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A black space: exploring the institutional constraints and opportunities on black academics' careers in historically black universities

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A black space: Exploring the institutional constraints and opportunities on black academics' careers in historically black universities.



A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters by Coursework and Research Report in the field of Psychology.

Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

March 2020

By

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Supervised by

Prof Hugo Canham

Declaration

I, Campion Zharima declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is to be submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by coursework and research report in Psychology, School of Human and Community Development, at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at this or any other institution.

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I also forward my gratitude to the participants who took part in this research by sharing with me some of their personal experiences and thoughts on life and their work. This research report is therefore also aimed at giving them a space and a voice to be heard in the academic field and beyond in a bid to better document and make meaning of their experiences. Lastly, this is a dedication to family, friends and academics who believed in me.

Abstract

This study explores the opportunities and challenges faced by black academics in historically black universities. The universities included in this study are the University of the Western Cape and the University of Fort Hare. These universities were the products of the segregated colonial and apartheid university system that was introduced to keep black and white people apart. From the two sites of study, the research sheds light on the complexities of integration for black academics and the inherited institutional struggles that affect their roles as academics. They also present the contrast between urban (e.g. University of the Western Cape) and rural based campuses (University of Fort Hare) and the disparities between advantaged and disadvantaged institutions. To understand the experiences of black academics at these universities, the study is guided by critical race theory, politics of belonging and intersectionality. This gives insight into both opportunities and challenges faced by black academics. Through the recollection of experiences from participants, one of the purposes of this study is to illuminate the enabling and disabling aspects of institutional cultures in historically black institutions and how they affect belonging. The findings of this study are based on a sample of 27 black men and woman academics that participated in semi-structured in-depth interviews. Through a thematic analysis of the data gathered, the findings suggest that the core challenges faced by black academics pertain to poor institutional finances and infrastructure, inadequate career progression measures and a lack of transformation initiatives that are aligned to institutional culture. However, this also comes with associated benefits such as a supportive atmosphere and community, diversity in leadership and funding that is aimed towards black academics. Based on the input from the participants, the following recommendations are offered: a funding structure that is sensitive to the colonial and apartheid history of deprivation of historically black universities, an increase in equity programmes and special support for black academics working at these institutions.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The establishment of most higher education institutions was informed by the historical processes of colonialism and apartheid. As a result, only two of the twenty-five public universities in South Africa were established under the democratic dispensation. In response to this, the South African government, through the Department of Education (more recently the Department of Higher Education and Training) has promulgated a number of policies and legislation to promote racial integration and transformative practices to foster the inclusion of the formerly disenfranchised and underrepresented. However, the assumption that these policies have eradicated racial inequality in higher education institutions cannot be further from the truth (Khunou, Canham, Khosa-Shangase & Phaswana, 2019). Soudien (2008) shows that with the exception of the University of Cape Town and the University of KwaZulu-Natal, there was no attempt by universities to engage issues of social cohesion as a tool to assess transformation and inclusivity. While extensive attention has been paid to student experiences and their integration into higher education spaces, the lived experiences of black academics have been the focus of much less research. This is particularly the case with black academics in historically black institutions. The varying experiences of academics throughout their careers can be best categorised as constraints and opportunities. It is necessary to understand both constraints and opportunities because theorising employment as inclusion on its own is inadequate (Canham, 2015). Mere presence is insufficient as black academics require various additional forms of support in order to thrive, advance and enhance their sense of belonging.

The narrowed attention on black academics is not an attempt to negate or dismiss the experiences of other groups of academics, neither does it position other experiences as secondary to those of black academics. Instead, the focus on black academics illuminates the many ways colonial systems of sexism and racism can be prolonged when institutions do not implement the correct mechanisms to combat these challenges. Moreover, it serves to challenge bodies of knowledge that homogenise the experiences of black academics while overlooking the complexity within struggles through intersectional ties. Although the academy has generally been inhospitable to many groups, it is also true that black academics have been the target of segregated development from apartheid (Wolpe, 1995). Magubane (2004) posits that

by choosing to focus on black academics, scholars can potentially generate insights that are useful for the total emancipation of the academy against other forms of oppression.

1.2 Research aims

1. To identify the means and barriers to entry for black academics in higher education
2. To explore the challenges and opportunities to career advancement that are faced by black academics
3. To explore ways in which institutional cultures can better foster belonging and career advancement
4. To highlight the institutional measures that have been useful in supporting black academics

1.3 Research rationale

The study explores the career development, advancement and integration of black academics in historically black universities. More specifically, it looks at how institutional culture, practices and policies might present both constraints and opportunities for black academics. Since HBUs generally receive very little attention from researchers, this study seeks to address this dearth in knowledge about these universities. According to Mbembe (2016), the institutional disparities emanate from how the history of segregation in South Africa has shaped the dynamics of access to higher education. In a post-apartheid landscape, there is need for inclusive policies and practices that foster transformative practices and social cohesion in higher education. In turn, this brings the need for these policies to be constantly evaluated and improved. This study therefore aims to pay more attention to the ways in which the higher education sector can improve access to opportunities and alleviate constraints on black academics, particularly in historically black universities.

1.4 Research questions

The study aims to answer five basic questions that shed light to the appreciative inquiry on higher education experiences for black academics. The questions are as follows:

1. What are the means and barriers to entry for black academics in higher education?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities to career advancement that are faced by black academics in historically black universities?
3. In what ways do institutional cultures affect belonging and retention of black academics?

4. What are the strengths and weaknesses of institutional measures that are aimed at assisting black academics?

By looking at the experiences of black academics, this study explores career related constraints and opportunities based on two South African universities that were sites of data collection. The study also provides a perspective to the discourse of diversity in post-apartheid South Africa by examining insider narratives of black academics in their respective contexts. Beyond this section, this report presents a literature review and the theoretical framework that informed the direction of the study. Following this is a chapter on the research methodology outlining the research design, paradigm and the sample that was used to collect the data. It also includes the data collection method and forms of analysis that were used in this research as well as the ethical precautions that were observed. This is followed by a chapter of findings from the study which responds to the research questions in the previous chapter. The final and concluding chapter engages in a discussion of the findings and possible recommendations for future studies in similar domains.

Chapter 2: Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the background and history of higher education in South Africa by tracing the attempts that have been made to address the need for social justice policies in higher education institutions. This is followed by a literature review, which briefly examines the body of work regarding the existing challenges of transformation in historically black universities. The literature review section also identifies and expands on the existing gaps in the selected bodies of knowledge. Following this is an exposition of the theoretical frameworks that inform the direction of this research. These include intersectionality and feminist theory, institutional culture, social identity theory and critical race theory. The incorporation of these theories unpacks how the social position and group membership of black academics affect experiences of lived realities. Furthermore, the theoretical frameworks signal the content that the researcher engaged in preparation for this study.

2.2 Background: Higher education in South Africa

An extension of the University Education Act of 1959 proposed the separation of black and white students, and the bill specifically prohibited white universities from accepting black students. While white English medium universities had always been geared towards the inclusion of white students, the Act formalised segregation by declaring racialized universities. Lapping (1986) contends that the Act deemed it criminally prohibited for black students to register to study at what were previously open universities. It was only with the consent of the Minister of Internal Affairs that black students could register at these institutions. These institutions were Rhodes University, the University of Natal, the University of Cape Town, and the University of the Witwatersrand. The universities however maintained a strict colour bar in their sporting and social activities. Black students with ministerial permission to study at these universities could not participate in the social and sporting life of these universities (Lapping, 1986).

More significantly, the Act paved the way for the establishment of black ethnically based and additional separate universities for sections of the population designated Indian and Coloured (Christopher, 1994). The University of the Western Cape in Belville, Cape Town, consequently

served as the coloured university while the University of Durban Westville in Durban was meant for Indian students. Ethnically based institutions for the black population were the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape which was meant to serve mostly Xhosa people and the University of Zululand in Empangeni was established to enrol mostly Zulu people (Davenport, 1987). As one of the oldest universities in South Africa, the University of Fort Hare however predates the University Education Act of 1959. Its genesis was during the colonial era and it was founded when black people realised that they were not permitted to study at any of the existing white universities. Turflop in the then Transvaal Province was formed to cater for Sotho and Tswana speaking people. Universities that used the Afrikaans language as the medium of instruction (Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and Orange Free State) continued to restrict their enrolments to white students. Like the basic schooling system, the higher education terrain was highly fragmented and racialized.

Black academics could only teach at black universities while white academics could teach at all universities. The development of black academics was not seen as a priority as black universities were primarily seen as training colleges. These ethnically defined universities focused on undergraduate degrees in health-related fields, social work and teaching. Therefore, as it became apparent that the apartheid state would fail, Cutten (1987) argued that the work of undoing this Act had to be one of the first major works of the new democratic government in 1994. Racialized imbalances did not go away immediately after the demise of apartheid and they certainly wouldn't be abolished by ignoring the past and focusing on the future. Therefore, the assumption of a post-apartheid racially blind system would leave inequalities unaddressed. Meier and Hartell (2009) argue that the failure to deal with racialized universities might bring an assimilationist approach where the accommodation of black academics would have them adapt to a culture that was created neither by them nor for them.

According to HESA (2014), South African universities were overwhelmingly staffed by whites (83%) and male dominated (68%) by the end of apartheid in 1994. This skewed representation was despite the fact that black South Africans constituted 89% of the total national population. These imbalances were mainly because apartheid left economic and social inequalities that resulted in most black communities suffering extreme rates of poverty (Withnall, 2016). Since then, the department of Higher Education has been battling to confront two main issues; to have a fair distribution of black people as academics in higher education careers and to rectify the gender imbalance on the number of academics in South African universities.

In order to deal with the racialized and ethnically based universities and the inequality between these universities, the democratic government introduced the Higher Education Amendment Act of 2002. Among other things, this Act allowed the Minister of Education to reorganise the higher education terrain by instituting mergers between institutions. For example, UKZN resulted from a merger between the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal, North-West University resulted from a merger between the University of North-West, which was mainly composed of black students and staff from rural communities, and the historically advantaged Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, which was for white Afrikaans students and staff. Sebokeng campus which was part of Vista University, comprised of black staff and students, and was the third party incorporated into the University of the North-West.

This history results in an inextricable need to retain and reproduce the next generation of academics. New academics may be insufficient to replace the outgoing numbers and the challenges they face may be unique to the context of HBUs. From 2013, about 4 000 academics (or 27% of the total academics) were expected to have retired within a decade. This includes half of the most qualified academics at the level of professors and associate professors (HESA, 2014). Although there has been a significant shift in higher education demographics (mainly students) to being more racially and gender representative, the challenges and opportunities remain stratified along demarcations of race and gender. HESA (2014) shows that in 2012, the full-time permanent staff of 17 451 remained largely white and male, further presenting a skewed representation of gender and race. As a result, the increased student enrolment numbers have not resulted in an equivalent increase in the number of academics (DHET, 2013).

In 2011, Higher Education South Africa (HESA) initiated a programme called the New Generation of Academics Programme (nGAP). This programme aimed at developing strategies and policies that retain and promote the career advancement of the next generation of South African academics, particularly black women academics. Most of these higher education institutions have however always battled with imposed institutional polarisation into previously white and historically black universities. Given this history, one could also look at these institutions as having been part of the colonial project (Heleta, 2016). Hence merging colleges into universities was a conflict resolution mechanism to end apartheid division in higher education. However, there still remains significant disparities and genuine differences between historically white and historically black universities in South Africa. One of the main indicators of these disparities is on expenditure as shown in figure 1 below:

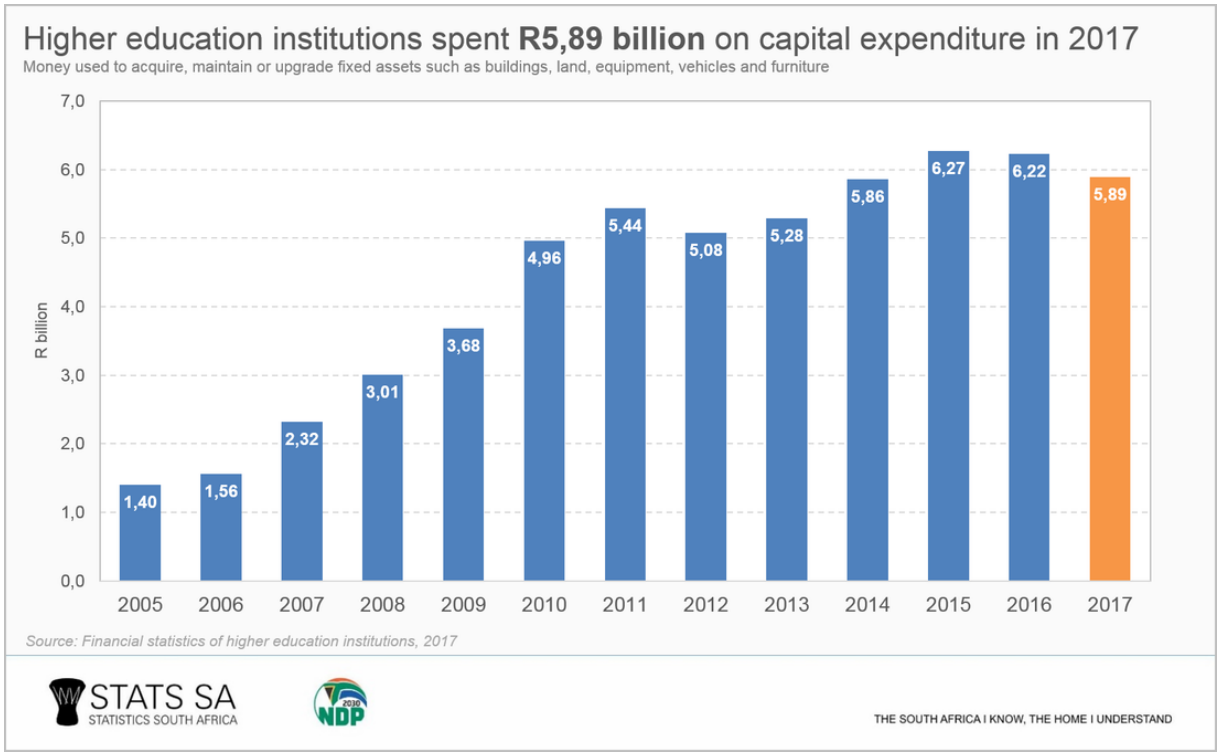


Figure 1: Higher education expenditure for 12 years according to Stats SA. Source: www.southafricanmi.com

As shown in Figure 1 above, capital expenditure for universities in South Africa has been inconsistent and at times underwhelming. Capital expenditure in this case refers to the money spent by institutions to acquire, maintain and upgrade fixed assets such as land, buildings and equipment. According to DHET (2018) report on higher education funding, the 5,4% drop in 2017 from 2016 was due to a fall in expenditure by three institutions namely the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of South Africa and the Walter Sisulu University. In addition to this data, the bulk of the spending by these institutions was largely on construction and maintenance of buildings such as laboratories (63%). For instance, according to VitalStats (2017) report, funding structures for historically white universities constituted an average of 34.5% from the state, 33.2% from tuition and 32.7 from third stream funding. Meanwhile, historically black universities average 44.6% of their income from the state, 36.2% from tuition and a mere 19.2% from third stream funding. This means that state funding is a major source of funding for HBUs as they cannot score private funding to the same capacity as HWUs. At the same time, HWUs on average get private funding of similar amount to state funding. While the capital expenditure priorities differ by each institution, it is clearly demonstrated that historically black institutions needed more money for infrastructure than historically advantaged institutions. As a subtext, the preceding table also demonstrates how underfunded the higher education institutions have been and continue to be. Although the lack of adequate

financial resources does not account for all the challenges experienced by black academics in underprivileged institutions, it significantly challenges their ability to teach and become competent researchers. The financial resource limitations gap between institutions has a significant impact on their respective capacities to develop into suitable working environments for their academics.

