners originated from (Ayliff & Wang, 2006).

My study which focuses on the experiences of black African academics would benefit from the use of intersectionality as well as the double jeopardy theory, which can give insight into the types of experiences foreign black academics go through when adapting and fitting into life within South African Academia.   The double jeopardy theory is one aspect of intersectionality another aspect is intersectional invisibility. Intersectional invisibility was built on the belief that belonging to multiple social groups and having multiple identities wouldn't intensify negative stereotypes from each social group on the individual, instead, the individual would not be acknowledged at all (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). This invisibility is one of struggle, symbolism and institutional discourse, where individuals' struggles and hardships are not recognised, they are made to feel like outsiders from within as they are not shunned nor are, they accepted, the institution does not recognise these individuals as discernible to the others in the institution. This too is not a positive outcome for individuals for they would be excluded from their social groups due to their multiple identities. This study is looking to investigate which of these aspects will present themselves in the analyses of the foreign black academics' experiences at South African universities.

However, with all the positive traits that intersectionality has concerning its analysis and theoretical lens it can lend to a study, it is not a theory without flaws. Intersectionality has been accused of being too theoretical and impractical (Mahabeer *et al.,* 2018). Yet this has not limited the theory to gender studies, instead, intersectionality has seen a surge in popularity within the academic field where it has been used for various studies, focusing on multiple, previously overlooked factors which can have adverse effects on an individual (Perlman, 2018). Pryah Mahabeer *et al.* (2018), included in their study a quote which I believe properly encapsulates the extent to which intersectionality can be applied across studies and regardless of factors;

> "Intersecting identities point to the uniqueness of identity, formed out of mutually constructing intersections that are not only about 'race-class-gender' but also include: age, competence, culture, sexual orientation, historical era, background, intellectual

and moral imperatives that are focused on power relations and social injustice of a particular group"

This quote serves to help see intersectionality as a truly transcended theory that can be applied to any case, which results in the social injustice of a group. I would argue that the possible exclusion of foreign black academics at institutions such as a university, is a social injustice targeted at a group. An example of intersectionality being used on a study other than gender studies, to show its effectiveness as a theoretical framework, as illustrated in the book: *Theorizing Intersectionality and Sexuality* (2010) authored by Yvette Taylor, Sally Hines and Mark E. Casey. In the book, they use intersectionality and apply it to Sexuality Studies as their theoretical lens in the assessment of sexuality and its intersections with other factors such as class (Taylor *et al.*, 2010). This is merely one example of intersectionality and its transition from a theory centred on feminist studies to a theory applied to other studies.

The project at hand takes seriously the importance of personal narratives and biography in capturing the voices of outsiders-within, in the academy. The personal narratives of individuals are seen as interactive texts that a researcher cannot corrupt through their interpretation of what is said (Miles & Crush, 1993). With personal narratives a person shares what they have gone through and the ways in which that experience affected them, coming from them this is golden information that is untainted by outside forces. With the outsiders within their voices could easily be muffled and a meaning attributed to what they are saying but being an outsider-within is a rare experience that needs to be told from the perspective of the 'outsider'. The use of personal testimonies to capture the experiences of individuals will allow us to determine if and to what extent, black academics conceive of unique categories of exclusion in the academic space (Ayliff and Wang, 2006; Dzansi & Monnapula-Mapesela, 2012; Mudhovozi, 2011).

Acknowledging the amount of transformation and development South African institutions have still to achieve is of great importance (Batisai, 2019). However, much more still needs to be achieved in order to substantively alleviate the racial prejudices evident in South African institutions (Batisai, 2019). African nationality has not been given as much importance in transformation and race discourse due to the overarching bias in debates on institutional culture to the local context (Batisai, 2019). However, with the growing internationalisation of institutions within South Africa, nationality as a factor-defining race and institutional culture will not be on the side-lines for long (Mouton *et al.*, 2013).

Non-South African black academics are the focal point of this study because their unique academic experiences in South Africa are not widely known or captured to the same extent which foreign students' experiences are. The underrepresentation of foreign African academics' voices within education studies has inadvertently resulted in their voices being entangled with the voices of black South African academics, giving rise to a homogenous view of the black academics' experiences (Batisai, 2019). This homogeneity is arguably another form of exclusion that foreign African academics endure, as their voices are not heard on matters within the institution. Batisai (2019) argues from her position as a Zimbabwean at the University of Cape Town that this exclusion is effectively reflected in black foreign marginalisation in discussions and debates on how to transform the institution into a more inclusive environment.

Intersectionality has two aspects, which are well suited to the research question, namely: double jeopardy and intersectional invisibility. Both these aspects have been broadly defined and their relevance discussed. The application of these two aspects to a study on the experiences of foreign black academics at South African institutions is indeed novel, exploratory and a key contribution of this paper. As a result, double jeopardy and intersectional invisibility will be further discussed as it relates to the topic at hand in the following section.

2.2.2. Double Jeopardy Theory

Frances Beale (1970) argued of the existence of "Double Jeopardy", a term used in reference to black women and how their oppression and marginalisation felt as if it was twofold owing to their membership into two marginalised subordinate groups, those being black and female, the theory proposes that belonging to both these groups gives a compounding effect to the marginalisation and oppression suffered (cited in Gaebel, 2012: 65; Cooper, 2016). The double jeopardy theory states that people who belong to two subordinate-groups experience a double negative, as there is a compounding effect from their membership to both groups (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; 377-378). Beale gave an example of this in 1970 as; a black woman will receive the negative effects and experience inequalities because of negative black stereotypes as well as negative female stereotypes (cited in Gaebel, 2012: 65). It is simply demonstrated by Cooper (2016) as being a slave to a slave. There is a sense that belonging to both groups carries the burden of being subjected to both forms of oppression simultaneously.

The development of intersectionality as an ideology gave light to the notion of people belonging to more than one group but as the ideology progressed, it was evident there was no limitation to the number of groups that an individual can identify with (Becker, 2016: 6). In 1997, intersectionality as an ideology had developed to the point where the notion of people belonging to more than one group was agreed upon (Becker, 2016: 6-7). The theorist to bring this out within their writings was Beverly Greene with her book titled *Lesbian women of colour: Triple jeopardy,* which introduced the term 'Triple Jeopardy', which was an expansion on the compounding effect of double jeopardy (Becker, 2016: 6-7; Cooper, 2016). With triple jeopardy, Greene argued that people belong to even more subordinate-groups, an example of an individual belonging to more than two subgroups would be a black lesbian woman, this individual would suffer more severely than a person belonging to fewer subordinate-groups because they will be exposed to more oppression and stereotypes (cited in Becker, 2016: 6-7).

The development within intersectionality did not stop there for there is one more contribution that came from the theorist Deborah King, in her publication: *Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology* (Cooper, 2016). In this publication, she revisited Beale's concept of double jeopardy, which considered race and gender and Beverly Greene's concept of triple jeopardy, which considered an individual's class and looked at the experiences of women of other marginalized racial groups (Cooper, 2016). Deborah King argued that Beale and Greene took an additive approach to the forms of oppression that the women suffered, but that would not properly capture their experiences, because not only are these women experiencing several simultaneous forms of oppression, but they have a multiplicative element between them (Cooper, 2016). This was a twist from the often-additive narrative that intersectionality had become accustomed to using.

2.2.3. Intersectional Invisibility

'Intersectionality invisibility' is the notion that people who belong to multiple subordinate-groups are rendered metaphorically and symbolically 'invisible' to those with greater proximity to institutional power (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach (2008) came up with intersectional invisibility but another definition of the term is that it refers to the failure to fully recognize people with intersecting identities, there is a dominant group which exercises its influence by distorting the characteristics of individuals to better fit their identity groups, a benchmark is set from the norm experiences of the dominant group and other social

groups experiences are measured against this (Reeves, 2015). Intersectionality was built from the experience of African-American women, because of this there was an emphasis placed on race and gender in American society (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Intersectionality was then applied to other studies which changed the variables such as the use of different races, e.g. Asian, Latina, etc. (Lien, 1994), and different sexualities minorities, e.g. Homosexual, Lesbian, etc. (Chung & Katayama, 1998). Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach (2008) argue that individuals with two or more subordinate identities do not experience the cumulative effect of negative stereotypes and oppression, but instead, they experience intersectional invisibility, which has members of those subordinate groups not identifying with the individuals with intersecting identities, believing them to belong to another group (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

2.2.4. Debates within Intersectionality

The lodestone of all theories of intersectionality is that discrimination is often multiple and interlocking and thus has a compounding effect on an individual's lifeworld, particularly in institutional circumstances which punctuates the various bases of their subordination.

Intersectionality as a framework has been open to debate and rival interpretation. For instance, there are significant debates on whether it is an "epistemic" advantage or disadvantage to belonging to many subordinate groups. The advantage to belonging to multiple subordinate groups is viewed when the groups are dominant within society, such as a white man, he belongs to two subordinate groups, but both of those groups are viewed as being privileged and thus there are benefits of belonging to both groups. Some people claim that individuals with multiple subordinate group identities suffer and are worse off than those with a single subordinate group identity such as an individual who is black male as opposed to a black male foreigner. Research conducted by Remedios et al. (2015) tested the likeability of both white and black, gay and straight men. They found that black gay men were not the least liked category of men despite them belonging to both marginalized groups, these findings did not align with the cumulative notion of oppression (Becker, 2016: 7).

In my study, the multiple subordinate group identities will play a role in interpreting the experiences of participants, from their perspective. Enquiring if they identify with the multiple subordinate group identities and whether, they feel like these identities have caused

them to experience an accumulation of discriminatory behaviour towards them, due to the combination of their race and nationality.

Contradicting the notion of accumulation of discrimination are theorists who argue that individuals with a single subordinate group identity suffer more than individuals with multiple subordinate group identities (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; 377-378). There are two sides of the debate of which of a number of group identities causes an individual to suffer more, as previously stated there is a belief that belonging to multiple groups is detrimental to the individual. Now it has been presented that there are individuals who believe one single group identity causes more suffering to an individual. Those arguing that the single subordinate group members are worse off believe in identifying with a single subordinate group, an individual will bear the brunt of discrimination as they are targets of discrimination from members within the dominant group. This interaction between groups will direct their prejudices and discrimination more towards single subordinate group members, otherwise overlooking marginalized individuals with multiple identities (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; 379). In my study, single subordinate group identity will help too when interpreting the experiences of participants who believe that their race is a non-factor and the only factor that is to be considered is their nationality or vice versa.

Intersectionality's widespread utilization means that there is an extensive list of applications of the conceptual framework, this is indeed true for the deployment of the framework in the African context (Meer & Müller, 2017: 3-4). What remains the same, despite the changing contexts in which intersectionality is applied, is the purpose of 'intersectionality' to enable deeper understanding of issues around identity and inequality. An example of a unique application of the concept in Africa is Leslie Swartz (2013) work entitled: *Oscar Pistorius and the melancholy of intersectionality*. This is an attempt to analyse the overlooked identity factor of disability in conjunction with other factors to show the importance of intersectionality as a theoretical device (Swartz, 2013). Studies in Africa tend to revolve around the importance of intersectionality to define social identities and unpacking their narratives even if they go beyond gender, race or class (See also Moolman, 2013; Groenmeyer, 2011; Elu & Loubert, 2013; Warnat, 2012).

2.3.   <u>South African Higher Education historical background</u>

Racial exclusion is constitutive of the history of the modern university in South Africa (Bunting, 2006). This backbone of separation and oppression has continued to hold up the

South African educational system despite many transformational programs put in place to combat it (Bunting, 2006). The continuity of race as the key fault line in education is evidenced by the continued use of legislation that is based on the race of individuals, the racial statistics of enrolled students still being of importance and the racial statistics of the staff being of importance.

This exclusionary basis that helped form the current educational system has continued to be perpetuated by the institutional culture within the South African institutions that were built from it so long ago (Sennett *et al*, 2003). To understand the current state of South Africa's education system one must understand its history, which established historically white institutions as places that promoted the separation of individuals based on discriminatory laws and policies.

Apartheid spanned from 1948 to 1994 and was a continuation of policies of segregation already implemented within the colonized territory of South Africa. Apartheid was not merely a rebranding of segregation. Apartheid an overarching formalisation of segregation into law and policy, it influenced all South African life, shaping the future for generations to come (Wolpe, 1972: 426). The apartheid policy worked to separate the country into four racial classes primarily; white, coloured, black and Indian (Wolpe, 1972: 426). This was followed by forceful relocations into segregated neighbourhoods affecting all facets of people's life from healthcare to education. Apartheids influence over education was not just the forced separation of racial groups, it was also the induction of vastly different qualities of education for South Africans based on their race and ethnicity.

Historically white universities supported apartheid government's policies such as the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act No 45 of 1959 which have been referred to earlier in this literature as they created institutions that could strictly only enrol white students, further creating a divide amongst the population (Davenport, 1960). Black students were permitted to attend these universities under the permit system which granted them access to the university programs which were not offered at black institutions (Bunting, 2006: 39-42). The black students who enrolled were commonly postgraduate who did not attend campus for classes, this made sure they did not have to face direct discrimination from the other pupils who attended the institutions (Bunting, 2006). Although, since this time in South Africa's history, the nation has transformed a lot, this fear of direct discrimination is still held by many marginalized groups, this points to the

inefficient changes South Africa's Academia have gone through, being unable to create a safe environment for all (Batisai, 2019; Naidu, 2005).

The higher education policy of the Apartheid government was of separation and exclusion based on discriminatory laws (Sennett *et al.,* 2003). There were some historically white institutions referred to as 'open' universities, which enrolled black students (Bunting, 2006: 41-42). This was not to say that these spaces were a conducive learning environment for those students of different races and backgrounds. South African universities' relationship with the rest of the continent at that time was non-existent. South Africa was closed off from other institutions within Africa due to the countries continued stance on racial prejudice (Bunting, 2006). During apartheid, the University of Fort Hare was the only institution to give black academics a degree (Robus & Macleod,2006). The institution was unique as it was the only historically white institution that was changed into a historically black institution. Other institutions such as the University of Cape Town allowed black students to attend lectures, but segregation was implemented at all other levels. Only at the University of Fort Hare were black academics given full access to all levels during apartheid (Robus & Macleod,2006).

Universities within South Africa after the abolishment of apartheid in 1994 opened their doors to individuals of a different race, gender and class (Bunting, 2006). However, South Africa's independence was less than 30 years ago, and development has been slow in the transformation of institutions into spaces where all can interact and feel comfortable. Much has been done to correct the wrongs of past discrimination and oppression. Despite the progression that historically white universities in South Africa have made since independence they are still institutions which perpetuate racism and exclusion for people of other races and nationalities, this is because historically white institutions were established on this basis, and allowed to continue existing (Batisai, 2019). Instead of tearing down the established education system at the end of apartheid in order to create a new one in its place which would erase its past of discrimination (Bunting, 2006; Batisai, 2019).

Dani Wadada Nabudere was a Ugandan scholar who wrote extensively about the idea of an Africa in which we all help one another to progress and break down barriers from one another to come together and unite as Africans. His views still have support from various theorists and academics. An interesting insight he brought out was the fact that South Africa was trying to carve out an identity for itself as an African nation and because of this and its recent

independence, it was only just dealing with the issues other African nations dealt with decades before South Africa due to their early independence (Nabudere, 2006: 8-11). This caused slow progress in the adaptation not only of the country but of their higher education institutions into comfortable spaces where academics of different race, gender and class can feel welcome (Nabudere, 2006).

2.4. The dual rival tensions of internationalisation and indigenisation of knowledge in South Africa

2.4.1. Internationalisation

Internationalisation in higher education denotes a type of institutional internationalisation and the process can be defined as "one of integrating an international and cultural dimension into the teaching research and service functions of the institution" (Knight 1997; cited in Botha, 2010: 201; Yang, 2002: 81; Knight, 2004). Internationalisation covers many aspects of life, not just higher education, so when it came to university internationalisation, there were different perspectives adopted to examining it and various definitions developed for it. An apt definition for the internationalisation experienced in higher education is offered by Yang (2002: 83) who defines the internationalisation of a university as the awareness and operation of interaction between different cultures within the institution facilitated by its teachings, research and service functions. The aim for internationalisation of a university in this respect would be the mutual understanding between different cultures. Yang (2002: 83) goes on to state that for a national higher education system internationalisation refers to a dialogue established with other institutions in other countries. This dialogue ultimately puts an institution into the line of vision of international academics and institutions (Yang, 2002).

It is important to note that globalisation is a more recent conception than internationalisation because it implies functional integration between internationally dispersed activities (Gereffi *et al*, 2001, 1). People however understand that internationalisation and globalisation have immensely impacted the functioning and shape of institutions, opening their doors to more foreign nationals and foreign investment (Mouton *et al.*, 2013). Nations over time have also lowered their borders and allowed foreigners to enter their country to reside, study and/or work (Mouton *et al.*, 2013). South Africa was no exception after the apartheid government dismantled. South Africa's borders opened to the world and currently, South Africa has a

burgeoning population of international students at their tertiary institutions, and of the international student's the majority are African nationals (Mouton *et al.*, 2013, 290). Some argue that a potential benefit of internationalisation is the improvement of educational quality as universities are officially and unofficially levelled against international standards (Mouton *et al.*, 2013, 289). Internationalisation provides many opportunities but also comes up against national imperatives and pressures, such as the call to indigenise and localise knowledge production systems and institutions (Owusu-Ansah, 2013).

The call for the indigenisation of knowledge in South Africa is based on the assumption that knowledge or science and its methods cannot be separated from people's history, cultural context and worldview (Owusu-Ansah, 2013). Essentially the notion of having one universal method of investigation or knowledge system is seen as oppressive because it implies that those methods can be used regardless of cultural context. Major epistemological reform is sought as South Africans attempt to transcend the eurocentrism of the past. During the colonial era, Africa went through a 'symbolic castration', referring to the assault on African knowledge systems as colonial powers imposed their culture and educational systems (Hoppers, 2001: 74; Owusu-Ansah, 2013). Within my study, internationalisation and indigenisation of institutional culture emerge as a contradictory elements prominent in the understanding of place which foreign academics perceive. On one hand, you have internationalisation, which pushes for universities to interact with one another and open the doors to increase the institution's diversity and involve a diversity of academic cultures. On the other hand, you have indigenization of knowledge systems pushing to close the door in order to cultivating knowledge-based systems based in South African cultural and knowledge systems as fostered by South African academics.

2.4.2. Institutional culture

Institutional culture is defined as the collective shaping patterns of norms, values beliefs and assumptions which are used to guide the actions and behaviours of others in higher education and give individuals a frame of reference in which they may interpret other actions and behaviours (Naidoo, 2017: 532). This definition speaks to the complexity of institutional culture as it governs the thought processes behind the actions of a group of individuals. The definition could be simply put as a set of unwritten rules that everyone follows as it prescribes what is deemed acceptable and unacceptable (Naidoo, 2017). Institutional culture has been associated with organisational culture (Kezar & Eckel, 2002). The term

organisational culture was conceptualised before the term institutional culture as it emerged in the 1980s when examining the role of culture and its connection to the effectiveness and central processes of an organisation were of importance (Kezar & Eckel, 2002: 438). The findings of this research shifted culture from being used as a descriptive device to be linked with improvement and success within an organisation, higher education followed up by analysing the culture present within their institutions and concluding that the culture within higher education was as unique as the culture of any other institution or organisation (Kezar & Eckel, 2002: 438). Several studies were conducted that did find a link between institutional culture and organisational success (Kezar & Eckel, 2002: 438).

What is the institutional culture? Institutional culture just like internationalisation has various definitions stemming from different perspectives. Though definitions may differ, the common theme definitions of institutional culture, state that it refers to patterns of behaviour and values transmitted throughout the institution over time (Spoken, 1996: 44-45). This definition helps to understand that the individuals within the institution create institutional culture, hence their culture influences the culture of the institution. When it comes to historically white institutions, they were built from the culture of exclusion and discrimination against others based on physical traits. The institutional culture around the time of apartheid was that of racism and discrimination but as South African institutions have transformed over the years the question has become; has the institutional culture of South African institutions changed? In this study, to answer this question analysing the experiences individuals previously discriminated against would be beneficial as it helps gain insight on whether, from the participants perspective, enough has been done to change the institutional culture to one of inclusion and acceptance of people from all over the world regardless of race and nationality. By interviewing established academics, about their experiences, it would be possible to gauge whether the institution has changed due to the introduction of new cultures and previously excluded ethnic groups within the institution. Institutional culture in the South African higher education context is deemed a 'slippery notion' that is 'hard to define' (Matthews, 2015). John Higgins (2007) tries to give an encompassing definition of institutional culture, as,

> "A term referring to the values attitudes perceptions practices and the ways of doing things that become embedded in an institution even when did they are not necessarily part of university policy or procedure"(Matthews, 2015: 74-75).