Matos (2000) argues that when resources are scarce, higher education institutions are still faced with the pressure to provide quality of research and learning outputs. More specifically, the pressure rests on the academics to sparingly make use of the available resources to provide their services while fulfilling their academic duties. This further implies that academics in historically black institutions face an added challenge to their normal academic duties that stems from the financial challenges of their institutions. Matos (2000) further argues that financial challenges give rise to other institutional challenges such as the failure to sustain cutting edge research, to generate African based solutions and the ability to retain the most experienced academic staff to better performing institutions. However, these challenges are the current issues faced by historically black institutions as they continue to lack the basic necessities for an effective teaching and learning environment. Some of them lack well established libraries and lab equipment without which, universities cannot offer quality courses especially for undergraduate students. The scapegoat for poor student performance can then be misunderstood as the failure of academics to impart knowledge on students. Instead, the working environment has to be stimulating with adequate facilities for academics to perform their designated duties at ease.

The severe financial challenges faced by historically black universities illustrate the extent to which the efforts by the ministry of higher education have failed to adequately meet the transformational imperatives of a post-apartheid South Africa. De Villiers and Ntshoe (2008) argue that the design of the funding framework has since shaped the current state of higher education post 1994. This suggests that the state of tertiary institutions with regards to funding is based on historic policies of separate development which have resulted in the emergence of institutional inequalities. These inequalities are grounded in the disparity between the lack of funding for historically black universities and parallel affluence of historically advantaged universities. De Villiers and Ntshoe (2008) argue that funding inadequacies have polarised tertiary institutions into public and private goods. Respectively, HBUs are considered as a public good because of their accessibility to impoverished students while HWUs have grown to be a private good due to their exclusivity and competent nature.

2.3 Literature review

Institutions of higher education learning have been generally seen as spaces for intellectual and skills development, which often puts them behind the steering of policy making (Boshoff, 2005). As a result, much of the research on higher education has focussed on the goal of making South African universities more progressive (Tufvesson, 2012). Mamdani (2007) argues that both national and colonial history have a bearing on the orientation, performance and output of universities in the African context. In South Africa, the history of higher education has been characterised by a racially segregated system of universities where black universities have been poorly resourced in comparison to white universities (Wolpe, 1995). Bazana and Mogotsi (2017) argue that the government of South Africa has been implementing legislation that seeks to promote and ensure the integration of black academics in higher education.

South African higher education has been largely stratified along apartheid agendas of segregation according to race (Arnove, 2001). This stratification has largely remained unquestioned and unchanged despite its function as a reinforcement of the apartheid status quo. Ramoupi (2014) asserts that South Africa failed to transform higher education despite the opportunity that was presented by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) to interrogate the role played by institutions during apartheid. According to Tufvesson (2012) the higher education sector was the only sector that was not called to account to the TRC for its role in apartheid. Through the system of racial preference, black people have been disallowed from studying in higher education institutions and if they were to, they were largely relegated to the spoils of the legacy. Barnard, Cowan, Kirman & Muller (2016) show that at the end of apartheid, black academics were predominantly found in historically black universities which had very limited participation in knowledge production. The emphasis on teaching meant that they were generally not involved in research which is an important requirement for promotion into the senior ranks of the professoriate thus academics in HBUs remain mostly in junior positions. Historically black universities have also been severely underfunded which has placed them under infrastructural and financial constraints. In some cases, these challenges have threatened accreditation of professional programmes thereby raising issues of quality and reproducing and maintaining a system of ranking.

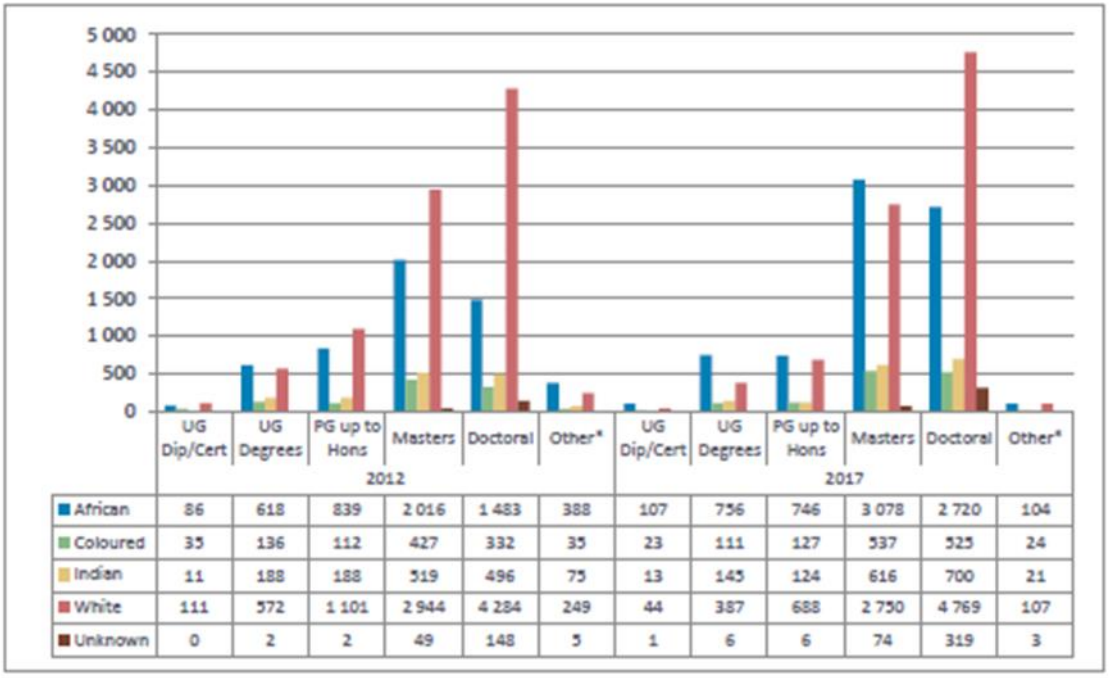
These challenges pose a threat to the demand and recruitment of black academics in higher education. Thaver (2006) argues that there are mechanisms that affect the access and entry of black academics into higher education such as the racial composition of hiring committees which are largely white, the subtly racialized selection criteria, black academics being held to

higher standards than white academics and the epistemological difficulties that black academics have in trying to venture into new areas of research. Mabokela and Mawila (2014) argue that looking at the intersectional ties of race, gender and culture, standards were applied inconsistently. Barnard, Cowan, Kirman & Muller (2016) contend that the factors that have shaped the supply and demand of black academics have been mainly structural and psychological factors. In terms of supply, the pipeline of black academics has been structurally affected by an inadequately functioning education system while black academics psychologically perceive limited occupational opportunities open to them. To aid their entry into academia, policies such as affirmative action and employment equity encourage the hiring of black academics. However, white gate keepers have been critiqued for their preference for recruiting academics who look like them to maintain the status quo (Canham, 2015). Yuval-Davis (2011) asserts that the social constructions of identity correlate to group identity and the politicisation of intersectional ties of identity. For instance, along with a racial category could be gender inequality and national identity. Booysen & Nkomo (2010) argue that an individual's identity has multiple categories which depend on context to affect their integration into a community. Although some studies have paid significant attention to the racialized experiences of academics (Khunou, Phaswane, Khose-Shangase & Canham, 2019), more often than not they tend to overlook the simultaneous effects of intersectional ties in navigating higher education spaces. This implies that one's identity has a bearing on their sense of belonging and how they make sense of themselves in context (Walker, 2005).

This study therefore aims to shed more light on the racialized, gendered and nationalised experiences of black academics in historically black universities. Holvino (2008), argues for the need of a reconceptualization of race, class and gender as simultaneous processes of identity, institutional and social practice. Identity practice in this case, refers to the reproduction of particular identities that are both seen and see themselves in unique ways in higher education institutions. Holvino (2008) also describes institutional practice as the meanings of race, class and gender relations and the way they manifest within institutions. Bell and Nkomo (2001) illustrate these nuances by highlighting the differences in experiences of white and black women in corporations as well as the way they understand race. There is a gap in our knowledge in relation to how identities of black academics affect their sense of belonging in HBU academic spaces. It is also important to consider the extent to which these institutions are inclusive of black academics in relation to institutional culture and social justice policies that are in place. Heleta (2016) argues that while all universities have had new policies and

frameworks that speak about equality, equity and transformation, the institutional cultures and epistemological traditions have remained considerably the same. These policies should first seek to correct the underrepresentation of black and women academics followed by the advancement of their careers through funding for further studies towards PhDs. The Council on Higher Education (CHE) (2018) reports that the racial demographics of PhD holding academics in 2016 included 2409 black African academics, 672 academics who identified as coloured, 672 Indian academics and 4755 white academics. The total percentage of South Africans with PhDs are merely 44.9%. Canham (2018) argues that historically white universities have an average of 65% of PhD holding academic staff while historically black universities sit on an average of 35%.

Figure 2: Headcount permanent academic staff by race and qualification level for 2012 and 2017.

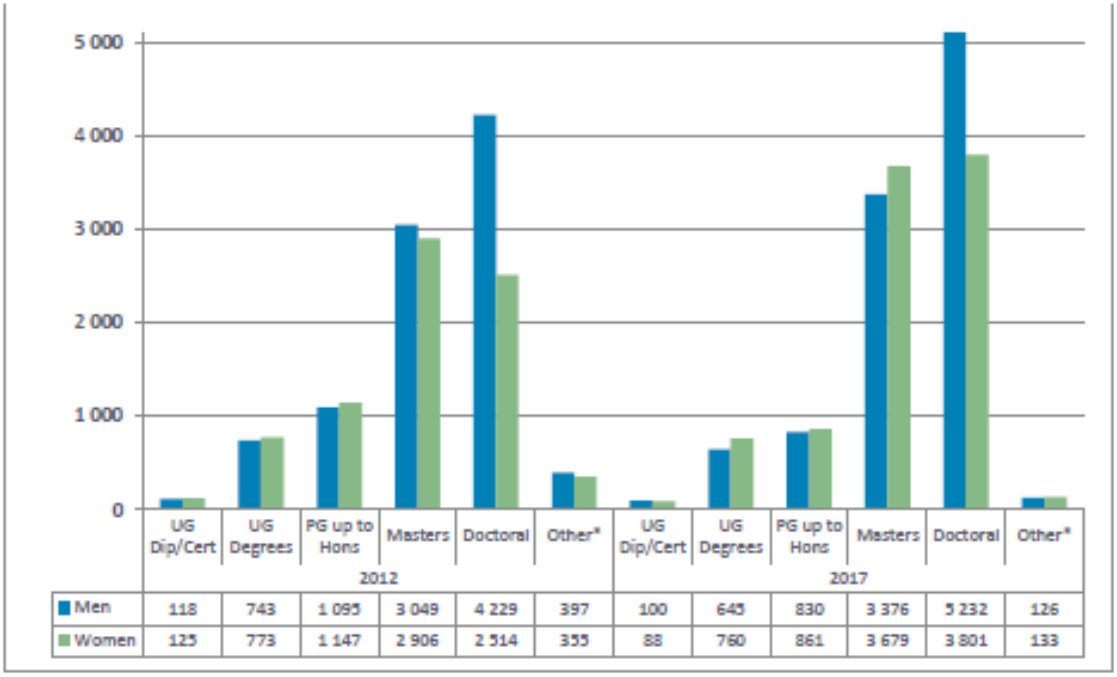


	2012						2017					
	UG Dip/Cert	UG Degrees	PG up to Hons	Masters	Doctoral	Other*	UG Dip/Cert	UG Degrees	PG up to Hons	Masters	Doctoral	Other*
African	86	618	839	2 016	1 483	388	107	756	746	3 078	2 720	104
Coloured	35	136	112	427	332	35	23	111	127	537	525	24
Indian	11	188	188	519	496	75	13	145	124	616	700	21
White	111	572	1 101	2 944	4 284	249	44	387	688	2 750	4 769	107
Unknown	0	2	2	49	148	5	1	6	6	74	319	3

The preceding table shows a five-year difference in the staffing complement in higher education by race and gender in relation to the levels of qualification. Two issues are clear from these diagrams (Figure 2 and Figure 3), (1) on average that white academics have higher qualifications than black academics, (2) women academics have remained underrepresented in doctoral qualifications in relation to men. Canham (2018) shows that on average, more men (5 063) are PhD holders in comparison to women (3 564). Although this gap has narrowed in the past few years, this discrepancy still indicates a significant imbalance, particularly African women who are the most underrepresented demographic in this category. This imbalance

largely affects black academics in two main ways: it affects their promotion into senior positions and their remuneration.