Samantha Vice (2015: 45), began her chapter in: *Being at Home: Race, Institutional Culture and Transformation at South African Higher Education Institutions*, by stating that the notion of institutional culture has become more appealing in the discussions of the failure of South African higher education institutions in transformation. Institutional culture comes up in the failure of the transformation of South African higher education institutions because of the notion of 'feeling at home' (Vice, 2015). South African institutions have not transformed enough from the time they were created into intellectual spaces for all, racial and national prejudice still permeates into academia from the private to public areas in South African life (Mahabeer *et al.,* 2018). Sticking to the topic, Rhodes University's mission statement makes it clear that institutions want to portray their openness to accept anyone from any culture and the conduciveness of their learning environment for all students of the university so they may excel academically, as well as develop socially with others (Vice, 2015: 47-48). However, this notion of "being at home" is subjective; home could mean a lot of different things to a lot of different people (Vice, 2015: 50). Some find it beneficial at the expense of others, as it could be restrictive to personal growth and autonomy, suspicious of change and difference as well as conservative (Vice, 2015: 50). There is an issue with defining transformation in this way; there are individuals who feel at home within historically white institutions despite the lack of inclusion of some individuals (Vice, 2015: 50). What the notions of home do have in common is the feeling of being in a positive space in which people can have valuable experiences (Vice, 2015: 50). Trying to make it sound as though an institution feels like a home, is wrong as others feel alienated within those institutions while others feel at accepted and at home. Within my study, this will lean heavily into the notion of exclusion of foreign academics who were enticed to the institution with the promise of a safe environment where everyone can feel at 'home'. Understanding if the foreign academics within the study feel this sense of homeliness is key.

When looking at race within South African higher education, we can see that the apartheid era had a heavy influence on the education institutions, as the best-resourced universities catered principally to white students (Matthews, 2015). Within these historically white universities, white students are still overrepresented today, even though apartheid has ended, and the spaces have been opened to more races and ethnicities. White people only make up 10% of South Africa's total population, however, more than 70% of current academic staff is white, pointing to the under-representation of black African academics, regardless of nationality (Matthews, 2015: 73). This discrepancy has been associated with the institutional

racism that is still experienced within these institutions, the same institutional racism that these institutions were built from (Macupe, 2019). Representative progress would require government support of academics so more university-based studies can be conducted, these studies could give more insight to the plight of black academics (Panel, 2014). The only methods of correcting this discrepancy in representation are seen to require the state's input as they are the only body who have the resources required to afford a project of that scale, on the national scale (Panel, 2014). The plight of South African 'blackness' in relation to higher education institutional culture means that foreign black academics within South African institutions cannot expect to be treated any more fairly than their local counterparts as even though they could be accepted as being separate to the local black population they are still not regarded as members of the 'white' academic population, they should realise that they also fall into south African 'black' identity group and as such their plight is shared. Historically white universities have complied with regulatory frameworks put in place for them to ensure that more black staff are appointed yet there are still many white staff members employed within the university so more must be done to revise these regulatory frameworks until a significant impact is observed (Matthews, 2015).

From institutions, which privileged white students, historically white institutions have turned into places previously overt in their discrimination of people of colour, into subtle places of discrimination (Matthews, 2015: 76). The issue, which seems to come up, is that institutional culture within a historically white university is in its nature to overlook Africans or anyone from a different racial group or ethnicity (Metz, 2015). The notion of Africanising institutional culture is brought up by, Thaddeus Metz (2015: 242). He makes sure to mention that using 'Africanisation' he is not fundamentally interested in the racial and ethnic composition of students and staff but is concerned with the content of what is or could be done at a university. Thaddeus would like to bring an element of Africa to the academic field where they would promote the sense of unity and inclusion in the institution, this touches on the notion of Pan-Africanism.

2.4.3.   Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism or pan African consciousness dates to 1900s from the works of Edward Blyden (1832 -1912). Pan-Africanism in direct translation means 'all Africans' and it is an ideology that seeks to unify and uplift both native Africans and the African diaspora as part of a global community (Msila, 2017: 38). It originally started as an ideology seeking to unify

and uplift all black people within Africa but has now expanded to include all black African descended people worldwide, who were displaced due to slave trade during the colonial era and later immigration (Msila, 2017: 38). Although pan-African congress meetings had been held in Europe and America since the 1900s up until 1958 with the first conference being in Ghana, the primary focus of the pan Africanist movement has remained within Africa (Msila, 2017: 39). Pan-Africanism has come to represent struggles for the emancipation of black races everywhere in the 20th century, in the 21st century the African Renaissance has been carrying the pan Africanist legacy, as it strives for the same thing (Msila, 2017: 39).

The concept of African Renaissance was popularized by Thabo Mbeki when Hira predicted of a rebirth of Africa in the 21st century in his 1997 speech to the gathering of American investors and leaders in the Southern African development community also known as SADC (Msila, 2017: 39), within this address Thabo Mbeki stated the African renaissance to be,

> "a positive vision of Africa as a peaceful democratic and market-oriented region that will attract foreign trade and investment as well as the return of thousands of talented Africans and billions of flight capital now and safe havens abroad" (Msila, 2017: 40).

A fundamental element of pan-Africanism is that Africans can come together and help each other progress, as they had all suffered together in the past, they must march together into a new and brighter future, they can create together (Emerson, 1962: 280). This suffering together and picking each other up is believed to be because of a spiritual affinity bonding all Africans together (Emerson, 1962: 280). Pan-Africanism is an important ideology for the study. The notion of working together that is raised by pan-Africanism is contrasted by the notion that the indigenisation of knowledge systems at south African institutions introduces of isolation by separating the south African knowledge system from others as well as separating foreigners from the locals in terms of their access to that knowledge. The belief is that pan-Africanism is the answer to Africa and South Africa's problems; some may say that it is not realistic, but the supporters of pan-Africanism believe it is a tangible way forward and can be applied to the university setting (Msila, 2017). In the university setting, pan-Africanist supporters believe that pan-Africanism can help bolster African indigenous knowledge systems to a global level, as well as sharing African knowledge from other parts of Africa so we can all develop and learn from one another as Africans.

2.5. Documented experiences: Belonging in Historically White Institutions

A review of the literature reveals several documented cases of foreigners' experiences at historically white institutions in South Africa, the most relevant case to this study is that of Batisai (2019). Batisai's account, '*Black and Foreign: negotiating being different in South Africa's Academy*' (2019) is a living reflection of afore-mentioned guiding concepts of 'double jeopardy' and 'intersectional invisibility'.

2.5.1. Kezia Batisai

The case study I will explore is that of Kezia Batisai (2019), she is a black Zimbabwean who studied at the University of Cape Town (UCT). She published a chapter in a book titled: *Black and Foreign: negotiating being different in South Africa's Academy*. She calls her chapter "a biographical academic piece" (Batisai, 2019: 81). Her chapter is a look into her personal experience as a foreign academic at a South African institution and the difficulties she faced when trying to become a full-time academic after the completion of her PhD. Internationalisation has been a phenomenon that has greatly influenced South African education, its influences stretch to the case of Batisai, where she came to the country because of the belief that it would be a better opportunity for her than the one that she was presented at home, the fact that she considered South Africa confirms that the presence of internationalisation in other African nations coupled with the lower borders for foreigners has drawn in more foreign nationals into South Africa, in Batisai's case she was one of a handful of postgraduates meaning that with the completion of her degree she would be seen as an asset to South Africa and would be more eligible to get a job as a foreigner in South Africa. Batisai (2019) spoke to the difficulties she faced despite her qualifications and experience, she did not feel welcome within the institution she attended, which was a historically white university. She felt excluded and isolated, but it was because of the deep systematic problems that whole groups of people such as herself were experiencing (Batisai, 2016: 82). Historically white institutions have been seen to perpetuate that discriminatory, exclusionary institutional culture they were founded on (Sennett *et al*, 2003).

Within South African institutions individuals are classified as either black foreign academics or black local academics. This classification shows the significance that race carries in South African academia when academics who are white do not have their race stated. This touches on the voices of black non-south Africans in South Africa's academy; as there is homogeneity

given to black voices in academia. Black foreigners do not have their own voice they are instead lumped into the same pool as black South Africans in terms of their opinions and stance on issues pertaining to the institution (Batisai, 2016: 95; Naidu, 2005; Jaffer, 2005). In analysing the case of Batisai, I would say that there is a clear presence of intersectional invisibility. Intersectional invisibility is defined as the belief that belonging to multiple social groups and having multiple identities wouldn't intensify negative stereotypes from each social group on the individual, instead, the individual would not be acknowledged at all (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). In Batisai's, case she doesn't acknowledge her own nationality as a factor that could contribute to her experience, this could be because people have failed to recognise her struggle resulting in her taking way the symbolism nationality has in her life.

Batisai (2019: 95) quoted a female black associate professor at UCT on how the presence of foreign nationals in South Africa's Academy is interpreted. The quote read as such, "The presence of a black foreign academic creates a sense of belonging and a progressive academic community the black South African academics and students can comfortably identify with despite them not being a black South African academic within that faculty". With this quote you can see what is derived from the presence of black foreign nationals in South African academia, they feel a sense of belonging and project a sense of belonging to black students both local and foreign. It seems that sometimes all that is considered is an individual's race and because of their being black nationals and black foreigners, they tend to find common ground in the exclusion they feel at historically white universities. However, this does not cancel out the tensions between race and nationality that are present in South Africa. South Africa's past of racial discrimination has pushed them to try to resolve inequality brought on from the discriminatory policies and laws implemented by the ruling party within South Africa at the time.

Some argue that the presence of black non-south African academics gives a false image of transformation within South African institutions as those individuals take away opportunities of black South Africans as well as do not relate well to South African Nationals (Batisai, 2016: 96; Mbembe, 2019). The false image of transformation in higher education comes when institutions only think that race is considered as a factor of assessing someone as they overlook their nationality, the initiatives introduced by the government to reform the effects of apartheid on black South Africans had spoken of more representation in academia. However, it is perceived that black foreigners are taking more of these positions than black

South Africans giving the appearance of progress since apartheid with representation where in actual fact the black South Africans are still not as represented as they were promised (Mbembe, 2019). Mbembe (2019) goes so far as to say foreigners are not welcome in South Africa but with the recent surge in xenophobia and the resentment towards foreigners by local South Africans, inviting is not a word used to illustrate South Africa to other Africans. Batisai's (2019) autobiographical piece made clear the varied opinions on the presence of black foreign academics in South African institutions especially historically white universities as some see it as a benefit and others see it as a loss. Concerning the study, Batisai experienced exclusion but did not allow her nationality to play a large role in her exclusion and discrimination at South African institutions by playing down the importance of her nationality to her experience, this could be seen as already denying the importance of nationality to the experience of South African academia. Batisai concluded that irrespective of nationality South Africa's economy perpetuates racism and black South Africans go through the same exclusion and discrimination that black foreigners go through at the start of their careers (Batisai, 2019: 84). Batisai attributed her exclusion to racial discrimination, but she did recognise that her nationality did not seem to help matters, which is in line with intersectionality's notion of compounding of inequalities.

CHAPTER THREE:

DATA ANALYSIS

In the investigation of foreign African academics' experiences at Rhodes University, several important sociological forces were elevated to the point of analyses such as that of alienation and acculturation which have a significant bearing on the degree of assimilation and alienation experienced by black foreign nationals. However, the point must be made that the accounts of individuals in the study are varying as individuals may experience the same stimulus differently (Robertson, 2007: 543).

Robertson (2007: 543) states that academic experience can vary due to a host of reasons, which include; the nature of the institution (the institutional culture), the age of the institution, the status of those interviewed (what role the individual serves within the institution, e.g. Administrator/ faculty member), the level of teaching (whether the participant teaches at an undergraduate or at a post-graduate level), and finally the discipline involved

(the specific department the individual is a part of). Specifically, Robertson referred to whether the institution was new or old, if an institution was old, it meant that the institution had become accustomed to the behaviours and institutional culture that it was founded on, it also finds it harder to adapt to new societal norms, such as the exclusionary past coming into conflict with the inclusion that characterises newer institutions. In chapter two, institutional culture was described as the patterns of behaviour and values transmitted throughout the institution overtime (Naidoo, 2017). What this means for the assimilation of foreign academics is that these factors should be considered to understand whether a foreign academic will assimilate with ease or whether they may find it difficult.

Some may wonder why it is important to look at individual experiences in an institution as large as a university (Altbach, 1989: 131-132). However, there is importance in uncovering the individual perspectives of foreign academics as the need to know more about the foreign academic population grows as the foreign population grows within South African universities (Altbach, 1989: 132). This expanded knowledge may help the development of the academic community through an improved understanding of the agents which constitute the intellectual community which we are trying to transform.

The research found that the experiences of foreign black academics at Rhodes University are generally positive, however, there were some instances where participants felt that they significantly struggled due to their foreign nationality playing a role in their assimilation.

Nationality is a large component of an individual's life and their nationality has much bearing within the 'real' world. Nationality is simply where a person was born, however, there is a lot of feelings and sentiment attached to one's nationality and with xenophobic attacks being perpetrated on individuals purely based on their nationality, nationality has taken on a larger role in people's lives as they are prosecuted for it.

Nationalism is rather significant to the research as the feelings and attitudes towards foreigners within South Africa are directly affected by the feelings of nationalism of the local population. Nationalism does have a positive element of an individual's pride within their country, however, nationalism in the context of my research refers to the detrimental facet of overzealous feelings of identification with an individual's nation which also includes a sense of superiority over others and a belief that they are dominant (Mummendey *et al.*, 2001: 160). The scholar Michael Neocosmos (2010:5) argues that the 'dominant arrogant discourse' is held by many South Africans, regardless of their racial group. In this view, South Africa is

not seen as part of Africa but more akin to South European countries which are moderately industrialised, in this regard "the rest" of Africa is seen as a backward continent rife with corruption, lack of industrialisation and poverty (Neocosmos, 2010: 5). This separation is evident in subtleties identified by Mda (2015) in the paper titled; *Home away from home? - African international students in South African universities*, where she stated, and I quote;

> "The position of South Africans in relation to the African continent can be described in general terms, as one of misalignment, dislocation, detachment, disinformation and ignorance (on the South Africans' side). South Africans of all races and all classes have been heard to refer to those from the continent but outside of SA as "Africans," and when referring to travel from SA into the greater continent or from any African country into SA as "coming from" and "going to" Africa, implying that SA is not part of the African continent. In reference to fellow South Africans, South Africans struggle with the term "African.""

With all the points made in Mda's (2015) article, a divide is clearly illustrated between South Africa and Africa. Some of the points made by Mda (2015) are that there is a confusing identity crisis within South Africa where there is a need to categorise individuals according to race which may confuse or offend foreigners, as a foreigner in South Africa you also find out there are pre-determined status for people like you and also you find out about stereotypes of people from your country or continent, these group allocations cause there to be a further rift between locals and foreigners. A divide that was referred to in Neocosmos' (2010) article and a view that has support garnered some support. In Mbembe's article (2019) for the Mail & Guardian titled; *No African is a foreigner in Africa* – except down in South Africa, this article speaks to the view that South Africa is not always seen as a part of Africa or even better than the rest of Africa. This view fuels South African nationalism and could be a backing used to justify xenophobic views (Mbembe, 2019; Kersting, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

In Ndlovu-Gatsheni's 2009 article titled; *Africa for Africans or Africa for "Natives" Only?* "New Nationalism" and Nativism in Zimbabwe and South Africa, there is a need to reassess the nationalism present in South Africa. This need emerged after the 'explosion of xenophobia' in South Africa in 2008 which resulted in more than sixty foreign nationals dying and many more displaced from their homes (Kersting, 2009: 7; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 62). Xenophobic attacks did not cease after 2008, however, they did decrease in number to the explosion of 2008 according to the statistics reported by the BBC news reality

check team (20d19). There too has been a recent explosion of xenophobic attacks in 2019, these attacks were mostly committed in Gauteng, but had effects that were felt nationwide and were highly publicised (Reality check team, 2019). According to Neocosmos (2010: 6), there is little doubt as to the connection between nationalism and xenophobia. These views help to bolster the importance of South African nationalism in any discussions around foreigners living in South Africa. The nationalism spoken about by these theorists is referred to as 'New-nationalism', a resurgence of nationalism within South Africa which goes beyond just a sense of pride in an individual's country to the point that the pride in one's nationality includes a view of superiority over others coming from different nations as well as disdain towards them due to their nationality and it being 'inferior' to your own. (Kersting, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The first surge of nationalism came in the early 1960s when the first independence movements emerged, the main drive for these movements was inclusion of all people that were previously excluded under the apartheid policies, these movements of inclusion were to unite all of South Africa for the first time regardless of race, which previously was a factor that was used to separate individuals. However, the second wave of nationalism is driven by exclusion which manifests itself in forms such as xenophobia and alienation as this nationalism was not only driven by pride, but it was also driven by fear, fear of the 'unknown' enemy that was moving into the country (Kohnert, 2009: 112).

This chapter consists of a thematic analysis of the responses given by participants regarding their experience of the process of adaptation as foreigners at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. The following emergent themes from the responses shall be discussed at length through a thematic approach:

3.1. Arriving at Rhodes University

      3.1.1. 'Push' Factors

      3.1.2. 'Pull' Factors

      3.1.3. Motivations of Participants behind Their Institutional Choice

      3.1.4. Belonging at Rhodes University

3.2. Between home and South Africa: Comparing Educational Cultures

3.3. Personal accounts of what "Foreigner" means in the university context

3.4. Perceived Factors Influencing Experiences of South African Academia

     3.4.1. Nationality

     3.4.2. Race

     3.4.3. Nationality in conjunction with race

3.5. The African Voice

3.6. Inclusivity and the Decolonisation movement in higher education

With regards to ethical considerations, no identifiable participant data is disclosed within the analysis of the data. The participant names are replaced with pseudonyms. The first use of a pseudonym shall be noted within this section using an asterisk, thereafter no asterisk will be used when using the pseudonym. To keep in line with the privacy, ` confidentiality and anonymity of participants within the research, the specific departments have been omitted from the analysis section. Above there was a reference by Robertson (2007: 543) about the departments/ disciplines of individuals being important to understanding their individual experience of academia. However, referring to the specific department of any participant from the study could be used to identify them. Instead, the faculties at large shall be referred to. The diverse nature of faculties means that if there is a hegemony amongst the responses it could not be because the participants all belong to the same faculty. The country of origin of the participant is also withheld. The international status of participants was a key recruitment criterion for the research but using their specific country in any manner within the data analysis section could be used to identify the participant.

3.1.   **Arriving at Rhodes University**

The increasing attention South Africa has gotten from the African continent and the increasing number of foreigners within its borders is attributed to the country's attraction of people in search of either an education or a job, due to their stable market and internationally recognised universities (Mouton *et al*., 2013). When looking at the choices that foreign academics had to make that lead them to Rhodes University there needs to be an understanding of the factors that play a major role in such decisions, these factors are categorised as the 'pull' and 'push' factors. The mobility of African academics within as well as outside the continent is characterised by two features identified in the development of the pull and push framework by Agarwal *et al*. (2007) in their study of academic mobility (Sehoole et al., 2019: 216). The framework was made up of two features, these were the

outward and the inward mobility which was also referred to as the 'push and pull factors', respectively (Sehoole *et al.,* 2019: 216).

3.1.1. 'Push' Factors

Push factors are the factors that can help explain why a person would leave their country and move abroad (Sehoole *et al*., 2019: 216). The push factors of that are commonly given as reasons as to why an individual is compelled to leave their country are; unemployment, scarcity of resources, lack of opportunities for advancement, underdevelopment (Kainth, 2010). The 'push' factors do not only refer to the factors that push people away from their country but with the current climate of South Africa and its stance toward foreigners, the xenophobic attacks are seen as a 'push' factor which is pushing foreigners away from South Africa and towards other countries as destinations for immigration.

3.1.2. 'Pull' Factors

Pull factors, on the other hand, are the factors which attract individuals to choosing a specific country (Sehoole *et al*., 2019: 216). Some of the pull factors attracting academics to South African Universities have been identified by Mda (2015: 1) as the perceived high quality of education within the country as opposed to the education available within the region, accessibility of the country, affordability of the cost of living within the country and South Africa having a high employability rate of graduates. These factors are generally attributed with drawing in foreign talent into South Africa, but there could be other factors that affect individuals, this study will help to look at other individual experience to understand specific motivations behind their selection of country and institution.

With the notion of Rhodes University in relation to outward and inward mobility, there are specific institutional characteristics and attraction that draw in foreign academics. Rhodes University's identity as a prestigious institution attracts foreign academics and is one of the reasons for the inward mobility of academics. From the participants, Steve stated,

"There was this opportunity which was permanent, so I had to come to Rhodes which at that time I didn't know much about except that it was one of the prestigious institutions in South Africa if not in Africa."

So, this meant that despite not knowing much about Rhodes university its reputation as a prestigious university was enough for Steve to come and take a permanent position at the university.

3.1.3. Motivations of Participant their Institutional Choice

Before looking at the individuals' institutional choice within the study, firstly we must look at what drew them to choose South Africa over other countries within and outside of the continent. This is where the notion of 'push' and 'pull' factors comes into play (Sehoole *et al*., 2019). Above I have identified some of the common answers given as pull factors of foreigners to the country that were identified by Mda (2015). The most common answer by far which was in line with reports from McGregor (2007), Mda (2015) and Sehoole *et al*. (2019), was that South Africa is close to their country of origin, meaning they are not too far from their friends and family in case of any emergency also the cost of living was far cheaper in South Africa when compared to other destinations. James* stated had much to say when it came to the cost of living within South Africa, to quote him,

> "It's (the cost of living in South Africa) relatively cheaper compared to other countries in the world."

When asked to elaborate on which costs he was referring to specifically, James stated,

> "By the costs, I mean the immigrating to those countries. You would need to fly, you would need visa applications but for when I needed to come to South Africa I just needed to get into a bus, you'd get a visa at the border and you can apply for a permit once you're here. So, it was cheaper financially actually for me to get to South Africa."