Figure 3: Headcount permanent academic staff by gender and qualification level for 2012 and 2017



	2012						2017					
	UG Dip/Cert	UG Degrees	PG up to Hons	Masters	Doctoral	Other*	UG Dip/Cert	UG Degrees	PG up to Hons	Masters	Doctoral	Other*
Men	118	743	1 095	3 049	4 229	397	100	645	830	3 376	5 232	126
Women	125	773	1 147	2 906	2 514	355	88	760	861	3 679	3 801	133

At the dawn of democracy, South Africa's government committed itself to the transformation of higher education along with other social institutions. In South African higher education, there have been significant transformation-oriented initiatives that were aimed at affecting institutional change. Badat (2016) posits that these have been focused on defining the purpose and goals of higher education, policy research, policy formulation, funding, academic structure and quality assurance, areas of governance and infrastructure. Fourie (1999) adds to this by arguing that transformation in South African higher education has been interlinked with five main tenets namely: democratising the governance structures of institutions, increasing access to education, restructuring curricula, focusing on developmental needs in research and community service, and redressing inequalities in terms of race and gender. This demonstrates the need for examining the coordination between national policies in higher education and institutional policies. Fourie (1999) argues that the restructuring of higher education in South Africa through transformative practices is closely linked to the country's socio-economic and political transition to democracy. However, this strategy does not come without its fair share of challenges. Badat (2016) highlights some of the challenges of transformation in higher education as inadequate state funding, remuneration of academics, creation of a new generation of academics, post-school education as well as access to higher education.

Higher education in post-apartheid South Africa has also come to exhibit an implicit ideological war between the history of structural racism in South Africa and the emergent national antithesis of 'colour blindness' in the rainbow nation. Rose (1994) argues that this ideology assumes that since race is a social construct, the absence of race or refusal to acknowledge its presence will eventually end racial disadvantage and all other forms of inequality that emanate from racial difference. Following this conjecture, it would imply that affirmative action is not only unnecessary but anyone who attempts to illuminate these racial stratifications would be undoing the progress that society has 'tried hard' to bring. Canham (2015) states that organisational neutrality is essentially an illusion created by dominant groups in the organisation. Therefore, colour-blind ideologies do not only stand to favour dominant groups, but they also prove the overarching point that any group that stands to benefit from affirmative action can never be treated as an equal. Despite the various institutional efforts to draft policies that encourage transformation, one of the major challenges of these policies is that they mainly guard against conduct and discriminative practices and not against held beliefs and attitudes (Luvalo, 2019). This addresses the manifestation of racial discrimination and not the origins of the problem.

Barnard, Cowan, Kirman & Muller (2016) posit that the contentions with transformation in South African higher education system centre on the hiring of black academics as faculty and whether there are enough systems in place to accommodate their integration and retention. In historically black universities, the unique challenge of inadequate support systems weakens the potential of black academics to expand beyond their designated roles, faculties and institutions. Barnard et al (2016) assert that in HWUs, the white hiring committees regulate the structural supply of black academics. Although the hiring committees are mostly black in HBUs, the challenge for HBUs is to retain and attract highly qualified staff in their structures. As a result, the demand for highly qualified and experienced black academics in HBUs remains high. Herman (2011) also demonstrates that due to the demand for good doctoral fellows, some institutions have recruited doctoral students from undergraduate level. This allows for focused training with the intention that students will exit the system with doctoral degrees. VitalStats (2017) shows that black African academic staff in higher education made up 41.76% of the total staff complement while white academic staff made up 41.75%. Using this empirical analysis, black academics are both underrepresented and under resourced when considering their presence and mobility in academia when compared to their white counterparts in South African higher education. While some of the challenges are tied with internal institutional

cultures, some challenges are as a result of the disparities between under-resourced and well-resourced institutions.

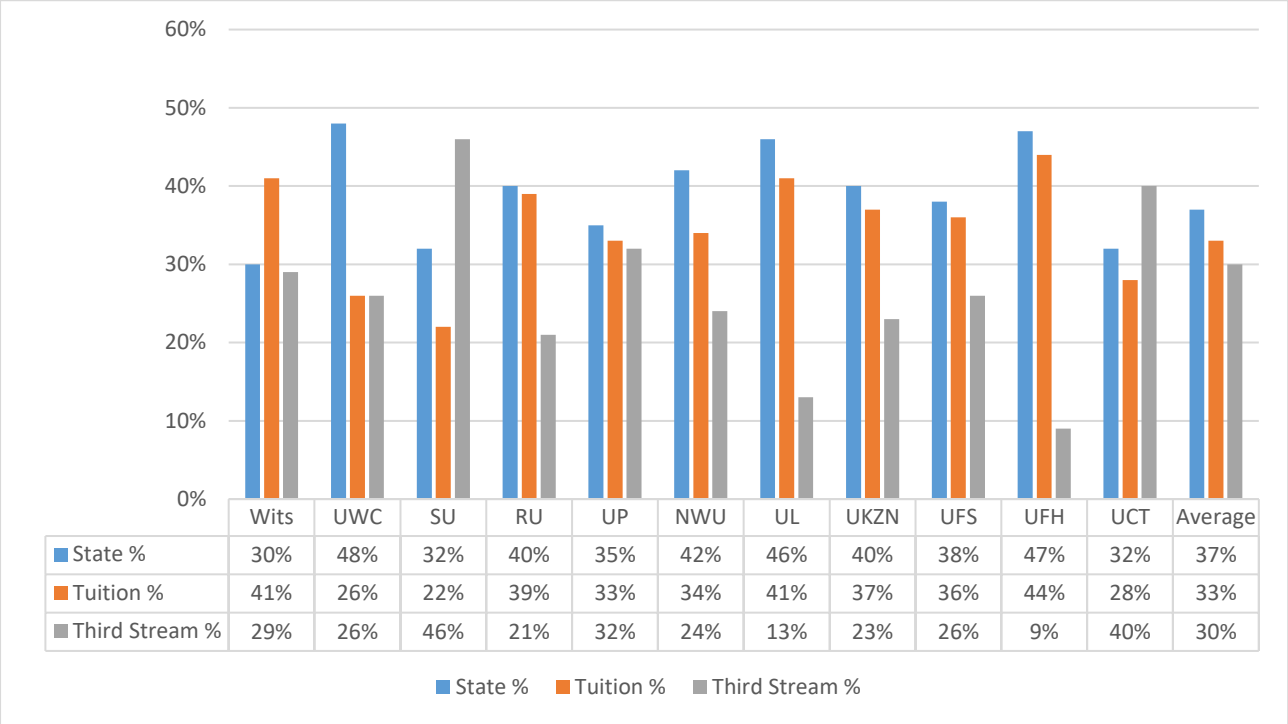
2.3.1 Institutional disparities: The Haves and the Have Nots

In 2002, the ministry of higher education in South Africa established its proposal for the change and restructuring of the higher education framework. This was mainly to eliminate the large disparities between historically white and black universities. The elimination of these differences was an attempt to level the institutional abilities, learning and research demands of the nation (Luvalo, 2019). The structures and models of higher education institutions as reiterated above, follow a historical blueprint of apartheid ambitions for separate development which have been left unaccounted for. Mabokela (2000) argues that the creation of separate development had three main functions: (1) to maintain and solidify the racial differences as permanent markers of societal status, (2) to provide personnel to monitor and control the levels of development in newly created homelands and (3) to maintain and reproduce social and economic positions of black people. I would argue that the institutional disparities within South African higher education illustrate their participation in the reproduction of social and economic inequalities. While there is no deliberate attempt by the higher education ministry to do so, the inherited systemic flaw of apartheid continues to leave a scar on the South African higher education system. Tsui (2003) argues that this is because valuable skills such as critical thinking are less pursued in historically black institutions. This does the work of transmitting social inequality. Therefore, HBUs are not fully geared and equipped towards the ultimate development of their staff and success of their students. This presents differential outcomes associated with institutional prestige and performance in relation to social and economic mobility. Kiguwa (2014) posits that the institutional disparities uphold representations which maintain racial subjectivities and practices of exclusion.

According to the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation (2019) one of the remaining disparities between historically white and historically black universities was centred on correcting funding imbalances between the two. The ministry of higher education continues to struggle to mitigate the existing and recurrent disparities between historically white and historically black universities. For instance, since HWUs have a higher concentration of academics with doctorates, they are able to have better post graduate supervision and research capacity (Canham, 2018). Despite the attempts by the ministry of higher education to provide equal shares of funding, historically black universities remain in dire need of more funding

than historically white universities. Part of the challenge stems from the dire need for infrastructural development at HBUs.

Figure 4: Proportion of institutional funding per source and institutions grouped by type for 2017. Adapted from Vital Stats 2017



	Wits	UWC	SU	RU	UP	NWU	UL	UKZN	UFS	UFH	UCT	Average
State %	30%	48%	32%	40%	35%	42%	46%	40%	38%	47%	32%	37%
Tuition %	41%	26%	22%	39%	33%	34%	41%	37%	36%	44%	28%	33%
Third Stream %	29%	26%	46%	21%	32%	24%	13%	23%	26%	9%	40%	30%

The figure above presents the different sources of funding for traditional universities (both HBU and HWU). University of the Western Cape (UWC), University of Limpopo (UL) and Fort Hare University (UFH) are historically black universities mainly funded by tuition and the state with low third-stream funding. University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Stellenbosch University (SU), Rhodes University (RU), University of Pretoria (UP), University of the Free State (UFS) and University of Cape Town (UCT) are historically white universities for Afrikaans and English speaking people which have significantly higher shares of third stream funding in addition to the state funding and high student tuitions. North-West University (NWU) and University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN) are merged universities which are moderately funded above historically black universities but lower than historically white universities. Although the sources of funding for these universities have largely remained this way for a long period, HBUs continue to need more funding for structural improvements more than historically white universities. The disparities shown in figure 4 illustrate how the challenges of transforming historically black universities are embedded in the historical effects of separate development during apartheid. Although the government has since sought to

improve the academic administration of historically black universities, these universities remain confronted by more challenges than historically white universities (IPATC, 2019). Efforts to challenge structural inequality have been noted and demonstrated through the recurrent fees must fall protests. Higher education institutions have grown to represent class divisions while reproducing inequality through exclusive access to higher education (Soudien, 2008). Therefore, a higher quality of education is exclusive to those who can afford it. Due to such financial restrains, HBUs become vulnerable when considering the retention of their academics who might leave for HWUs who have leveraged on private funding to attract distinguished scholars (Canham, 2019). However, despite the challenges faced by historically black universities, their presence has been important in sustaining black heritage (e.g. the ANC Mayibuye Archives at UWC and the Nelson Mandela Papers at Fort Hare) and grooming the next generation of black academics in greater numbers.

2.3.2 Historically Black Universities

Mabokela (2000) explains that HBUs in South Africa were designed to prepare graduates for the labour force after completion of their bachelor's degree. As such, the criteria that was used for their placement was based on their geographic location and the population group they served. The historically black universities were broadly located in two distinct locations namely rural and urban sites. Rural universities were created and based in the former independent homelands such as Bophuthatswana (University of Bobotswana), Ciskei (University of Fort Hare), Transkei (University of Transkei), Venda (University of the North) and QwaQwa (Muller, 1991). Urban universities were located in the periphery of the urban areas and were created to primarily serve the coloured (University of the Western Cape) and Indian (University of Durban Westville) communities (Muller, 1991). They got marginally better funding and had better facilities than the historically black institutions that were rural based. However, there was a third type of historically black university that comprised of two specialist universities created in response to the growing demand for medical facilities and care in the black population (Mabokela, 2000). These include the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) and Vista University established 1978 and 1982 respectively. Resource allocation was based on the grid lines of separate development that marked institutional location and demographics. The placement of historically black universities in homelands with teaching facilities only was to prepare black people for homeland service and limit the capacity for research. Most of their university structures were not designed to accommodate research facilities but only for teaching and learning.

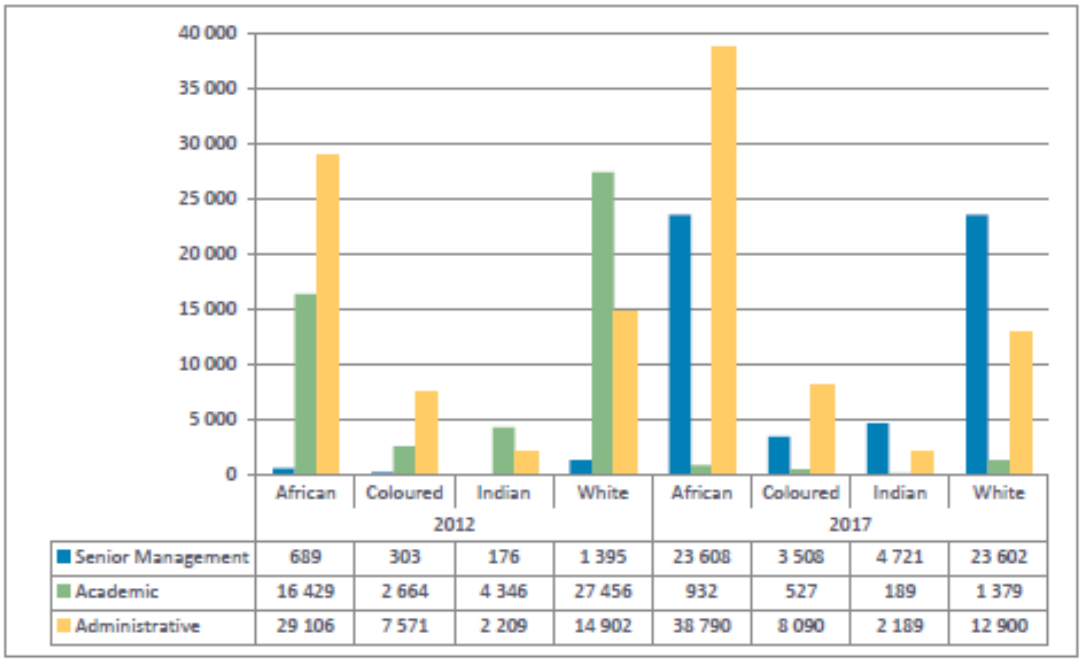
The absence of adequate facilities to encourage research capacity poses a threat towards the generation and retention of academics. With some academics leaving for either the private sector or better performing institutions, the existing generation of academics have been nearing retirement age without enough numbers to replenish their departure as documented by the staff and student demographic data (Badat, 2016; Cloete et al., 1997; Portnoi, 2009). The DHET (2015) report has shown that within the challenge of producing the new generation of academics, South African women academics remain underrepresented in higher education institutions. More specifically, women academics are significantly underrepresented in historically black universities especially Venda (35%) and Limpopo (35%) respectively (IPATC, 2019). In such cases, although the number of women staff and students has increased in general, their contribution to the higher education institutions remains relegated to non-teaching and research duties in support divisions. More men hold academic positions within the institutions compared to women who mostly occupy administrative positions. DHET (2015) data shows that 61% of women in South African universities hold administrative positions while the remaining 39% are academic staff. Such under representations generally apply to all institutions but historically black universities are in considerably worse situations. In addition, historically black universities are also less equipped to deal with such structural inequalities through transformation committees, funding and facilities.