So, the costs of living include the costs of relocation, which are more affordable for academics coming from other African countries to the point where they can choose cheaper means of transportation. This also boils down to the proximity of South Africa as compared to other destinations because it opens up the option of using cheaper means of transportation. It also means that transporting things from the country of origin to South Africa is cheaper.

The significance derived from these responses is that the reasons behind foreign individual's choices of the country are far simpler and direct than previous literature would suggest alluding to more complex reasons around the 'quality' and 'superiority' of the South African education system (Rasool *et al*., 2012). Main contributing factors behind their decision can be simplified to two factors, namely; proximity as well as the cost of living as stated in the responses.

In local South African literature on academic migration, the explanatory point is often made that South Africa is a hub for foreign academics as it has attracted the attention and interest of foreign academics since 1994 when the country gained independence and there was an influx of foreigners into the country (Sehoole, 2006, Dube & Rukema, 2013). 'Push factors' play a significant role in the migration of not only academics but any foreigners that seek to reside in countries that are not their own (Sehoole *et al*., 2019).

In the case of this study, the participants cited different 'push factors' for leaving their countries. All the participants were on the same page about one of the 'push factors' that motivated them to come to South Africa, the economic condition of the country was a major factor that motivated the move of the participants from their country of origin. A failing economic system can serve to 'push' out citizens from the country to branch out and seek out employment and residence in another country (Sako, 2002), but that is but one of the main factors affecting the migration of academics from their home country.

Some other key factors revealed as the key to determining the choice of academics on whether to leave their countries of origin are; poor working conditions, corruption especially in public service and natural disasters such as drought or famine (Sako, 2002: 26). In the study some 'pull' factors that brought academics to choosing Rhodes University were; familiarity with the environment (for the former students of Rhodes University) and Rhodes University is a research-intensive university that can allow you to balance your research and you are teaching. Mark* also speaks of the demanding and often frustrating work environments present at other institutions. The size of the university also came up in most of the responses from participants like John*, Mark and Peter*.

To quote John, when it came to the size of the university as a 'pull' factor for him, he stated,

> "It's a small university that allows you to deal with fewer students as compared to other universities. For me dealing with fewer students means you are in a position to make an impact, depending on the number of students you are dealing with because you have more interactions with the students."

John is referring to the size of the institution having a direct effect on the impact that the academic can make in the life of their students. This ability to interact more is seen as a draw in for academics. Peter shares this sentiment in his response, which in many respects is quite similar to john's response. Peter states,

> "It's a small university so there's actually more interaction between students and academics because I am also a part-time student so I understand the frustration that you get if you cannot get help as a student."

In this quote Peter, makes the same points that John makes about interaction with students being of top priority and an institution like Rhodes university being a perfect size allowing for there to be adequate interaction between the students and academics.

It's important to note that one of those participants spoke of their reluctance to leave their home country and only doing so due to extreme circumstances with regards to their countries economic state.

In my recruitment of participants, I was unable to find any willing participant that came directly from the country of origin to South Africa to teach. I believe this affected the results in the way that most participants had an induction period as a student before being introduced to the South African academic world as a lecturer. This does not mean that all participants found it easy to adjust; they just found better means of coping due to their early exposure to South African academia. All participants spoke of a belief that coming directly from their country as an established academic would have made adapting and adjusting to the institutional culture more difficult. Huntley (1993) Speaks of the difficulties that adult international students face when they are adjusting. It is recognised that the academics will go through various stages of adjustment but this starts with culture shock as they are exposed to a new culture and new environment, as a student they are able to find a support system through other foreign students who are going through the same adjustments, when it comes to foreign academics they are often a new addition to the department of tight-knit co-workers, making adjustment an experience they must go through alone. Staff induction is important and is mandatory for all new staff that are appointed permanently or on a contract that lasts longer than a year (Rhodes University, 2012).

To quote Peter on why it would be different or difficult to adapt and assimilate if they had come from their country as an established academic already;

> "I feel it would have been quite different because each and every institution has a different culture, so if I come from a different institution or straight from my country I would have to adapt to this culture because they might do things differently."

Here, Peter is referring to the institutional culture that is ingrained into Rhodes University staff and students. This sentiment of things being difficult if they were not to have the introductory period as a student before becoming a full-fledged academic within South African academia is shared by Mary*, She stated:

> "It would have been a very different experience. Everything would have been new you don't know the people and you don't know how to approach individuals so there's a lot of tiptoeing..."

Considering, all my participants had come to South Africa, first, to learn then went beyond learning into the field of academia. It is understandable that they could not give me a definitive answer as to how the adaptation process would change but they acknowledged that there would be a difference and acknowledged that in becoming a student first they assimilated with relative ease into South African academia.

When asked how participants felt that their experience would differ at other South African universities the participant John had a rather interesting response, he stated:

> "... If you move to other universities, I would not be dealing with issues of race but would likely to be dealing with issues of xenophobia in terms of where you come from originally."

This notion is shared by Jerry Pillay (2017), who states at certain schools you face racism in various forms and in other schools you face xenophobia. When it is set in the academic setting Ndangwa Noyoo (2019) terms it as "academic xenophobia" which is characterised by its existence in more 'polished' and 'sophisticated' sections like a university. In this form of xenophobia, students who are both black and white academics are the purveyors (Noyoo, 2019). One would have thought the violence and discrimination towards immigrants would have subsided post-independence in South Africa but there is evidence to show that it is very much the contrary (Noyoo, 2019; Pillay, 2017: 7). The existence of academic xenophobia within an institution like a university means that it could be linked to the institutional culture and shows a flaw in the institution and the belonging all students should feel when they enrol in that institution (Akande *et al.*, 2018; Coetzee, 2012). Within my study, none of the participants stated that they have personally experienced any forms of xenophobia at Rhodes University but did state that it is an issue that must be addressed as they have heard stories of experiences other academics have faced.

3.1.4. Belonging at Rhodes University

According to Bayaga (2011: 535), "South Africa boasts of being one of the most culturally diverse nations in the modern world. Nonetheless, it is also one of the most socially segmented in every word of it; be it in education, economics, finance and psycho-social settings". This illustrates that despite South Africa being a profoundly diverse country, it is still quite a divided nation. Belonging in an institution is seen to be tied to an institutions culture. The historically white institutions that my study focusses on were established on an exclusionary basis, this basis that historically white institutions were established on fed into their institutional culture, which was characterised by discrimination and exclusion of people of other racial groups (Sennett *et al*, 2003). The research seeks to enquire as to whether the participants of this study felt any of that exclusionary bias in their experience of the institution. There was a homogenous response that Rhodes University is an inclusive environment for all and does a lot to be accommodating to its academics, be it, staff or students. According to Peter:

> "I had left and now I'm back… the university has an institutional development plan which I feel is a very positive move as it transforms from a previously white institution to one with more diversity."

This shows the progress that Rhodes University has made in terms of inclusion for a black academic to leave the academic sphere and return to Rhodes University to continue their academic career because of their affiliation to the institution. One might also acknowledge the difficulty of expressing negative experiences of an institution while being interviewed within it.

An institutional culture takes time to change and adjust so despite the progress South Africa has made in general and in higher education in particular there are still, albeit more subtle, facets of discrimination that exist in some institutional cultures. In the participants' experience, there is a strong sense of belonging expressed about academic life at Rhodes University. When asked if Rhodes University has done enough to separate itself from its exclusionary past, the participants in the study were all in agreement that in their experience there has been significant progress by the institution to go beyond its exclusionary past and move toward a more inclusive environment for all regardless of nationality, gender or race. However, there is a feeling that still more could be done by the institution. Or rather that progress is slow and hasn't reached the heights it needs to.

3.2. Between Home and South Africa: Comparing Educational Culture

When comparing the educational cultures of institutions in the home African country and in South Africa, the participants had to do some reflection on what their previous experiences were. There were some participants who have only experienced the South African educational culture at a tertiary level and therefore had no scale of comparison for they only experienced primary and secondary education within their country Having said that, there were some participants who spoke about the perceived variations they encountered.

Some of the participants raised concerns about how to draw comparisons, whether from the perspective of a student or from the perspective of a lecturer. This was the first revelation that an educational culture can be experienced differently depending on the role you serve in the institution. John noted that there were vast differences in terms of how things were done from a lecturer's perspective as well as a student's perspective. This is arguably the reason for the volume of literature on foreign student experiences as opposed to academics.

There also was an interesting shared sentiment amongst all participants that in South Africa there is more engagement between the student and lecturer. The pedagogic culture they believed gave students extra support and they feel more inclined to ask for help when they need it. This support is essential according to Steve who explained to me that in his opinion students in South Africa are unprepared when they are sent to the university. This was echoed by John who spoke at length of the preparedness that students lack within South Africa. He believes that this largely affects their ability to navigate tertiary education effectively. To quote John,

> "I think here you are faced with students who probably have a poor background in terms of higher education. They probably don't understand how the higher education system works and how we acquire knowledge and learn in higher education systems. Which is different from my country where students are separated at different levels until they get to university."

Other educational differences that were noted by participants that seemed to favour South Africa over their own countries education system were; the diversity that Rhodes University as an institution has. Mark shares this view as he speaks of uniformity within the student body and staff within his country: "That environment has no diversity"

It is important to note, a study by Rothman *et al.* (2003) found that diversity does not improve university education, it has no positive effect on the education of individuals within the institution. Not having diversity within an institution does not have to be viewed as detrimental, according to Mark, "there are different tribes and so forth but there is that affinity in terms of cultural norms making it very easy for a student to integrate". In the case Mark brings up, uniformity means that students don't have to worry about integrating, cultural differences or assimilation which are remarkably defining factors affecting issues around institutional culture in South Africa.

Mark and James speak of the informality of departments within the university creating an atmosphere of casualty and acceptance for all. Within their respective departments they felt that professors were more welcoming than they were usually accustomed to and they were willing and often insisted that these academics refer to them by their first name rather than the prefix "prof". This was not a comfortable adjustment, but it showed the academics that at the university they could feel more at home and less as a subordinate. Within the accounts of participants, this informality boosted morale and motivated them to continue the pursuit of knowledge in academia.