Staff complement

In the early years of the establishment of historically black institutions, senior staffing profiles were comprised of white males especially in Afrikaans-speaking universities (Mabokela, 2000). This structural hierarchy was designed for the maintenance of order, enforcement of apartheid ideas and the prevention of the rise of insubordinate ideas that were aimed at the government (Gwala, 1988). Although whites filled in the upper echelon of senior roles, the complexion of administrative and faculty staff changed over time. The Staffing South African Universities Framework (2015) shows that the higher education sector is losing senior and experienced academics to retirement, death, emigration and moves into other employment. Meanwhile the Higher Education Management Information System (2012) report estimates that 50% of the academic staff in higher education aged between 55 and 59 will retire by the year 2020. Using this data, it is evident that the numbers required by both growth and replacement are far from being realised. This means that the few remaining academics are shared between HWUs and HBUs. SSAUF (2015) shows that as from 2012, Fort Hare University had 37% of their academic staff with doctorates while University of the Western

Cape had 52%. Using staff qualifications as proxy for quality of research, teaching and learning is necessary but not sufficient in determining the institutional reputation of HBUs. Women PhD holders are significantly underrepresented in this demographic.

Table 5: Headcount staff in selected personnel categories by race for 2012 and 2017. Source CHE 2018



	African	Coloured	Indian	White	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	2012				2017			
Senior Management	689	303	176	1 395	23 608	3 508	4 721	23 602
Academic	16 429	2 664	4 346	27 456	932	527	189	1 379
Administrative	29 106	7 571	2 209	14 902	38 790	8 090	2 189	12 900

Table five presented above shows the staffing profile for the entire South African higher education for three categories and the representation by race over 5 years from 2012 to 2017. As shown above, senior management roles have remained occupied by white people while Africans have significantly been more involved in senior management and administrative roles. The growth of black senior managers in the period under review suggests that it was at the expense of academic roles as these declined over the same period. Significantly, African personnel has largely become represented in administrative positions while white personnel have reduced in that area. On the other hand, there has been a sharp increase in white personnel occupying senior management positions while decreasing in number of academics in the same period. Mabokela (2000) notes that despite having an increase of African staff as faculty and administration in higher education, African women remained overwhelmingly underrepresented from the middle to upper levels of university structures. Rabe and Rugunanan (2012) found evidence that black women were only able to get initial bursaries to enrol for their studies but not permanent and senior positions in academia. In addition to the challenges of recruitment, retention and progression of black academics, the working-class backgrounds of black academics affect their financial commitments more than white academics. However,

Barnard et al (2016) posit that the pool of potential academics has been evolving and as such, the pool of potential academics is shifting from being predominantly white towards a more black and representative pool of academics.

Student profile

Exploring the academic staff of HBUs also needs a complementary assessment of the type of students that inhabit these spaces as they also feed into the recruitment pipeline of the next generation of academics. Kiguwa (2014) argues that much of higher education scholarship has focused on black students' challenges in transitions to tertiary education with less effort into how institutions also present challenges for students. Letseka and Maile (2008) note that South Africa's 15% graduation rate is one of the lowest in the world. Higher education institutions can be seen as social fields (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970) where students and staff are both navigating in accordance with the environmental rules and requirements. Canham (2018) argues that the entry route for academics into higher education necessitates a sufficient supply of higher quality and quantity of post-graduate students. Students in any case need pre-college forms of capital that are economic, social and cultural. Financial capital should only be understood as one form of capital that is required for student enrolment into higher education institutions. However, for historically black universities, their challenges are uniquely structural as well. SSAUF (2015) show that HBUs have a high staff to student ratio which affects the quality, throughput and success of an institution. The kinds of measures needed in HBUs to cater for the high volumes of students remain inadequate when the staff to student ratio is high.

The majority of students who are enrolled in historically black institutions often lack adequate capital for enrolment into university. Letseka and Maile (2008) show that high university fees contribute to the under representation of black students in higher education, threatening the reproduction of racial inequality. With some institutions being rural based, their catchment area also incorporates mostly rural based students. While this does not speak to intellectual abilities, it has a bearing on their exposure to university equipment, facilities and systems of operation. One of the problems that emanate from that is the student's added struggles of learning how to make use of the facilities available. Academics staff can mediate this challenge by training and grooming students towards postgraduate entry. However, Canham (2018) argues that HBUs are not meaningfully prepared to creating and maintaining a recruitment pipeline from their postgraduate cohort. Such efforts have often been made possible through funding initiatives that encourage postgraduate students to study further and pursue academic careers. Added to

the low numbers of PhD holding academic staff in HBUs, there is low supervision capacity especially with postgraduate students. This gives HWUs as research intensive hubs that attract more funding, train more academics and institutions that are largely responsible for producing the next generation of academics.

For academics, the challenges faced by students in integration is also an added responsibility of teaching students how to complete tasks such as uploading assignments, finding student help facilities and proper communication channels. The failure of students is often seen as the lecturer's inability to teach when other factors are also in conversation with this outcome. Letseka and Maile (2008) point out that 70% of the families of the higher education drop outs are in the category of low economic status, with black African parents/guardians earning less than R1 600 salaries. This is exacerbated by the students' dependency on their parents' financial support for essential living expenses. Without funding or financial support, these students remain at risk of either dropping out or not studying further into post graduate studies. VitalStats (2017) data shows that from 2012 to 2017, enrolments and completion rates have been higher for undergraduate than postgraduate courses. In addition, VitalStats (2017) also shows that although completion rates have been generally high for all races (75% on average), black African students have been recording the lowest scores in comparison to other races despite their high enrolments at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

2.3.3 Conclusion

Much literature on higher education institutions demonstrates the gaps between HWUs and HBUs and how these differences have adverse effects on academics who work in these institutions. However, this section sheds more light on how special attention needs to be directed towards HBUs and the academic staff that have to thrive in these contexts. This stands with regards to post graduate funding and supervision, staff to student ratio, PhD holding staff by race and gender as well as under representations in university structures. These remain key points to consider when trying to address the challenges faced by black academics situated in HBUs.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Introduction

This section presents the theoretical framework for this study. It discusses the theories that are applicable for the study and how each of them helps to explain the concerns raised by the research questions. These theories include the Social Identity Theory, Critical Race theory, Intersectionality and institutional culture. These theories were chosen in order to bring out the theorized relationships between them and to guide interpretations of the research problem. However, the theoretical framework builds from the previous section on literature review which lays a background on what is known in a bid to articulate and defend the rationale of this study.

2.4.2 Social Identity Theory

Tajfel's (1979) social identity theory posits that an individual's self-concept is built from the groups they belong to. As a result, a person's participation in social interactions and behaviour may largely depend on the social context they find themselves situated. However, although much of group identity is based on characteristics of identity such as race, gender and ethnicity, social identity categories can be more or less significant depending on context. Allen (2010) classifies social identity into six core categories namely gender, race, class, sexuality, ability and age. However, place and context would be an important addition to the aforementioned categories. These categories can pose as both inclusive and exclusive markers for black academics when navigating institutional spaces. The social identities of black academics do not exist in isolation but rather in contrast to other identities within the academy. Given this understanding, some identities tend to bring more awareness of their existence in spaces where they are not welcome, these bodies are seen as polemic (Canham, 2019) while some bodies navigate with relatively more ease. This can be attributed to the inextricable link between social identity and access to opportunities in South Africa, which stems from a long history of dispossession, alienation and segregation (Stevens, Duncan & Canham, 2017). With certain spaces, positions and opportunities traditionally known to be reserved for white males, black or women's bodies contesting for them can be seen as a threat to existing forms of order.

Part of the colonial project in South Africa was to neutralise the cultural capital of African people by demeaning their cultural identities in academic spaces. This rendered the expression of cultural identities as unnecessary and un-academic (Hoppers, 2000). The complexity of this situation reveals the way black academics may be seen as intruders in spaces where in order to fit in, they have to denounce certain notions of blackness and acculturate whiteness in higher education spaces (Puwar, 2004). The failure and refusal of institutions to acknowledge these challenges when raised, subtly forces black people to minimise their own lived realities. Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) describe this as symbolic violence, where a systematic misrecognition of the lived truths forces those affected to accept inequality as natural. This form of violence in its subtle form, gradually obscures reality so as to conceal the violence by imposing the ideologies and experiences of dominant groups as authentic and universal. Hoppers (2000) argues that the denouncement of African identities as unacademic prevents the authentic emergence of Africanised systems of knowledge. This problem is also perpetuated by existing bodies of knowledge that stand to delegitimize indigenous knowledge systems for not conversing with global systems of knowledge. In addition, it inversely devalues forms of knowledge that are important in addressing and solving local problems. Kiguwa (2019) highlights how the challenges that black academics face when trying to navigate spaces seem open on the surface and yet functionally immutable because of the same openness.

Higher education policies have often sought to increase representation to provide a political voice for black academics by increasing the number of black academics within higher education institutions. However, in the quest for diversity and inclusiveness, having more numbers of black academics can be misread as adequate representation. Ahmed (2009) argues that diversity has become more predicated on the numbers of black people that add colour to the white faces of organisations. The under representation of social identity categories of race and gender are often reduced to a numbers game where the admission of more black academics does not translate to a welcoming and healthy work environment. This implies that scholars have a duty to examine racialised and gendered subjectivities through the incorporation of an intersectional framework (Ore, 2009). Crucial to understanding social identities is the acknowledgement of how spaces that are occupied by the varied identities are complicit in the signification and reproduction of identity politics. Puwar (2004) argues that spaces are not neutral fields but rather do the work of constructing and maintaining subject positions that are discursively produced. There is a need therefore to unpack the varied and nuanced identities

beyond the homogenous identity of 'black academics' towards an incorporation of gender, class and culture in the meaning making processes.

Identities within the academy

Social spaces are always fields with varying social identities and this brings into question dynamics of identity, difference and power relations. Institutions are no exception and the normalised response to difference has often been to ignore it as a precursor to avoid dealing with difficult topics. Higher education institutions are spaces filled with varying social identity categories from gender, class, race, ethnicity, nationality and age. However, institutional missions are often predicated on notions of creating spaces for 'universal bodies' (Puwar, 2004). This assumes an abstract enforcement of ideas of equality and a non-concrete engagement with notions of difference. Thus, the ability of black academics to pass as universal bodies requires an alignment of their identities with the territorial discourses relating to power, ownership and influence. Lorde (1980) argues that institutions have no patterns for relating across social differences as equals and the separation does not emanate from social differences but rather from the refusal to acknowledge their existence. Subsequently, positions of influence within the academy are also seen as universal and disembodied. Such views disregard the possibility of how certain identities might need institutional support as equity measures to level the playing field. Although certain bodies do have the capacity to be universal (Kiguwa, 2019), by promoting the universality of professional spaces, institutions simultaneously threaten to conceal other identities. Puwar (2004) problematises the creation of disembodied institutional narratives where the concept of the 'academic' is disembodied and the body is irrelevant to this positionality. This means that discourses of identity are nullified in academic institutions and categories of gender, class, race and age are deemed as secondary concerns to the fulfilment of academic duties. Kiguwa (2019) also argues that bodies have the ability to actively engage and challenge misrepresentations, misrecognitions and invisibilities without which, bodies along with their identities are repressed and reduced to mere abstract individuals. To illustrate this, South African higher education institutions have always been dominated by white males at the expense of other genders, classes and races. Thus, institutions continue to disregard the importance of social identities such as race and gender in the scholarship of black academics. This further disregards the attempts at highlighting the unique challenges faced by black academics.

In order to deal with the challenges of black academics, scholars and institutions have to first identify and acknowledge the presence of bodies that belong to a different gender, race and

class. By highlighting these differences, institutions can clearly position them as both individuals and groups within institutions. Collins and Andersen (2007) argue that race, gender and class as social constructs are embedded in systemic forms of inequality. In as much as social identity categories form identities of academics as individuals, they are also built into structures of society. Turning to a structural analysis of race, gender and class uncovers how social identity works through systems of power which invariably govern human interaction. Bodies that are emptied of their gender and race in higher education spaces become invisible while struggling to be seen as competent at the same time (Puwar, 2004). This tends to affect academics who have indigenous research interests whose ideas are grounded in their culture and identity (Goduka, 2000).

As raced and gendered bodies, black academics occupy institutions where their identities and knowledge systems often do not hold value. Therefore, they have to seek intellectual validation from 'white' forms of knowledge which stand as exemplars of knowledge production. Puwar (2004) argues that black professionals within institutions are constantly weighed with a scale of doubt, which questions their ability to fulfil academic duties in what she calls the burden of doubt. Using this idea, black academics are not automatically expected to be competent before proving themselves. As a result, competence for academics mainly comes into question for black identities while some remain exempt of this scrutiny. Puwar's (2004) concept of the burden of doubt demonstrates how a shadow of distrust cast on black academics can lead to the infantilization and super-surveillance of black academics. Black academics are infantilized because of a colonial history that associates race with designations of public goods. Consequentially, the undermining of black academics became a by-product of how the apartheid system reserved academic roles and titles within the academy for white experts. In gendered terms, women are infantilized by men as a result of the patriarchal disposition of institutions. Patriarchal systems relegate women to the margins of the academy reserving the core positions and promotions for men through implicit sexist discourses. Similarly, for young and new academics, their participation is limited by older staff members whose aim is to minimise voices that challenge existing institutional cultures. For some, these challenges are much more severe and intensified than for others. For instance, young black women academics. Puwar (2004) further argues that the super-surveillance of black professionals aims to monitor the authorities of black academics in professional positions. In this case, black academics are not only expected to work harder but to also prove their abilities without room for error. This

indicates how black bodies are viewed as intruders in spaces because they are seen to represent a potential threat to the order of things.

Bodies and belonging

According to Puwar (2004) bodies are inscribed with immutable markers that are filled with meaning and these meanings are co-constructed by the spaces that bodies occupy. The intrinsic connection between bodies and space lies within the socio-historical meanings that identities portray. Lefebvre (2000) adds that each living body is a space and has its own space and by means of the body, spaces are perceived, lived and produced. Noting this, it becomes easier to see how certain bodies are seen as dissonant or polemic when they enter spaces they do not belong to, rendering them bodies out of place (Canham, 2018). Tajfel (1979) argues that in order for individuals to identify with others, there has to be significantly greater similarities than differences with them. In addition to that, one has to think, act and behave like the group that one identifies with. Nayak and Kehily (2006) borrow Butler's conception of gender as performance to explain how performativity extends to all categories of social identity and how these performances are also moulded by the spaces we occupy. In support of this, Ahmed (2007) argues that whiteness can be described as an ongoing history which positions bodies in specific directions affecting how they take up space and what they can do.

Yuval-Davis (2006) makes a fundamental distinction between belonging and politics of belonging. For Yuval-Davis, belonging is about the emotional attachment and feeling welcome in space while the politics of belonging refers to the projects that construct particular ways of belonging. Although the two concepts are clearly distinguishable from each other, I would argue that the two are also inseparable. For black academics, belonging can therefore be understood as the cohesion between the institutions as the spaces they occupy and their racialised and gendered identities. While some bodies possess characteristics that automatically enable them to pass as beneficiaries of structural and historical privilege, some fall on the opposite side of this spectrum. The politics of belonging have the potential to polarise higher education institutions according to race, gender, age, citizenship and ability. It also comes as no surprise that the polarisation of these categories involves power dynamics that emanate from positions of the privileged, creating dominant and dominated groups. Through the relationality of dominant and dominated groups, bodies are viewed as either belonging or unbelonging. Puwar (2004) argues that processes that include/exclude certain bodies often involve informal regulations of behaviour that are implicit in the social fabric of institutional culture. Bourdieu

(1984) further posits that some of the informal requirements for inclusion are tacit but still operate as real rules in effect.

Bodies that are incorporated into institutional social hierarchies become the dominant groups. They are more likely to uphold the status quo and hold positions of influence within institutions. Cultural capital or learning the rules and requirements of dominant groups is a necessary and essential tie between bodies and belonging (Bourdieu, 1984). Gqola (2004) argues that even the mere ability to speak the English language proficiently can score legitimacy for black bodies in the academy. The hegemonic norms and expectations that are thrusted upon bodies at times demarcate those who belong from those who don't. Essentially, bodies that belong in educational spaces exhibit traits of raced, gendered and classed nuances of competence through identity and performance. Puwar (2004) argues that this is because educational spaces are viewed as places that civilise and refine black bodies into pleasant speaking hybrid post-colonial black bodies. Therefore, the ability to assimilate the right way of speaking and associated manners translates to one's ability to integrate towards belonging. Although this comes easy for white bodies, black bodies often have to go through alienating times in these white 'civilising' spaces. As a counter response to the question of bodies and belonging, Puwar (2004) suggests that black academics should be able to feel at ease in their working environments and those around them should too.

The idea of bodies belonging within spaces is not strictly polarised into those that belong against bodies that do not belong. Instead, bodies should be seen as carriers of various intersecting identities which simultaneously enable and disable belonging at different levels, times and places. Christensen (2009) posits that belonging can be divided into three levels of analysis namely micro (interpersonal relations), meso (collective organisations) and macro (imagined communities) levels. For instance, a black woman academic might identify with the black academic caucus which does not include white women while simultaneously identifying with the women's struggles which does not include black men. Using this framework, it is more plausible to argue that belonging can be constructed within intersectional ties of race, gender, class and other categories of social identity. Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that theorizing belonging should be founded on the grounds of intersectionality. This is because when researchers begin to question the processes that make certain bodies belong at the expense of others, the antecedent notion should question who and what enables belonging in the first place. In addition to exploring belonging for black academics, it is also important to unpack the ways in which institutional cultures are implicit in the politics of belonging.

2.4.3 Critical Race Theory

Although race is seen as a social construct rather than a biological essence, the meanings of race remain contested with regards to how it affects society in everyday life (Erwin, 2012). In South Africa, racial segregation has for a long time been formalised and institutionalised in higher education institutions. The histories of tertiary institutions in South Africa and segregated learning are rooted in socio-historic context of racist ideology under apartheid. Racism has since been institutionalised and personalised. As such, the study of race is imperative in unpacking the nature of structural disparities and interpersonal prejudice. Critical Race Theory is one of the major theoretical frameworks in understanding racialized experiences. This theory is rooted in American legal scholarship where it emerged as a response to the neo-Marxist critical legal studies movement of the 1970s (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT was then popularised by legal scholars who realized the disparities between social groups which resulted from implicit racially discriminative practices. This theory has been largely relevant in legal studies, but it has since grown to find relevance in other fields of study such as sociology and ethnic studies. The introduction of this theory to education can be credited to Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate in 1995 (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). The two main points of analysis from CRT focus on the impact of systemic/structural racism and its effect on interpersonal processes.

According to Carrasco (1997), Critical Race Theory has largely to do with racism and inequality but also acknowledges intersectional ties that surround the social construction of knowledge and the role of race in the varied experiences and contexts. In essence, it explores the role of race in reproducing structural inequalities. One of the core epistemological perspectives of CRT is that identity is a social construct and that while identities are complex, they are also constrained and shaped by discursive practices (Conradie, 2016). Given the constructs of identity, it also follows that the varied experiences of racialised bodies are a clear demonstration of how race is not experienced in the same manner. Secondly, the theory is also premised on the notion that racism is a permanent aspect of people's experiences which is capable of influencing their political, economic and social lives. Thirdly, the narratives of the racially discriminated act as forms of counter-storytelling that seek to challenge and add to the 'objectivity' of positivist ideologies. Critical race theory helps to diagnose the intrinsic connection between race and power in their dynamic interplay with other forms of identity in higher education. More specifically it is important to demonstrate the ways in which race is

weaponised against black bodies. Crenshaw (1991) argues that the theory can and has been crafted to cater for intersections with gender and class.

Under a critical lens, institutional practices should be seen as complicit in the construction of social identities, inequitable practices and policies (Minda, 1995). This approach is useful in tracing connections between apartheid segregated schooling in South Africa and the remnants of racially discriminative practices in higher education. Decuir & Dixson (2004) argue that due to the origins of this theory, much work has been done in the American context which extends its applicability and usefulness in the South African context. Critical Race Theory also shows the impact of institutional culture in the reinforcement of non-belonging of some groups over others with regards to race. Given the historical context of South Africa, racial inequality manifests through social, economic and legal differences that apartheid created between races (Matthews, 2015). This warrants the need for an in-depth understanding of the unique challenges of historically advantaged and disadvantaged universities and how race plays a pivotal role in these spaces. The designation of traditional universities as historically black and historically white demonstrates the explicit separation of institutions that was predicated on racial identity. Although institutions were further designated by language and ethnicity, race was the primary mode of designation.

Hiraldo (2010) posits that the use of Critical Race Theory in higher education is to provide a voice for faculty, staff and students of colour to tell their stories of marginalized experiences. The counter-narratives of black academics can assist in analysing the current climate of higher education institutions in South Africa and give room for ideas on how institutions can become more inclusive and not merely superficially diverse. Mbembe (2016) argues that higher education institutions in South Africa have aimed at including black people in their structures. However, without the necessary changes to make the climate inclusive for black academics, diversity cannot be maintained. CRT therefore correctly unmasks the permanence of racial undertones of exclusion. Mouton, Botha, Boshoff, Prozesky, Swart, Treptow, Redelinghuys, Ford, van Niekerk, & Visagie (2018) argue that the purpose of understanding racial dynamics is to ensure the intellectual and academic preparation of black academics as a means of transforming and developing South African universities. As a result, critical race theory is analysed and applied on two levels in this study. First, as an interpersonal issue where the micropolitics within departments and institutions highlight the bigger picture of race relations in South Africa. Second, structural racism as a consequence of inherited systems of tradition and values that disregard black institutions or blacks within institutions as a collective. In this

regard, the racial identity of black academics in higher education is understood in contrast to the identity of white academics.

Interpersonal processes

Kiguwa (2014) argues that issues of transformation have often been framed in technicist ways, where racial integration is only understood as increasing numbers of black bodies of students and staff from historically disadvantaged backgrounds within institutions. These bypass the unquantifiable experiences of black academics with alienating discourses around race through as interpersonal interactions. Such discourses often operate as ideologies of whiteness, often disguised as professionalism. These include standards of dress code, hair style and language which have all been professionalised against the African way of being. To theorize whiteness is to also outline a shadow of normalised standards that apply differently to similar people by passing as normalcy. Matthews (2015) describes institutional whiteness as white dominance that is maintained by white people's conscious beliefs about the racial superiority and of white people and unconscious habits of whiteness. Bulhan (1980) emphasizes that group subjectivity grows to social significance through forms of knowledge, practices and discourses that are shared within institution. More often, these discourses are also enmeshed with institutional culture. In such situations, agency and resistance might be insufficient to challenge and change discourses that are discriminatory and unfair. This is because beyond one's will to resist, there has to be mechanisms in place to assist them in the form of transformative policies and openness to challenge and dismantle whiteness as the norm.

It is also a central point that the positioning of black academics in higher education is a direct consequence of the inherited and dynamic power struggles within institutions that privilege their white counterparts at their expense. DiAngelo (2016) describes as white privilege, which is the centrality and implicit superiority that is assumed by white people. Although these advantages affect interpersonal relations, they are not dependent upon individual will but rather systemic dominance that elevates one racial group over another. According to Steyn (2010), there is a clear connection between whiteness and white privilege: the former is an essence of assumed racial superiority while the latter refers to the undeserved advantages that come with being part of the group. Vice (2010) describes privileges as a habitual access to goods that one has no right to and non-universal advantages that are unearned and unshared. The connotation of the word 'habitual' implies patterns of engagement which express a sense of entitlement but done without much conscious attention. These habits can manifest on an interpersonal, institutional and national level where in some cases, racism can be disguised as patriotism

(Maiocco, 2016). Furthermore, these habits may constitute what we would describe as white behaviour or white culture embedded in structures and institutions of higher education. Black academics' experiences even in refusal to see themselves as racialised bodies does not exclude others from seeing them as racialised individuals. Vice (2015) argues that the way we experience an institution is a function of the different spaces within the broader context. It becomes important therefore to understand that the way black academics feel about an institution can sometimes be a result of the micro-politics in the immediate environment while also informed by the institutional culture at large.

In this view, feeling out of place can also be a result of the limited inter-racial contact in academic spaces where white academics have more contact amongst themselves than with other races (Njovane, 2015). It also follows that with the growing numbers of black academics in higher education, there has been an increase in inter-racial contact but this does not equate to racial integration for black academics. Vincent (2008) argues that the emergence of racial debates in South Africa has been a result of the demise of laws that prohibited inter-racial contact and transformation programs that actively promote such contact. In support of this, Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004) argue that increased racial contact seems to be a step towards improving racial/ethnic relations while the absence of such contact has been seen to promote prejudice and discrimination. Black academics have been historically excluded from higher education and their inclusion has stirred conversations about race. However, the dialogues around race puts participants at risk of either being labelled as implicit supporters of racism or as destabilisers of non-racialism progress (Soudien, 2010). The subtle tensions can in turn affect interpersonal relations, intra-departmental communication and potentially lead to group divisions amongst staff. This kind of racism/racial tension can become difficult to approach as it remains unspoken, unexpressed but only felt. It becomes important to identify those affected and voice out their narrated encounters with such challenges. Conradie (2016) argues that in order to loosen racial tensions, institutions should be spaces that allow interactions that are not inhibited by parameters of non-racialism while also advocating an epistemology of race as a social construct rather than essentialist. This can help improve social cohesion and reduce the everyday repercussions of macro-aggressions for black academics.

Institutional processes

Delgado & Stefancic (2001) argue that in order to fully understand interpersonal and institutional racism, careful attention should be given to those who have been victimized by racism as a systemic process. Historically black universities in South Africa have always been

characterized by inadequate allocation of resources towards the advancement of the infrastructure, research output, staff recruitment and catering for student needs. On the other hand, historically white universities have had a fairly abundant source of funding in addition to their relatively better infrastructure and steep enrolment and recruitment requirements. These disparities can be understood as a consequence of structures that were designated along racist ideologies as inter-institutional racism (Bunting, 2006). As shown in the literature review section, historically black universities are less successful in attracting third stream funding while the historically white universities attract substantive private funding. Matthews (2015) argues that the main ideological contrast between these two is that historically white universities were designed to cater for white students who remain over-represented in higher education when considering how whites make up less than 10 percent of the national population in South Africa. The model framework of higher education during apartheid was one of the numerous manifestations of structural racism.

Rose (1994) describes structural racism as the legitimisation and normalisation of inherited history and culture that enforces institutional routines to the advantage of whites while producing adverse outcomes for black people. Bunting (2006) notes that the National Party government had legal constraints to prohibit institutions designated for one race group from enrolling another race group. Black universities specialised in teaching and learning, which limited their career options as strictly professional careers such as teaching and nursing. The increasing numbers of black academics in higher education has since challenged these historical fixations by transforming black professionals into middle class status. Canham & Williams (2017) highlight the significant growth of the black middle class and the complexities of moving from the black working-class conditions into middle class white spaces. This presents a demographic shift for black people in South Africa, whose class structure is steadily improving. This signifies a challenge to the rigid distinctions within institutions and professions as a form of resistance to structural racism. The covert nature of structural racism in South Africa has enabled unacknowledged practices that in most cases might not have identifiable perpetrators but only beneficiaries and victims (Vice, 2010). As such, a challenge to racism requires facing the structures in place to promote it as much as we challenge the individuals who are complicit in the promulgation of racism. In challenging both the structures and individuals behind racist ideologies, there should also be a critical investigation of how individuals or policies that do not challenge injustices are actually providing a space for the continuation of racist practices. Applebaum (2010) argues that a form of complicity has been

the subject of recent scholarly work which focuses on how the systemically privileged are more complicit in the perpetuation of injustice rather than the marginalised through collective silence.