3.3. Personal Accounts of What "Foreigner" Means in The University Context

A phenomenon called 'the brain drain', is seen as a direct result to these growing migration patterns of academics to more developed countries in pursuit of knowledge and opportunities (Sehoole *et al.*, 2019; Sehoole, 2006; Altbach, 1989). The more developed country that is referred to in this instance is South Africa, as South Africa is seen as a highly developed country in Africa, compared to its counterparts. When academics opt to stay in more developed countries instead of their home countries, there is a trade-off in terms of skills as the academics take their skills with them and use them to better a different country, leaving their home country at a loss. South Africa is seen as a perpetrator of the brain drain as less developed countries lose their highly skilled academics to the country (Gaulé, 2010). South Africa has experienced a 'drain' of academics to the west, but yet simultaneously has also been the recipient of academic migration from other African countries (Sehoole *et al.*, 2019). The United States is the linchpin for foreign academic migration in the west (Gaulé, 2010). South Africa functions as the linchpin of African academics from the South African Development Community (SADC) (Sub-Saharan Immigrants) as well as Central Africa, of

the immigrants from 'other' African countries including North Africa, they still consider going outside the continent (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016; Masanjala, 2018). The point made here is that South Africa has become a predator in the academic field, to quote, John,

"I'll probably be here until I retire."

This means that South Africa is not only creating highly skilled academics, but it is also keeping them for their own benefit, their skills are used to improve South Africa and their countries are at a loss.

Masanjala (2018) stated that in 2015, one of the top five Sub-Saharan countries with the most immigrants was South Africa. What sets South Africa apart from other African countries with a high rate of immigrants was that the immigrants in South Africa were economic migrants whereas, in other sub-Saharan countries like Kenya, they had a large refugee component (Masanjala, 2018: 6). This would serve to support the claim that South Africa is the linchpin for African academic migrants because South Africa's migration has a majority of economic migrants, this means that the foreigners who migrate here are solely in South Africa because they believe that they can earn more money, or that the market is better (Lohrmann, 2000). Refugees come to a country out of necessity because they can no longer be in their own country due to extraneous circumstances such as war, these displaced people search for a place that is out of the conflict zone (Adepoju, 2003b). The main difference of these two groups of migrants to the state is their functionality, as economic migrants can bring in foreign wealth and skills to the country and with refugees they are seen more as a liability to a country rather than an asset. With such a large migrant population, you often hear the term foreigner when referring to foreign nationals in any setting including an academic setting where international academics can be referred to as foreign lecturers.

Within the interviews, there was a commonly expressed sentiment which the participants had towards the use of the term 'foreigner'. Mary went as far as stating that she did not like the term foreigner and preferred international academic in its place, her reasoning for this was 'Foreigner', just excludes you from everything that's happening around you. It sorts of alienates the person. You are not included in what you are doing. Whereas 'international' just means you are just from somewhere else and you are part of a family." Mary's discomfort indicates a deeply rooted problem with the terminology used to refer to international academics. The term foreigner is often used in research surrounding prejudice towards immigrants and according to a study conducted by Asbrock *et al.* (2014), there were

differences in prejudice due to the association different groups had with the term 'foreigner'. Mary's discomfort with the term is not completely unfounded, she seems to see the negative implications tied to the work. Mary was not the only one who showed signs of discomfort towards the term foreigner, as Mark and Steve both shared the same sentiment. Mark states that the connotation attached to the word is that of black foreigners displacing black nationals in South Africa. This view paints black foreigners as the enemy coming to take something away from black South Africans. Views like this are used to increase hostility between both groups.

Mark believed the negative connotations attached to the term foreigner stemmed from institutions employing black internationals in the place of black South Africans thereby marginalizing black South Africans. This view is one that helps gaslight the tensions between locals and foreigners, because of the displacement that they may feel due to the presence of black internationals. Steve weighed in heavily on the negative connotations attached to the term foreigner as he referenced a quote from our minister of higher education "Blade" Nzimande. The minister of higher education had stated that foreigners should go back to their countries and went on to place blame on African leaders (Sicetsha, 2019). He reflected on a growing danger of anti-foreigner sentiment in the country as instead of condemnation, government officials offered agreement and affirmation to xenophobic sentiments. There was also a parliamentary debate that happened the previous week in which officials had stated that a quota system for foreign students and foreign academics at South African institutions should be implemented (Govender, 2019).

It is seen as a privilege to be a white foreigner; however, it is a disadvantage to be a black foreigner. Why is that? Mark seems to believe that it is because people tend to judge you on the country you are from; they tend to look at people coming from Europe and other countries outside Africa as privileged individuals. They are viewed as individuals who could really help South African society grow and develop whereas black Africans in South Africa are viewed as individuals taking away opportunities from black locals (Mario Matsinhe, 2011; Murray, 2003). This vilification of African professionals in South Africa in comparison to white immigrants is widely recognised by all participants from their experiences (Govender, 2019).

With the current climate around anti-immigrant sentiment unsettling social relations in South Africa it is understandable that the participants felt uncomfortable about being a foreigner as the policy at the national level leans to an anti-African pro-national discourse. Although they

agreed that there are negative connotations attached to the term foreigner Peter stated that within the academic arena there should not be those negative connotations. The academic space should be a safe space for intellectuals where they are all connected with this desire and drive to push the academic agenda forward. From the overall expressions of their experiences of academic belonging, this ideal expressed by Peter largely still remains the reality today making the academy (in terms of Rhodes University) appear to be a silo in a society increasingly affected by anti-African sentiments.

3.4. Perceived Factors Influencing Experiences of South African Academia

While the small sample of participants gave us a view into positive articulations of foreign experience, the factors and tensions underpinning internationalisation and the disaggregation of blackness remain beneath the surface. The following section will discuss the potential factors that could have an influence over the experience of black African academics in South African academia. Nationality and race are the two factors that will be assessed separately and looked at in their own individual capacities, thereafter they will be looked at in conjunction with one another. The relation between race and nationality is that both factors are considered descriptive variables that are attached to an individual and are subsequently reinserted into existing theoretical models (Collins,1998). According to a study conducted by Eddy *et al.* (2015), race and nationality are factors that have an effect on an individual's experiences.

3.4.1. Nationality

With the literature surrounding foreign national academics in South Africa, generally, nationality although it is seen as an important factor that affects the lives of foreign nationals in South Africa, lacks depth. In the study at hand, participants expressed thoughtful considerations of the connection between nationality and academic citizenship. Their responses affirmed the underlying proposition of the thesis, which is, that studies on academic citizenship and blackness must be expanded to incorporate African nationality and inclusion in the South African University. All but one participant stated emphatically that their experience of what it means to be an academic is intrinsically embedded in their status as 'foreigners'.

 The importance of the interlocking of 'race' and 'nation' in the South African university is quite unfortunately signalled by the purported existence of academic xenophobia in

institutions (Noyoo, 2019; Pillay, 2017: 7) Academic xenophobia can be described as the overt discrimination of individuals in an academic setting based on their nationality. These academics could be students, staff or other members of the faculty. Participants described their experiences of 'academic xenophobia' in more subtle terms than the literature depicted. Academic xenophobia according to the participants was felt in instances of locals feeling out that their opportunities were being taken away by foreigners. These instances make foreigners feel unwanted and unwelcome within the academic space.

The one participant to state their nationality as influencing their experience of south African academia chalked it up to need to hold things back due to their position as an international academic, you must choose the battles you fight as there could be consequences to the actions. In instances when you would take the other side or opposite stance to the institution you would have to hope that locals would do it. However, why this restraint? The participant James stated that,

> "There is a fear of negative repercussions and within the field of academia to progress; you must be peer-reviewed. Therefore, if you want a promotion or a grant and you did not take the position of the people who will be reviewing your work then they might mark you down because you did not support their cause."

This feeling of walking on eggshells could be shared by any academic regardless of nationality but the fear international academics have is the possible severity of the consequences they would face.

To end off with the quote from Steve, "Whatever negative utterances are made about foreign nationals they affect me deeply". Sometimes negative words were spoken about foreigners but whenever they are addressed, somehow, they are attributed to a group of foreigners that you are not a part of because you are special and different. What needs to be understood is that we (foreigners) need to come together and unite as one, so we may feel that when you speak about one of us, you are speaking about all of us, because xenophobia is not something that affects only one individual that affects the masses".

3.4.2. Race

As nationality on its own had much influence in the lives of participants, the question of the extent to which participants' race affected their experience of South African academia arose. South Africa has come a long way since apartheid when the country was plagued with racial discrimination. There has been much progress since apartheid to try and correct the injustices

that apartheid helped to create and perpetuate within South Africa, the progress has come about in the form of policies attempting to redress the inequalities suffered by the people of colour in South Africa, this policy was presented as affirmative action (Dupper, 2002). The affirmative action policy has informed legislation since its inception, the policy has influenced and, in most cases, inspired the creation of specific legislation such as the Public Services Act, the Employment Equity Act, the Skills Development Act and the Skills Development Levy Act (Alexander, 2007: 3). Each of these laws is meant to assist in the redistribution of social, economic, political and cultural power and resources as well as improving representativity while attempting to level the playing field (Alexander, 2007: 3).

Laws are directed at improving the opportunities of black South Africans, black foreign nationals are not included in the laws and do not have access to any of the rights and privileges given to South African citizens (McGregor, 2005). However, in the study, there was no indication of black foreigners implying that they desired to have the same rights and privileges that are given to black South African citizens. The foreigners in this study had all been students within South African academia before becoming full-fledged academics, this integration into the South African culture for some time allowed them to understand the plight of black South Africans and understand why there are policies in place to help them overcome the circumstances they were placed in by apartheid. But this calls for the disaggregation of 'blackness' within South Africa as 'blackness' in South Africa is represented as a homogenous experience regardless of nationality or ethnicity. This is not true as foreign black academics must acclimatise themselves to the 'black' experience of South Africans and adopt views like it is their own experience when they are ignoring their own experience of 'blackness' in the process. The effect of black foreign academics' race, is still felt within the institution although they did not go through the same experiences as black South Africans and do not have to experience the extended consequences of apartheid, in the study, participants stated that the racial prejudice institutions were founded on during apartheid could still be felt as subordination of black foreign academics to academics of different races, there was this feeling of having to prove themselves to other academics of their abilities. This racial prejudice was ingrained into the institutional culture as well as into legislation (Davenport, 1960).

Although there was a larger response to race influencing the experience of foreign academics, however, it was not a unanimous response, meaning there were some participants that did not share this view. The participants who did not share this view said that they did not really have

a large influence over their experience of being a foreigner at Rhodes University. I found this response quite jarring as the South African literature implies that race is still a large factor that affects the experiences of individuals in South Africa (Seekings, 2008: 22). The participants who felt that race didn't factor into their experience of nationality at Rhodes University, were also the participants who have been employed for the least time as full-time academics, meaning they were students much later than the other academics in the study, their view is taken as a more recent account of the institutional culture within the institution, as they have recently become academics and have not gone through some of the obstacles and outright discrimination that other participants would have had to face in their time as students and full-time academics as they would have joined. The various durations of teaching within the institution has served to colour participants experiences differently. This response could point to further transitions that Rhodes University has made over the years to become a more inclusive environment for individuals of marginalized groups.