With race being socially constructed to the disadvantage of black people, it has also been politicized and weaponised to justify the social, economic and political exclusion of black people in institutions. However, Kiguwa (2014) argues that multifaceted processes of exclusion correlated with race do not stand alone in explaining the experiences of black academics. Instead, they interlink with their gendered and class identities in forming subjectivities. Therefore, critical race theorists are sceptical of the idea that colour-blind policies in universities can change racial experiences in higher education institutions for black academics and students. At the same time, isolated incidents of racism that are dealt with do not reflect the institutional preparedness to deal with racism. Meanwhile, policies may officiate the end of racist regimes but cannot stop the subtle interpersonal and structural operations of racist discourses. The exclusion of black people from public goods such as Higher Education institutions has been a political project which has led to the alienation of black people as undeserving citizens. Yuval-Davis (2011) argues that the concept of citizenship should not only mean state citizenship, but it should be broadly understood as the participatory dimension of membership in a community. In essence, CRT approaches work in favour of the incorporation of intersectionality through an activist agenda that is aimed at challenging racial, gender and class oppression.

2.4.4 Intersectionality

Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality to express the multidimensionality of marginalised bodies which is based on their lived experiences as embodiments of social identities. Although this theoretical framework originated from the study of the struggles faced by black women in legal scholarship, it has grown to be understood as an analytical tool that challenges the hegemonic study of social identities. This theoretical concept explores how social identities have an impact on the way individuals experience 'themselves' and how they are positioned as subjects of power. Longman and Da Graeve (2014) posit that intersectionality and the study of interlocking categories of social identity cannot be studied in isolation from questions of power, privilege and isolation. As a result, the incorporation of intersectionality

in this study illustrates how the varied social identity categories of black academics are mutually constitutive in reinforcing and naturalising each other. Categories such as race and gender have the capacity to enable or disable individuals in relation to their access to power and privilege (Martiniello, 2012).

Nash (2008) explains that one of the functions of intersectionality is to demonstrate the racial variations within gender and likewise the gendered variations within race, which also invites scholars to an understanding of the impact of exclusions of multiple marginalised subjects. The use of intersectionality as a tool of analysis helps to order systems of power from the beneficiaries to the victims and the inbetweeners. Similarly, being a black academic in South African higher education institutions also comes with various intersectional challenges and benefits of race, gender, class and sexuality. Dhamoon (2011) further explains that the importance of intersectionality stems from its stance of realizing that more than one category of identity should be analysed. Nash (2008) on the other hand stresses that its importance lies on the use of intersectionality as both a framework and a paradigm for targeting victims of oppression and their lived experiences. Intersectionality as a paradigm for gender and diversity research questions processes of power, privilege and inequality within institutions. Longman and Da Graeve (2014) argue that in light of the dominant discourses on homogeneity about cultural differences, intersectionality aims to emphasize the positive sides and inevitability of heterogeneity. In its very nature, the concept provides a space for diversity. The inclusion of black academics can be read as a diversity move which needs no further interrogation on the grounds of representational inclusivity. Ahmed (2012) challenges this by arguing that although racism and sexism may be obscured by diversity hiring, this has a tendency to overlook deeper socio-structural consequences of diversity.

However, in order for intersectionality to make theoretical sense, social identity categories such as race and gender need to be understood as social constructions. Windsong (2018) argues that by adopting a constructionist approach, it becomes easier to see how the subsequent dynamics of power are as a result of the social processes in different contexts. Although all social identity categories bear meaning in the totality of identities, not all social identity categories are prominent in all contexts (Ore, 2009). In addition to the social constructionist approach, it also comes with equal importance that identity categories do not exist as binary opposites of privilege and oppression but rather in correspondence to each other. For instance, the racialised meaning of being a black academic is positioned in correspondence to institutionalised systems of white privilege. The study of social identity variables through intersectional analysis is

rooted in feminist and critical race theoretical origins. As a result, its use extends beyond theory into methodological use. However, one of the challenges in using intersectionality stems from the portrayal of difference as obstacles that need to be overcome towards a universalised state of mutual relatedness (Burman, 2003).

One of the main reasons why intersectionality is useful for this study is its inextricable link with issues of diversity. Ore (2009) exposes the difficulty of studying identity in isolation from the political intersections from which it is reproduced. Applying intersectionality in higher education uncovers how different bodies experience and navigate academic institutions. Since most of the social divisions are based on social difference, studying the intersectional ties of difference helps to bring a closer analysis of the role played by identity in creating and sustaining inequalities. This applies to both the inequalities between historically white and historically black institutions and the inequality that exists within higher education institutions. Longman & De Graeve (2014) posit that intersectionality also provides a critical perspective that evaluates how categories of social identity inform the social positioning of black academics within discourses of institutional power and privilege. For instance, black women are positioned with two identity categories of marginality which often render them disempowered when entering spaces that are dominated by white males. This method does not simply focus on adding variables and calculating its score on a scale of oppression but rather considers how variables overlap. Acknowledging these intersectional differences of black academics deploys sensitivity to power dynamics and how they can potentially reproduce inequality if left unchecked (Geerts & Van der Tuin, 2013). Higher education institutions being spaces that are meshed with identity politics through race, gender, age and nationality warrant the need to unpack and demonstrate the relationship between difference and power.

Burman (2003) argues that most policies of social inclusion tend to overlook the critical evaluation of precisely what identities are excluded and what they are getting included into. Questions of who is different and why bring out an underlying reality of who is rendered powerless in higher education institutions. The problem with denoting difference is that the very articulation of the position of black academics as ‘other’ implicitly positions them as the group of people who are outside the norm. Foucault (1983) would argue that the same regulation of normalcy leads to the pathologizing of difference. Intersectionality moves away from the analysis of difference as mere variations into an analysis of forms of power that operate from discourses of social identity and power. This is because different people are those who deviate from the norm by virtue of their subordinated positions (Burman, 2003). As a

result, intersectionality can also be viewed as a guiding reference to the complexity of social identities and how some categories of social identity may either present challenges or opportunities. This enables the analysis of black academics not as different to other academics but as bodies that are seen as deficient or deviant.

Longman and De Graeve (2014) argue that understanding the dynamics of power and oppression through intersectionality enables scholars to deduce the modes of agency and resistance to structural oppression. This can be ultimately done by a scholarly scrutiny of the collective voices of black academics in historically black universities. Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that social divisions should be incorporated into the study of lived realities because of their centrality to the differences in experience. The study of black academics in historically black institutions stands as an attempt to create representational discourse for the historically marginalised. Given the history of South Africa, black people and women in particular have been relegated from the processes of knowledge production and yet continue to be implicated in the institutional mechanisms of oppression. Steyn (2010) makes the case that by understanding the intricate connection between difference and power, we can generate knowledge of experience that goes beyond the physical or embodied. Since intersectionality conceptualises power as a multidimensional phenomenon, it provides distinctive entry points for analysing the relationship between difference and power.

Difference, particularly in social identity, manifests in relational ways that creates subjectivities of power relations. Foucault (1983) similarly idealises power as being more relational and shared as opposed to the conventional view of power as possessed. This makes it clearer to understand how oppression in academic institutions capitalises on difference to withhold rewards such as inclusion and belonging from non-conforming bodies. This includes taking into account the dominant discourses around race, gender, class, disability and sexuality and exploring how they alienate non-conforming bodies. By voicing the experiences of black academics, this paper attempts to explore the hegemonic discourses that socialise them into spaces of disadvantage and how they experience the structural disadvantages against them. From the study of black academics, there is often the temptation to prioritize their racial issues over gender because race is treated as more static and as a difference that affects all of them more than gender which presents variations within the group (Burman, 2003).

As a counter response, institutions should provide space for black academics to plan ways to deconstruct, challenge and resist the impact of oppression. Bourdieu (2004) argues that the

maintenance of systems of power relies on the silence of the oppressed as they continue to invest their participation in the system. In some instances, the resilience of black academics can count as silence. Cole (2009) also adds that race and gender may affect silhouettes of an individual's beliefs about what is possible and opportunities at hand through social and institutional practices. The study of identity in relation to power relations helps to locate social problems associated with the socio-historical legacies for the purpose of discontinuing their prolonged effects on individuals. As Steyn (2010) highlights, modern discourses that challenge oppressive dynamics often dismiss transcendent historical injustices as mere memories. In this study, intersectionality allows the exploration of groups belonging to multiple subordinated categories such as black and women academics. With the underpinning assumption of looking at social identities as performatives, their normativity is reinforced through social practices. Part of what legitimizes discrimination against black bodies in the academy are institutional cultures that include and exclude them from organisational participation.

2.4.5 Institutional culture

Steyn & van Zyl (2001) describe institutional culture as the combined effects of the attitudes, values and styles of interaction within a university, known and understood by those who work and study at the university through their lived experience. According to Vice (2015) this does not reduce culture to mere experience, but the very same experiences can determine whether the institution is homely or alienating. Much of higher education policies have been anchored on a transformation agenda since 1994. However, much still needs to be done to ensure the equal access to opportunities for all citizens of the academy. Mabokela (2000) notes that institutional programmes that seek to diversify race and gender still primarily focus on race. This is because most institutional cultures continue to consider the voices of black women only as secondary issues. Higgins (2007) argues that the term institutional culture is currently used to refer to what is perceived as the overwhelming whiteness in higher education. Although this definition also encompasses some aspect of what black academics might go through, it does not fully capture the entirety of their varied experiences. Institutional culture can also be prominent in the maintenance of status quo and the anti-establishment of equitable working environments. In order for such power structures to be changed, they need to be challenged. This can be fulfilled by enabling more black academics to be involved in the participatory process of making decisions that affect them. Higgins (2007) argues that there is a connection

between leadership and institutional culture more specifically because the essential function of leadership is to manipulate culture. The occupation of positions of power and influence as representational participation can encourage black academics to change institutional cultures that are detrimental to their career progression. As new groups begin to take power, they also challenge institutions to rethink what is deemed as natural and legitimate institutional culture (Butler, 2004).

Among many other factors, institutional cultures are often shaped by demographic factors and their association with values, shared histories and internal processes that exist within institutions (Condreanu, 2013). The significance of taking into account institutional culture extends to how it also affects an institution's change process. If left unchecked, institutional culture has the potential to include and exclude certain bodies while also exerting symbolic violence on the excluded. Higher education institutions have always recognized gender and racial diversity to be important transformational imperatives yet the persistence of gender and racial inequities continues to be of concern. These challenges can be understood as a manifestation of representational politics in the academy or it can be seen as inherited cultures that continue to operate under the guise of shared norms and values. In order to understand how to foster inclusive cultures within institutions, there is need to also understand the impact of institutional culture. For most academics, moving into new campuses, institutions, department or positions comes with new practices, procedures and expectations that may be implicit and different if not alienating (Tierney & Lanford, 2018). Therefore, it may take an individual some time before they comprehend the intricate web of relationships and processes that constitute institutional culture. Although most scholarly work has established the link between institutional culture and belonging for black academics, they have mainly looked at the official policies and transformative stances of institutions. This tends to bypass important and deeply embedded behaviours that are surrounded by shared values, assumptions and beliefs about the organization, the work and employees. Tierney and Landford (2018) argue that although institutions depend on a certain level of fidelity to shared values, beliefs and ideologies, institutional cultures don't entirely rely on the consent of those involved.

Inclusion and exclusion

Useful in understanding exclusionary processes is the borrowing of Frantz Fanon's work to understand the racial dynamics and experiences of black academics who are seen to be constantly under the white gaze (Canham & Williams, 2017). Fanon's (1986) ideas can also be used to dissect the racial struggle of black academics crossing over to a space with stereotypes

and prejudices that have sustained structural segregation from apartheid. This segregation manifests on two levels; first on the institutional level of historically black universities that have been undernourished while white universities were affluent, and secondly on personal levels of being a black academic with white senior staff. The same can be said about gendered experiences as well. Institutional culture facilitates belongingness for black academics and this results from the presence of groups that are more powerful than others. As a consequence, the dominant groups by enforcing their culture are able to manipulate the institution's operations (Newman, 1995). This is how institutional cultures come to be saturated by dominant group ideas as reality. It is therefore necessary for the study of how power assumptions are embedded in institutional culture through unrecognizable and hidden ways.

Higgins (2007) argues that in most cases, the dominant view of understanding transformation in South African Higher education is done through a lens of "whiteness critique" which racializes experiences of students and academics within an institution. While the notion of whiteness is very central, other genres exist in the form of gender, religion, able-bodiedness, class and sexuality which can all equally shape alienation from an institution in unique ways. Looking at this complex dynamic through intersectional lens, one might be a victim of racial alienation and also contribute to gender alienation as a perpetrator simultaneously. Matthews (2015) further argues that although there is adequate clarity on racial alienation against black South Africans in higher education institutions, it is still unclear as to what should be done in order to welcome black South Africans into the higher education spaces. Most scholars however agree that the antidote to the toxic and alienating institutional culture lies within the institution's transformational paradigm. As Mabokela (2000) states, we need to explore why some institutional cultures provide such safe havens for white males while they are inhospitable for black women.

Although the challenges faced by black academics warrant the need for transformation, institutional culture has to accommodate and cater for different people with varied identities beyond race. Fourie (1999) then argues that transformation in institutions has to occur on four different levels: structural governance level, demographic level, at the level of core institutional functions and at the level of organisational culture. Therefore, despite the importance of including more black academics, it is also essential that there be attention placed on changing the institutional culture to being more accommodating and supportive towards them. Luvalo (2019) adds that institutional culture is generally felt as an overwhelming whiteness of scholastic culture which stands as the official and legitimate pride of institutions. For black

academics situated in spaces that promulgate practices of whiteness, such establishments consequently make it difficult for black academics to feel at home and included in universities. While historically white universities tend to celebrate Anglo Saxon institutional cultures more often (Luvalo, 2019), historically black universities follow suit as an implicit participation in a system of white dominance.