Of the other participants, they seem to share, the sentiment that race does play a large role in their experience of being a foreigner at Rhodes University. John refers to the tendency of being subordinate to other races and that is how his race in academia has 'deeply' affected him. However, he is not the only one to see the depth of this question. Often when this question was asked participants paused for a second to reflect and stated that it is a complex question, implying that explaining race's influence over experience is not simple. This was detailed by Seekings (2008: 22) where he states that race is still of vast social and cultural importance within South Africa despite its decline of economic and political importance. Seekings (2008: 22) goes on to state that in South Africa race remains relevant as South Africans have clear racial identities and view others in racial terms, which suggests the existence of racism, Seekings (2008: 22) puts it as "the persistence of racial discrimination in a softer sense". The participants state that it is easy to forget that you're not just a black academic, but a black foreign academic, as individuals use different titles referring to you only when it is relevant to a specific situation, this is in line with Seekings (2008, 22) findings of South Africans referring to others in terms of their race.

In the study, participants referred to their race being used in different ways, in some instances their race was used to signify their solidarity with their South African counterparts as their race was used as a factor tying both groups together. Participants' race was also against them as when they spoke of the different ways that white foreigners are treated. With reference to the effect that race had on a foreign individual James stated,

"I feel that being black makes you very foreign. So, if you're white and foreign you are not treated the same as if you are black and foreign."

This sentiment is shared by Mark. James goes on to state,

"I can relate it to issues of xenophobia, as outside the university system a lot of people who bear the brunt of xenophobia are foreign black Africans."

This response shows that foreign academics are aware of the racial divide that foreigners are placed through. The separation of foreigners based on race allows for there to be prejudice placed on black foreigners. Prejudice against black foreigners means that race seems to make things worse. A quote from Steve could help clarify why race seems to make things worse for black foreigners in South Africa,

"South Africa itself is a much-divided country. Divided along race, divided also along ethnic lines. So, you come in as an outsider to these divided community so it's like everybody wants to claim you in a way. It's like you have to join alliances with one group."

The reason that foreigners are split into racial groups and black foreigners are treated worse to their white counterparts, is because South Africa is still a divided nation along racial lines and these divisions that locals suffer are then attached to foreigners.

Race is a complex issue, especially how different people experience their race within South Africa, which is a divided country. In Steve's experience when a white South African realizes that he is not from South Africa but still a black individual, he often hears the phrase, "no, you're not like those other blacks". This phrase still shows that South Africa's racial discrimination still exists, post-and although there has been a lot of progress within South Africa regarding racial tensions there is more to be done to get to a point where race is a non-factor. However, South Africa's independence being a mere 25 years ago, still hasn't given the country enough time to move to develop to that point.

3.4.3. Nationality in Conjunction with Race

In assessing race and nationality separately, I made the analytical separation between the two categories when conducting interviews to gauge which aspect 'race' or 'nationality' respondents saw as the most determining factor in various institutional scenarios depicted to them. There have been studies which support the notion of foreign black academics as having to face more discrimination as they belong to multiple subordinate groups (Dzansi and

Monnapula-Mapesela, 2012; Mudhovozi, 2011). However, these studies focused on students, the question of whether these results can be transferable to full-time academics is raised by the study at hand.

The responses of participants were spread when it came to the question of if their race and nationality gave them a unique experience of South African academia. Half of the participants stated that the combination of these factors did, in fact, give them a unique experience of South African academia, in line with the intersectionality framework the combination of these factors did give participants a unique experience, however, the experiences detailed in their responses are positive. Intersectionality is not only used to denote subordination and inequalities suffered by individuals who belong to multiple subordinate groups, but it can also denote privilege (Carastathis, 2008). To quote John on why he believes that being a foreigner and a black academic has given him a unique experience of South African academia,

> "They do give you a unique experience and I think they actually make you work harder from my point of view because I need to prove that I am capable of doing this and I'm not part of these statistics. I'm good at what I'm doing. that drive leads you to produce more output if you can look at it from a research point of view and from a teaching point of view with graduating students."

The effect that the combination of both factors had on John was that of determination to prove himself to the people that might doubt his capabilities due to the combination of both factors, so rather than seeing the combination of factors as having negative effects on him, he sees the combination of being a foreigner and a black academic as odds that he is meant to face and overcome. But the doubt he experiences due to the combination of both factors can be seen as a negative attribute to belonging to both subgroups. Another response that I would like to quote was provided by Steve, where he states,

> "I don't like it though, but I have to say that somehow when those factors combine as an academic, they sort of give me an advantage that my colleagues do not have. Not that I'm proud of it. I'm really sympathetic to black South Africans because I know the kind of education system that they went through before 94. So already you probably might have seen it, you always have that advantage based on your educational background when you are here in South Africa. You are able to do things that your counterparts are not able to."

In this instance, Steve stated that when these two factors (race and nationality) come together, they are put in an advantageous position. The education system within other African countries is not always broken in a way that 'pushes' foreign black academics to South Africa. Sometimes the only reason for immigration is the economic state of a country as when it comes to education, Steve believes that other African countries are far superior when compared to South Africa. The good educational background of foreign black academics allows them to bring in more skills to their jobs within south African academia than their South African counterparts, putting them in a better position to excel academically. In both these instances for these participants race and nationality have come together in a positive way.

An interesting response came from James when he said that the academic setting and is a complex one and sometimes you must deny who you are just to achieve certain things. On one hand, you are a foreigner and on the other, you are a black academic, times come when you must pick which side to appease and in doing so, this added layer of complexity in navigating academic spaces is seen as a unique experience attributed to the individual's membership to the African race and to be a foreigner. The hostility towards foreigners is one of the most significant features of post-apartheid South Africa (Sinclair, 1999: 466). This hostility pushes foreigners to act as James has described as they are forced to walk on eggshells making decisions on which sides of the debate to support as if their fate depends on it. The unique experience detailed is one of privilege on the part of foreigners as they have more skills than their South African counterparts, however, they must navigate their settings carefully as they do not feel a strong sense of belonging, rather they feel as if their race is used in times of convenience, by the institution to show representation of black workers and by the black community in times of conflict when they need a scapegoat. (Oloyede, 2008).

3.5.   The African Voice

Post-colonial South Africa has been described as having an isolationist framing. This is captured well in a quote from RW Johnson (2015) when he stated, "South Africans, have been living in isolation at the tip of the continent, a continent they do not interact much with, this bolsters South African exceptionalism. South Africans are slow to realize that other African countries have much to offer in terms of lessons and have the tendency to believe they are special and different" (as cited in Greffrath, 2016: 161). This quote encapsulates the South African struggle with integrating with the rest of the continent, this is not a single groups mindset but that of a nation. South Africa suffered international isolation from the

period of 1974-1994, at a time when apartheid was implemented (Inglis, 2009:1). Apartheid was the reason that South Africa was isolated from the world as sanctions were placed on the country when they did not abolish their racist policies, as the rest of the world was moving into more inclusive policies for all, South Africa's ruling party decided that the nation would stick to apartheid (Inglis, 2009:1).

This isolation had a lasting effect on the population of South Africa, even post-apartheid as they had grown to think they did not need the rest of the continent as South Africa was able to sustain itself (Inglis, 2009). It is believed that this isolation from the rest of the world is what led to the growth of xenophobia in South Africa, as foreigners were 'the unknown' (Zajec, 2017). After this prolonged isolation from foreigners, South Africa was thrust into the international community, when they abolished apartheid, swore in a new democratic government and had their isolation and sanctions lifted (Inglis, 2009). South Africa going from complete isolation to now opening its borders to all would have had a drastic effect on the acceptance of foreigners from the South African citizens, for now, they were in 'direct contact with the unknown' (Zajec, 2017: 74). Hostility developed in the interactions between previously isolated South Africans and the new foreigners to come to the nation as there was a lot of distrust from the South Africans (Zajec, 2017). Xenophobia did not originate in South Africa in a vacuum, but in fact, has its roots in apartheid and the events that surrounded apartheid (international isolation) which served to usher in the potential of xenophobia into South Africa when international integration began in 1994.

As literature has shown, xenophobia manifests as a contemporary sociological problem into the present, in society in general, and arguably (as this thesis suggests) in the higher education terrain as well (Kersting, 2009: 7; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 62). The social relations within an institution are a microcosm of a national confrontation to the question of South Africa's borders and openness. As a lot of foreigners come to South Africa to study, the university serves as an ideal miniature scale version of the national stance towards foreigners. This is not to say that the university space is exactly like the national space, this can just serve as a test of what the national consciousness is at the time. Universities are intellectual spaces that are meant to be inviting to all people regardless of their race, nationality and class and that is why there are policies in place to increase the access of tertiary education to previously disadvantaged individuals such as the Skills Development Act and the Skills Development Levy Act (Alexander, 2007: 3). There are also policies in place to attract foreign academics to South Africa such as; Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for

South Africa (ASGISA) and Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) (Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa; Mulenga, and Van Lill, 2007). These policies show that South Africa as a nation is willing to bring in foreigners, but are the locals ready to accept foreigners? Xenophobia is a response to that very question. However, xenophobic attacks do not happen frequently, and I believe this decline in the number of xenophobic attacks means that South Africans are learning to be more accepting of foreigners, while there is still more development that is required, progress would show that South Africa is becoming a more inclusive space.

The Africans are finding that they are becoming more accepted within South Africa, the participants responses can attest to that, however, black South Africans and black foreigners have not alleviated the tension between them completely. A point of contention between the two groups would be in instances when the black experience is noted as a homogenous one, this could be seen in the belief that black South Africans can speak for all Africans within South Africa. Do black south Africans understand the plight of black foreigners in South Africa and can they address it for black foreigners? That is the question in simple terms and the answers that were gathered in the study were in were divided, some believed in one voice for all black people, while other participants did not believe that you could homogenise the black experience. The experiences of black foreigners are unique, as are the experiences of black South Africans and with some of the participants, having one group speak for all, might have some of their interests overlooked. While the other participants believed that there are many comparisons that can be drawn between both groups, meaning they could speak to the interests of black foreigners as they too have undergone somewhat of the same experiences.

3.6.   Inclusivity and The Decolonization Movement

Inclusivity has been a theme interwoven into the study throughout the literature as belonging of foreign academics is of great importance to an institution. The phrase home away from home comes up when you are looking at foreign academics studying abroad (Simpson and Tan, 2009). This phrase is meant to communicate that within the global community, there should be acceptance for all, regardless of where you are in the world and where you come from, this is facilitated by the openness of borders which allows people to travel anywhere in the world. South Africa has recently opened its borders again after a twenty-year isolation period, has experienced a great influx of foreigners (Adepoju, 2003a). From this point onwards, foreigners would become a permanent fixture in South Africa and therefore they needed to feel included within society. In the study, all the participants have stated that they

do feel that South Africa is inclusive apart from the isolated incidents of south Africans attacking foreigners. The study focused on Rhodes University, and how far it has come from its exclusionary past from which it was built. The participants have spoken about a significant improvement in Rhodes University's institutional culture to one of inclusion for all, however, there is a belief that more could be done, still not enough has been done according to Steve.