Institutional symbolic violence

The university can be seen as a field/space where there are struggles over resources, opportunities, recognition and influence. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) a field informs a set of rules that have to be followed by everyone that inhabits the space. The relationship between our behaviours and the spaces we occupy is therefore interactional as each has influence on the other. However, not all actors in the field come with equal cultural capital to manoeuvre the space with ease, thus exposing them to exclusion from enjoying the full benefits and rewards of participation. This deliberate subjugation to systems of operation that one does not fully participate in and enjoy equal rewards can constitute a form of symbolic violence. The concept of symbolic violence by Bourdieu (2004) theorises how power and domination reproduce social hierarchies and maintain them by less physical forms of symbolic domination. This is because in higher education institutions, black academics are required to possess particular cultural capital that does not come naturally to them but is deemed essential to their becoming effective and full members of institutions (Kiguwa, 2014). In essence, they are required to become particular kinds of subjects if they are to successfully manoeuvre in these spaces. For Bourdieu, these forms of capital exist in two forms namely: embodied capital (at the level of the person and their body), objectified capital (at the level of objects through possessions and lifestyle). Taken at face value, these forms of capital can be seen as the natural requirements for aspiring academics through a process called misrecognition (Bourdieu, 2004) despite their demand for unnatural ways of being.

Thapar-Bjorkert, Samelius and Sanghera (2016) explains that systems of symbolic violence are often invisible and this invisibility is instrumental in the silencing of dominated groups. The dominant groups chart the institutional path and rules while the dominated groups arduously follow. The process of charting rules remains exclusive despite its impact on the entire institution. The challenges of black academics in historically black institutions have long been normalised and dismissed as either a post-apartheid casualty or as an issue relating to the history of the institution that no one should account for. The lack of transformative initiatives towards the emancipation of black academics also operates as a form of structural complicity

in the silencing of black academics. Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) argue that domination from symbolic violence is more a product of when the dominated group stops questioning existing power relations by accepting the current state as the natural order of things. For instance, the assumption that white academics are better and should mentor black academics or that more male than female academics are better leaders who should occupy positions of influence are some of the common misrecognitions. Luvalo (2019) argues that institutional symbolic violence can exist in the form of institutional symbols, language, narratives and practices. Symbols associate the individuals with the institutions and give a solid portrayal of what institutions are about (Alvesson, 2012). In most cases, structures within institutions have signature statues which are intricately connected to the university's history of origins. Language does not only relate to official and universal means of communication but also extends to the eloquent as well as proficient use of it. In some cases, the inability to speak the English language fluently can be read as directly correlational to one's intellectual capacity. The practices allude to the customs, behaviours and performances that are critical in passing social meanings (Parekh, 2008).

Although symbolic violence is almost synonymous with structural violence, Farmer (1996) describes structural violence as the institutionalisation of social processes that harm by organising inequality through access to social resources based on markers of difference. In the case of structural violence, there lacks a subtle and misrecognised impact. With the growing concern for black academics leaving the academy in notable numbers, it is plausible to assume that both symbolic and structural violence are at play. Institutional symbolic violence extends to the expectations for black academics to have perfect role fulfilments despite having inadequate support. It also includes the invitation of black academics into institutions where they are not really welcome and remain excluded through institutional cultures. However, examining institutionalised forms of symbolic violence can help to illuminate how current schemes of violence are embedded in apartheid's social, political and economic agenda. Therefore, without addressing these core issues as a step towards ending institutional symbolic violence, transformation in higher education cannot be achieved in isolation from institutional culture as the two are intertwined.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed account of the study's methodology and the procedures that were followed in gathering and analysing data. This chapter aligns the aims of the research with the research methodology. More specifically it outlines how the study was conducted using the data collection tools and the sampling procedure that was deemed useful for this study. It further elaborates on the methods of data analysis that were used to make meaning of the data gathered. Lastly, the chapter also outlines some ethical considerations that were observed throughout the research process.

3.2 Research design

This study was best suited for a qualitative design because of its exploratory nature. Creswell (2007) describes qualitative research as the engagement with exploring, describing and interpreting the personal social experiences of participants. The research paradigm that was used for this study is interpretive. Through an interpretive paradigm, researchers unpack the qualitative experiences of how participants make sense of their social realities. The main concern centres on the meanings attached to these experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008). This research explored the meanings that black academics made of their lives within their contexts. For this reason, it assumed a method of data collection that is discursive rather than numerical. Qualitative methods bring out the social experiences of participants and the meaning they attach to their experiences (Smith, 2008). The interpretive techniques that were applied in this study looked at the language that participants use to express their meanings as a form of interpretive analysis. The researcher made use of thematic analysis to encompass both the implicit and explicit meanings of participant experience which are explained later in the chapter. Thus, a two-stage process of analysis occurs simultaneously; the participants trying to make sense of their world while the researcher tries to make a broader meaning of the participants' meanings.

Feminist theory and CRT informed the ontology of the study as anti-discriminatory approaches to conducting this research. This is because the two theoretical grounds are uniquely informed by particular ontologies and engage particular epistemologies. A feminist approach together with the CRT focus on the experiences of black academics in the academy where the aim is to make them more visible, raise their consciousness and empower them (Gelling, 2013). Therefore, adopting feminist research affects the way data is collected and what kinds of

knowledge are produced but not necessarily the methods of analysis. Likewise, a feminist approach also enables the researcher to explore gendered issues in the process. Jefford and Sundin (2013) argue that adopting a feminist approach to research also implies the incorporation of feminist values and principles against forms of oppression. An intersectional and contextual approach further brings out the significance of studying specific social identity categories, their social construction as well as their relation to other co-existing categories (Windsong, 2018). Intersectionality approaches to research bear varied meanings to the way people experience realities. As such, research methodologies oriented towards this theoretical base bring a more elaborative research methodology. Choo and Ferree (2010) conceptualise intersectionality as a research paradigm that is group centred, process centred and system centred. Group centred research aims to bring the experiences of marginalised groups that have been previously understudied in scholarly work. In this case, although many black scholars have theorized the black experience in the academy, not many have attempted to study black academics in historically black universities. The process centred approach focuses comparative analysis of contexts and comparisons that bring out how race and gender differences shape different realities. System centred approaches see gender and race as intrinsically embedded in the governing structures and processes of inequality (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Although these are not conventional or traditional research approaches, they are more precise in uncovering the hidden and often overlooked issues on the inextricable link between power and difference.

Why study experience?

Central to the data collection imperative of qualitative methods is the need to understand and interpret human experience without attempting to limit or fix their meanings (Davies & Davies, 2007). However, many of the traditional research methods have understood experiences through realist paradigms, which assume that there is a single truth about the real world to be uncovered. This research deviates from the study of experience as objective into a more discursively analytic approach which draws meaning from experience while taking into account the surrounding forces that affect subject positioning. Davies and Davies (2007) posit that in making meanings of experience, researchers should shift away from the focus on the truth, falsity or reliability of accounts. Instead, experiences should be read as performance which can translate to historical facts of lived realities.

3.3 Population and sampling

Following the research design of this study, the participant selection follows the theoretical aims of the study in studying black academics as the target population. Marlow (2010) describes the nature of qualitative research as an inquiry into people's lived realities by examining their narratives through their own lenses. Therefore, it was important to carefully select the participants in trying to establish a collective voice of the identified group. For this study, participants are black academics employed at two historically black universities. In order to access a cross section of experiences and perspectives, academics were selected across different ranks of seniority. The participants were mainly identified through the university websites with profiled information of the academics and in some cases through snowballing which entailed referrals from other academics.

Population sampling is the process of taking a subset of subjects that is an approximate representation of the targeted population; (Creswell, 2007). In this case, the sample of the study involved 27 participants both men and women, all black academics from two historically black universities. These sites of data collection were the University of Fort Hare (Eastern Cape) and University of the Western Cape (Western Cape). This resulted in the participation of 10 black academics from the former and 17 participants from the latter. The selection of participants followed the intersectional approach of trying to be inclusive of race and gendered narratives from academics of different ranks, universities and disciplines. In line with Windsong's (2018) discussion of the intersectional approach being well suited for certain research goals, the selection of participants in this study was to bring a context-based analysis of experience. It is also important to note that the working definition of black academics in this research included African, coloured and African immigrants from other parts of the continent. This conception of black is in line with Biko's (1998) expansive conception of blackness as those who were by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in South African society. This study was part of a bigger project from the Department of Higher Education and Training of South Africa for which permission was already granted to gather data. In addition, each participating institution granted ethical clearance or permission for the study to the principal investigator. However, for this subset of the study, the researcher also received ethical clearance from his university for the collection of data. Data was gathered after ethics approval was obtained. Based on publicly available email addresses on the university websites, emails requesting permission from participants were sent out to participants and appointments were scheduled for interviews at a mutually convenient date and time.

University	**Gender**		**Qualifications**			**Total**
	Men	Women	Prof	Dr	MA	
UWC	9	8	6	8	3	**17**
UFH	7	3	4	1	5	**10**
Total	**16**	**11**	**10**	**9**	**8**	**27**

Table 1: Demographic information of participants from the two universities

The sampling technique that was used is non-probability and purposive sampling. Through the non-probability selection, members of the population do not have an equal chance of being selected, hence the selection of participants also depended on the judgement of the researcher (Creswell, 2007). Additionally, purposive sampling allowed the researcher to identify the characteristics that were of interest and screen participants in accordance to these desired qualities (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). Therefore, the selection of participants was only black academics, both men and women from the two designated universities. Here, black was understood in the Black Consciousness sense to be broadly inclusive of all those previously discriminated against in the colonial and apartheid periods. Moreover, because black people from the rest of the continent experience a number of challenges in higher education (Batisai, 2019), Africans from beyond South Africa were included in this study. Approximately 18 of the academics were black African, 2 identified as coloured and 7 were from the rest of the continent. In some cases, snowball sampling was used to find additional participants.

3.4 Data collection

3.4.1 Interviews

Data was collected through face to face once off interviews. The interview guide provided for follow up questions which depended on the information that had been revealed by the participant. The interview guide was made up of open-ended questions that explored the participants' academic history, background, experiences, challenges and future career prospects. There are three types of research interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured interviews involve the specifically designated questions that elicit corresponding answers with pre-determined categories (Smith, 2008). Un-structured interviews are considered to be the opposite of structured interviews where questions are neither directive nor pre-arranged. Semi-structured interviews are a mixture of the two types and contain questions that help describe the issues to be explored while giving the freedom for the researcher to pursue an idea for more detail (Creswell, 2007). It is for the flexibility of its approach that semi-structured interviews were used in this study.

This method also enabled the discovery and exploration of information that was deemed important by the participant which might not have been seen as necessarily important by the researcher. The interviews ranged from 45 minutes to an hour long on average. The sampling and design of the research set out to ensure variability in gender while maintaining the racial identity of participants. The in-depth interviews were constructed towards an intersectional approach to allow participants to simultaneously discuss both race and gender in their experiences. The interview guide therefore aimed to solicit information that highlights unique challenges and opportunities for participants. (see Appendix B).

3.4.2 Data analysis

Data analysis is the part of research which involves turning data into findings by using the available information to better illuminate the phenomenon being examined (Masson, 1996). Data analysis is therefore a meaning making process. Glesne (2016) states that analysing data mainly occurs on two levels namely; descriptive and interpretive with the aim of familiarising with both the structure and the content. The former involves a process of identifying outlying issues and key features and ordering them into thematic content. This study used thematic content analysis to build themes from the information obtained through data collection and discourse analysis to study the construction of social reality for black academics and how it is maintained.

Thematic analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), themes are useful for capturing the common, important or outstanding connections of data that is available. In working with the data, the research questions of interest were held in mind. Questions were related to the challenges, opportunities, experiences and career trajectories of black academics. Thematic content analysis according to Marshall and Rossman (1989) involves several stages of procedure. These include organising the data, coding the data, generating themes, testing the understandings of data and then writing up the findings from the data analysis. Braun & Clarke (2012) also argue that there are three ways of conducting thematic analysis namely: inductive versus deductive, critical versus experimental orientation to data, and an essentialist versus constructionist theoretical perspective. They define the deductive approach as data coding where the researcher brings a series of concepts, ideas and theories that they use to code and interpret the data collected. The second wave of analysis involves connecting the narratives to broader theoretical perspectives to interpret the story (Glesne, 2016). In this case, the researcher can go beyond the descriptive

analysis and develop the interpretation by drawing on theory that explains the patterns of information that are recurring in the gathered data.

Aronson (1995) argues that using thematic analysis has several stages that need to be followed to code and analyse data. I followed the six steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2012) to conduct a thematic content analysis of qualitative data. The first phase was to familiarise oneself with the data by listening to audio recordings and reading transcripts of interviews and making notes of recurring points. In the second phase, I generated initial codes to identify and label the data related to the research questions which was followed by the generation of themes from the coded data. As the fourth phase, I reviewed potential themes in relation to the coded data and entire data set by cross checking the themes with the rest of the data sets as a form of quality checking. The fifth phase was when the themes were named and defined to provide a distinct separation of themes. This was to ensure that while the themes may be related, they should not overlap. The final phase of this process was producing the report. Braun and Clarke (2012) argue that this phase does not come last because it only occurs at the end. Instead, the building of a data analysis begins earlier during data collection where the information collected shapes the direction of the results to be produced. For this reason, I was attentive to potential themes while I conducted interviews as well during the process of transcribing the interviews.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines are an important part of conducting research because they ensure that the study being conducted follows all ethical procedures and that it does not endanger livelihoods or cause psychological distress in the process. There is need to obtain permission and clearance from institutions and the ethics committee. This study observed the following ethical guidelines of ensuring informed consent, confidentiality, ethical clearance and institutional permissions. The researcher applied for and obtained ethics clearance from the ethics committee of the University of the Witwatersrand to conduct this study through a submission of a research proposal.

There was also an application for permission and clearance from the respective universities to conduct the study with the academics at the designated universities. This was done under the bigger study that was commissioned by the Department of Higher Education and Training Ministerial Task Team on the recruitment, retention and progression of black South African academics. This study also made use of information letters and consent forms with the participants asking for permission to carry out interviews with them. Evans (2007) explains the

importance of informing participants of the aims of the study as well as the potential risks and benefits of participating. The information letter introduced me to potential participants by noting that I am a MA student conducting research towards my research report as well as the nature of my research into the careers of black academics at two historically black universities. It outlined the nature of the interviews, anticipated length of interviews, the conditions of anonymity and confidentiality. The letter noted that confidentiality would be preserved by not disclosing any identifying information and by storing data in a password protected computer. Both my own and my research supervisors contact details were provided to potential participants. In the event that potential participants wanted to contact the ethics officials directly, the ethics email address was provided in the information letter. (See appendix A)

The consent forms included requests to conduct interviews and to record the session using an audio recording device. The study abided by all ethical requirements of the ethics committee of the University of the Witwatersrand. The researcher's contact information was given to participants, to provide an opportunity for them to contact the researcher for any concerns. Confidentiality is also a particular issue of concern when obtaining information that is potentially personal and sensitive. As a measure to ensure confidentiality, it is important that the researcher keeps the discussion of interview material within the context of the session, (Smith, 2008). In this regard, data was stored in a password protected computer and all transcripts were anonymised by giving them pseudonyms. Lastly, the study is not invasive and did not require any information that might have caused psychological distress or endanger livelihoods or inflict harm on participants involved.