The decolonial movement is an epistemological movement that is aimed at liberating formerly colonised people from global coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Decoloniality means to decolonize knowledge and existence by 'epistemically and affectively' disconnection from the colonial organization of society, this is to liberate people's actions, thought processes and knowledge from the colonial way of thinking while promoting indigenous knowledge systems (Tlostanova and Mignolo, 2009). Catherine Walsh (2007: 233) summed up decoloniality well when she stated; that decoloniality did not exist to simply tear down critical thought originating from colonial times, decoloniality was there to renovate and reconstruct critical thought in ways that take into account "present-day relations" between culture, politics and economy that challenge the domination of perspectives centred on former colonial powers' interests. The decolonial movement can present itself in many forms such as Pan-Africanism, African Socialism, and African Renaissance, just to name a few (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). A firm belief held by the decolonial movement is that indigenous knowledge and formerly colonised areas of the world, such as Africa, have suffered and continue to suffer under the oppression of colonial forms of power that have persisted to this day (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). One of the key areas for the decolonial movement to focus their efforts is within academia, as they cite the need to change the knowledge system to a more indigenous knowledge system which originated from the region and has a focus of current issues of the region (Walsh, 2007: 233; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). The foreign black academics that I interviewed were all in support of the movement as they believed in the cause. The participants also stated that the decolonial movement is not a South African issue but one that plagues the continent and as such should be tackled by the continent together, in unity.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONCLUSION

This study ultimately asks how we may begin to explore intersections of institutional culture with forces of internationalisation in South African higher education. Tracing new perspectives such as this from which to view institutional culture, is especially important in the present, against the backdrop of transformation. Recent protests and the renewed interest in the meaning of transformation has invited us to rethink categories of identity and race in education. In this light, I have set out to explore black African academics' experiences at Rhodes University. But why this specific focus? Simply put, there are gaps in the documented experiences of foreign black academics within South Africa. This study is meant to underline this as a facet that should be explored within academia. As more black African academics come to the country, the importance of their experiences in adaptation and transformation grows. When nationality in combination with race are overlooked as influencing an individual's experience of academia, crucial insights are lost.

The primary objective of this study has been to examine to what extent black African academics at Rhodes University feel their status as both black academics and foreigners have shaped their experiences of the university's institutional culture. An intersectional framework was used to assess the intersecting factors in the lives of participants that may influence their experience, be it, positive or negative. Through this framework, the uniqueness of an individual's experiences when the two factors, namely race and nationality, was identified. This research has been conducted through a qualitative approach, utilising in-depth interviews with six Rhodes University staff members from different departments and faculties. It can be found within this study that attitudes towards the adaptation of foreign nationals within South African academia can be different from one another, thus disproving the belief that foreign academics all experience South African academia in the same way. It has been proven through this study that foreign academics do initially face many common issues when coming to South Africa as they must adapt to a new environment, however, the capacity for adaptation of an individual varies from person to person.

Each of the participants in the study referred to 'push' and 'pull' factors that influenced their decision to choose South Africa and specifically Rhodes University as an institution in which to develop as an academic. South African exceptionalism would have you believe that South Africa is chosen as a destination for many foreign national academics due to its education system being superior to that of its African counterparts, however, this study disproved that claim by showing instead that south Africa is chosen as a destination due to its proximity to other African countries, as well as its employment opportunities. Furthermore, the study showed that South Africa is mainly a destination due to its proximity to the country of origin for the foreign black academics interviewed as most interviewees based their institutional choice on being close to home. Proximity played a large role in the decisions of foreign black academics to choose South Africa over other more developed countries.

The secondary objectives of this study were; to respond to the over-representation of literature on class and gender in high education studies by expanding on the issues of marginality by including nationality and to understand the limitations and opportunities which black African academics experience based on their status as foreigners. Through the interviews, these objectives have been met. This study is a response to the under-representation of nationality as an identity category in higher education studies centred on academics. It shows that there is a lack of literature surrounding the adaptation processes of foreign black academics in South African academia. With the growing trend of globalisation

and internationalisation of institutions, the importance of nationality has grown as academics have spread across the world. South Africa being a hub of foreign black academics needs to look closely at the experiences of foreign black academics as trends of immigration to the country have only increased since the end of apartheid and show no signs of slowing down.

In contemporary South African society, there has been much progress in terms of racial issues since apartheid. The progress has been celebrated within South Africa as the right trajectory for the country to be on as racial issues became a growing concern for the world population and the existence of a global community. South Africa being a former colony and having experienced apartheid has come a far way from where it once was, former white-only spaces such as universities, have developed to have a much better representation of racial demographics. This is important because South Africa's legacies of race inequality are still felt to this day by many. The importance of South Africa's racial tensions to a study on foreign black academics is that the Africans with South Africa are not only South African but are also exposed to the same racial prejudices as their South African counterparts, as anti-black racial prejudice knowns no nationality.

While I have discovered many things there remains much to be discovered. The small scale of this study does not give the breadth of the topic enough room to be exhaustively unpacked. However, this study succeeds in highlighting the importance of investigating this significant gap in South African higher education literature. There are exciting opportunities for the various angles which may be taken in future around the study of the experiences of black foreign academics such as studies across various institutions, as well as individual academic life histories.

The main findings from the study were that; foreign black academics chose to come to this institution and South Africa for various reasons but the two reasons that topped the lists of participants was the proximity of South Africa to their country of origin as well as the economic situation of their country, pushing them to find employment elsewhere. I found that Rhodes University, despite being a historically white institution is seen as an accepting environment for foreign black academics as they held a strong sense of belonging within the institution. Progress must still be made but the participants in my study found Rhodes university to be a very inviting institution that did much to separate itself from its exclusionary past. It was also found that South African education needs development of the education system from a secondary level of its students as the unpreparedness of students at a

tertiary level is felt by foreign black academics and could be a deterrent for foreign black academics who may consider South Africa as the primary and secondary education system is widely perceived as poorly structured. A major finding was that the term 'foreigner' is seen as offensive to foreign black academics and helps to perpetuate the exclusionary basis of the term. The term pushes foreign black academics away from the country and affects their sense of belonging not only in the institution but also within the country.

Nationality on its own as an isolated factor that was not seen to have a strong effect, by the respondents. This does not mean that there is not any effect, but in comparison to race, nationality as a singular factor does not carry much of an impact to experience. But when race and nationality are combined, the effects on experiences are compounded which is in line with the double jeopardy theory that emerged from the intersectional framework, which is when two factors come together and increase the effect they have on an individual simply by being combined. Another significant finding within the study was the fact that foreign academics don't feel that there is a need to have a separate voice from South African black academics, instead, a single united voice would be preferred, thus breaking down the divide between South African black academics and foreign black academics even further. This push to unify the voices of Africans is in line with the Pan-Africanist agenda, which seems to be an agenda that the academics interviewed have in support of.

There is room for future research into this topic, it is recommended as future research could do this topic its due diligence with a large-scale study that evaluates the experiences of many foreign black academics that spans across different institutions within South Africa as well as across different faculties and departments. An interesting avenue of investigation for further studies into this topic would be to expand the research to look at the foreign black academics that did not go into tertiary education as educators, if you expand the meaning of academic to include all scholars that are in education, the study could look at foreign black academics that are management roles within the institution.

Constantly uncovering new avenues for higher education research is important. Higher education research in South Africa is of growing importance (Strydom and Fourie, 1999). The lack of higher education research centred on academics is of concern as studies on foreign students are in abundance. Strydom and Fourie, (1999: 156) state that South African higher education has not had a strong tradition of institutional research and this is especially true in institutions which were historically disadvantaged. These institutions were the

institutions that were designated for black South Africans during apartheid. These institutions tend to have limited access to research funds as well as material resources that are needed to conduct such studies, this is just another example of the continued inequalities that are suffered as a result of apartheid. Higher education research has a vital role to play in the development of a new South Africa (Strydom and Fourie, 1999: 167). This vital role played by higher education has not changed, as South Africa continues to embark on its journey of transformation.

John Alfred Hannah, the president of Michigan State College in America for twenty-eight years transformed the school from a regional undergraduate college into a large national research institution. To quote John A. Hannah in 1951, he said, "Higher education must lead the march back to the fundamentals of human relationships, to the old discovery that is ever new, that man does not live by bread alone." This quote serves to illustrate the way in which higher education should be leading the march to inclusion and breaking down exclusionary institutions and institutional cultures. Higher education is populated by academics from all over the world, all in pursuit of knowledge. The same aim, bonds academics together and this is the way the world should be, with higher education in the helm leading the world to equality and inclusion as we need care and nurture for these human relationships. Belonging cannot simply be boiled down to one's race or nationality, these factors should not influence the belonging of an individual, judging someone on factors they have no control over cannot continue to be the standard within institutions and countries.

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Appendix

Lloyd Mutunga Wambua G18W3615   Tarryn Alexander (Supervisor)

Institutional culture and internationalization: A study of Black African academics'
experiences at Rhodes University

The purpose of this study is *to gain an expanded view on issues of inclusivity, marginality and culture of Black Academics at Rhodes University which move beyond race and gender, to include nationality.*

Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me how you came to work at Rhodes and for how long? What were your motivations?

2. Why did you choose to work at Rhodes University, instead of any other South African Institution?

3. Had you considered working in other countries? Why South Africa?

4. Are there perceivable differences between the educational culture at Rhodes University and where you come from? Why or Why not?

5. Do you believe there are negative connotations attached to the term "foreigner"?

6. To what extent does being a foreigner influence your experience of South African Universities? Explain.

7. To what extent does blackness influence your experience of being a foreigner at Rhodes University?

8. Do you believe that both these factors, being a foreigner and being a black academic, come together and give you a unique experience of South African academia?

9. Would you describe your cultural experience within the institution as one of belonging or non-belonging, why?

10. Has your perception of belonging changed over time?

11. In your experience is 'academic xenophobia' an issue in South African academia?

12. Would you think your experience would differ at other South African universities, Why or Why not?

13. Would you say race and nationality play a large role in South African academia, in your experience?

14. Rhodes University is a historically white university, based off of your experiences would you say that much progress has occurred to separate the university from its exclusionary past and move towards a more inclusive environment for all?

15. How do you perceive recent movements for inclusion at South African universities such as the decolonial movement?

16. Does the local interpretation of decolonisation through the student movement and curriculum change apply to you as a non-South African, African academic, or not? Explain.

17. Do you perceive any tensions between the dual pressures for globalisation of academia and on the other hand the africanisation of academia or not? Why or why not?

18. Some commentators argue that the black experience in South Africa is represented as an exclusive and homogenous one, this may entail in the belief that Black South Africans can speak for all Africans within South Africa and that this political representation comes at the expense of black foreigners? Would you agree? How does this apply in the higher education context?