3.6 Challenges faced with data collection strategy

The process of identifying black academics through university websites was at times misleading because as names are not always an accurate marker of one's racial identity. However, this was and remained the most convenient way to identify participants as black academics in the designated institutions. This strategy was at times problematic when the university websites did not contain enough information of potential participants.

Another challenge was trying to have a fair gender representation of participants across faculties. This is because some faculties have more male academics while some had more women academics hence the underrepresentation concealed the experiences of those who were outnumbered. Similarly, some faculties are smaller having fewer black academics and over

represented by white academics. This further placed the black academics in those departments at risk of being under represented in the data.

3.7 Self-reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the researcher's critical awareness and acknowledgement of how their status characteristics, values and history affect the research processes and outcomes (Bailey, 2007). This is because the researcher's role is so central to the qualitative method from as early as the inception of the study to the final chapter. More specifically, the interpretive paradigm used in this study bears some weight on the role of preconceived values in exploring the subjective experiences of participants. The researcher in this study did not assume a position of absolute neutrality to the entire process but rather left fingerprints of intrusion as part of their involvement. Moreover, the researcher's stance on the issues expressed by participants might overlap with the way the researcher has also experienced higher education institutions as an aspiring academic. For this reason, the researcher's awareness of positionality within the research was crucial towards promoting validity and reliability.

As a black man who is pursuing a postgraduate degree from a historically advantaged university, it was tempting for the researcher to make unsolicited comparisons with historically black universities. However, it also made it easier for the researcher to relate with some of the issues expressed by the participants especially those that are shared across institutions. The identities of the researcher and participants can be a starting point in establishing interview rapport (Bailey, 2007). Part of what fostered rapport during interviews was the shared racial and sometimes gender identities with the participants. The researcher's gender identity might also have posed as a hindrance to the articulation of the gendered experiences of women participants in the study. The awareness of gendered identity differences was vital in determining the level of comfort/discomfort with the women participants in trying to obtain information. However, having a shared racial identity was at times obsolete when it came to other sub-categories such as coloured and Indian. This is because unique to their own experiences, coloured and Indian identities sometimes have different cultures to the researcher's. While this did not present any challenges towards the participant recruitment process, the participants' awareness of their position in the study did help to smoothen the entire interview procedure.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the data collected for this study. These findings have been categorised into three main themes focusing on the shared experiences expressed by the participants. This was done in accordance to the format of thematic analysis as outlined in the previous chapter. As a precursor, the aim of this study is to explore the experiences of black academics in historically black universities in South Africa. As such, the findings in this chapter were sourced from data collected from the University of Fort Hare and University of the Western Cape as exemplary sites. Of these two universities, the University of Fort Hare is largely rural based while university of the Western Cape can be categorised as an urban based institution. These universities were carefully selected to include the unique characteristics of rural based institutions which were built to cater for Africans and the urban based institutions tailored for mostly coloured people (Muller, 1991). As a way to explore both challenges and opportunities of black academics working at these institutions, this chapter covers three main themes, namely: how black academics navigate their careers, how the state of their institutions affects their progression, and how the institutional cultures have a bearing on their sense of belonging. These themes bring out the challenges they have faced and how they overcame them or continue to grapple with them, the state of their institutions and how they contribute to their success as well as institutional cultures that either promote or hinder their career progression.

4.2 Navigating the academic maze: Career progression

The history of black people in South Africa being relegated to under-resourced institutions was aimed at excluding them from accessing the public good of education. Most black academics who were students during apartheid were limited in career options as historically black universities largely focused on professions such as social work, teaching, nursing and policing (Muller, 1991). The effects of the de-segregation have broadened access and consequently produced several cohorts of first generation of black academics. However, most first-generation academics still make use of government scholarships and other sources of funding to study further and add to their academic qualifications. Therefore, a number of participants

expressed how they experienced difficulties while trying to become academics. Their challenges ranged from lack of funding for further studies, inadequate support from family, lack of knowledge of recruitment opportunities and the lack of role models/mentors to guide them. Below are accounts from five participants who highlight some of the challenges of black academics and their backgrounds.

> I don't have parents. My mother died in 2011. She was just a housewife. (Sihle)
>
> I always tell people it's from my parents. My mother is not educated, my father passed on and was also not educated. My father's parents died, and he was an orphan, they were two brothers, and they were brought up in xxx. They were never allowed to go to school. My father was a naturally intelligent person. (Zama)
>
> My father went to university, but my mother to a college. My father was a social worker; my mother was a nurse. (Lerato)
>
> So, my mother's younger sister sort-of brought me up along with her other children. So, I didn't have a father figure, and it was a rough upbringing. And I'm a first-generation student, so you can imagine. It was really, really tough. (Ntombi)

The preceding accounts suggest that a number of black academics were raised in working class families. The majority of black academics were raised in working class families. Only one participants' parents had post-school education while others either had no education or had a primary school education. The previous accounts illustrate how the class backgrounds for black academics can affect their chances of affording higher education costs. Ntombi sums up the sentiment by noting the challenges she faced coming from a difficult upbringing and pursuing. Therefore, opportunities for aspiring black academics are still at the mercy of funding and this has been their trajectory of entry into the academy. This means that for black students to ultimately overcome their challenges, they need to be in a position to afford to pay for higher education. As a result, most participants have been beneficiaries to a number of scholarships, loans and bursaries that funded their studies to as far as PhD level. Although this has helped many, funding remains an obstacle for deserving black people who remain excluded if they cannot source funding for their studies. Therefore, beyond one's academic competence, the conditions to becoming an academic include funding, access to opportunities and knowledge of the higher education system.

However, most participants acknowledged how funding has been relatively more accessible for the most part especially towards their PhDs, to pursue research interests and to support aspiring academics. More specifically, the government of South Africa through the ministry of higher education and training has made significant efforts to increase funding opportunities for black and women academics. The following participants concur:

> Yes, there is (funding). There is also for doing your PhD that pay for you, and you have to work hard. So, there is funding. I don't think— the question would be when to apply for it—not if the funding is not there. The funding is there. (Themba)

> I would say if you're a black, if you're a black South African scholar at the moment, it's relatively easy. I think the process is relatively easy if you have a very good idea, research idea, you submit your NRF. You will get funding; you will get funding. I don't think that there's a big barrier there. (Jabulani)

These opportunities mostly apply to younger and newer academics. However, since HWUs get the lion's share of private or third-stream funding, it is not surprising that most of the funding opportunities are found in these institutions. Some of the funding programmes that participants cited include: New Generation of Academics Programme (nGap), National Research Foundation (NRF), next generation academic programmes and diversifying the professoriate programmes.

While there has been a lot of progress with accessing funding for black academics, the journey to becoming an academic does not end with their qualifications. Equally important to the progression of black academics is the presence of mentorship programs aimed at assisting particularly the new generation of academics. A number of junior black academics have expressed their concern with the lack of support from senior academics. The lack of support has made their experience of higher education institutions more challenging and isolated by having to learn everything by themselves. Below are a few remarks from participants:

> I need support, somehow. I'm a young new academic not exposed to the academic life. As much as you want support from someone, but then you find out sometimes people tend to reverse in terms of sharing the knowledge. (Lerato)

> The support is not there. I'm going to say it again and I have said it in the departmental meetings, on record, that access to information and resources, you do not know what you can access or what resources are available to you. (Sandile)

The support to which Lerato and Sarah refer is clarity and direction in navigating an academic career. This kind of support generally comes through mentorship by more experienced academics. Given the many junior academics who need support in the early stages of their careers, senior academics should be able to assist them. One participant left a historically white university for a historically black university in order to help young academics. The participant particularly claims that it was more important for her to help academics in historically black universities because they are in more need of support:

> At institution (x) I was so frustrated that I took it upon myself and I left for (another institution) and I took on young academics, pulling them out, helping them apply for university research grants and whatever. Because I know that that's what I needed the most and that's what delayed my growth earlier on, not only my growth in terms of professorship, but intellectually as well. (Andile)

Participants highlighted the role of mentors and supervisors in guiding them and in choosing their career path as academics. Moreover, it is more challenging for new academics to find opportunities on their own without the guidance of senior academics or mentors. In particular, one participant expressed how they prefer and better identify with black academic mentors. This demonstrates the value of black academics in senior positions to inspire and guide the new generation of black academics into the higher education system:

> I would prefer to be supervised in my research by a university professor that is black. That comes from the previously disadvantaged university because if you take a risk—that is why most academics do not develop. (Njabulo)

A number of junior black academics expressed a concern with the heavy workload that they carry which they feel does not match their salaries. This could be seen as one of the reasons why some black academics do not have time to always help each other. This is particularly true in relation to senior academics assisting junior academics. In some instances, academics claim that their teaching workload limits the time they spend doing scholarly duties of writing and publishing their academic work. One junior participant shared her thoughts on the struggles with managing workloads:

> I'm supervising students, I'm teaching, I'm doing research. I'm trying to finish up my PhD. It's still difficult. A lot of issues. (Siphokazi)

The struggle to manage different workloads of teaching and research weighs heavier on junior and newer academics. In addition to more junior academics primarily teaching undergraduate courses, they may be unaware of how and where to get help, so they end up feeling like they are thrown in the deep:

> Basically, it's how do you teach a class of 600 students at university and how do you access opportunities of growth? You know something like a Research Office, no one told me that. The only thing that I was told was that I had to finish my Honours. So, no one told me about leave, that you can take leave, that you can take research leave and that you can have conference money to attend conferences, just someone who could unearth to you the workings of academia. (Thato)

> That is very difficult. We are expected to publish, yet, we are having big student numbers. That is a very difficult one. And there are deadlines for submissions of marks and stuff so there's a lot, but people are trying to do their best. (Lerato)

> So when you have a junior lecturer that wants to develop into a senior lecturer, they have to study further, they have to do research, but their workload sometimes is very heavy, their teaching load is very heavy, their education load is very heavy, so they cannot sometimes do the work that they want to do. (Themba)

In the preceding excerpts, Thato, Lerato and Themba point to the competing demands and excessive teaching load that junior academics have. Adding to the high student enrolments in HBUs, academics in general face a bigger challenge of having to teach, mark and supervise for a huge student population. This demands more of their effort towards teaching at the expense of other academic duties such as research. In response to this challenge, participants expressed their dire need for teaching relief to create time for their research. Thato and Kabelo articulate their needs below:

> Well for this institution and for the dental faculty, what I would definitely tell them is that they would have to give more teaching relief. (Jabulani)

> The major measure that they can put in place, is around teaching relief. If they can provide measures to relieve academics from the burden of teaching, which creates place for young academics to do research, to publish, to take visiting scholarships. (Kabelo)

Similarly, another participant felt that while teaching relief is considered a solution to the burden of high teaching loads, it only helps with the teaching component but does not relieve

them from other duties such as administration and supervision. Instead, the participant suggests that taking leaves of absence away from the university would go a long way in helping them with their research activities:

> It is more about the responsibilities that you are having. Teaching relief doesn't work, they have tried that. You are only relieved from going to classes, but with departmental meetings, you must go and attend. (Andile)

Although black academics have pointed out their challenge with huge teaching loads, many still remain committed to helping their students as part of their passion and service to others. A number of participants in this study also said they have a passion for teaching and that remains one of the major reasons why they are in higher education as academics. The following participants echoed these sentiments:

> It's really mainly the passion that I have about teaching. You know teaching for me did not come as one of those things that I could go after in my dreams, in terms of other things that faded. No it wasn't like that. It was my very first passion. (Lerato)

> So, I have a passion for research, and to teach. I just love it so. I don't want to move—leave the higher education sector. (Bongani)

> I don't earn a salary now. It's just my passion for capacity building for our students. (Njabulo)

> It's the love for kids. In fact, it goes with passion. I like nurturing and supporting the young talents and future leaders. So being underpaid does not remove my love to nurture and support future citizens and leaders of our society. That's how I get rewarded as a teacher, because I'm a teacher. (Dumisani)

Therefore, unlike Themba who earlier described teaching as a burden, Njabulo, Dumisani and Lerato expressed a deep commitment to teaching. While the above quoted academics seemed passionate about teaching, other academics indicated a stronger interest in research than they did in teaching. They noted that it was the main reason why they are in higher education:

> Well, I think I have a passion for research. I teach Research Methodology, and I conduct research. (Sipho)

> I will speak for myself. For me, what will keep me in this profession is that I love research, I won't lie to you. I see myself opening eyes of other people or minds when it

> comes to research because I know other people always say that research is difficult. (Lunga)

With regards to research interests, some of the participants indicated that they have unique research interests which are not usually supported or funded by the university. This often drives them towards the pursuit of other fields of research in order to score funding. This is also due to a number of factors including lack of adequate equipment and support for the exploration of new and understudied fields of research. Andile and Siphokazi shared their concerns about the lack of support for their research interests below:

> So, a lot of my research is based on my career, this other career, this other gift that I am having. So I specialise in traditional healing. I won't say it's embraced because even when I presented a paper on the challenges faced by traditional healing initiates here, there were few people, less than ten, attending the conference. (Andile)

> For me, myself, I am in GIS and Observation where we deal with satellite stuff to do Water Resource Monitoring and other related natural resources. So it's somehow kind of a new thing and we don't have that much equipment that we can use. (Siphokazi)

The underfunding of HBUs places a threat to the performance of black academics. Although the limited funding is not unique to HBUs, the challenge is more pronounced for them and it is raised as one of the main challenges to the progression of black academics in their careers. Therefore, it is important to consider the state of HBUs when exploring the opportunities and challenges that are faced by black academics. The participants cited above illustrate how the state of HBUs can also affect the progression of black academics. The following section explores the state of HBUs and its impact on the career progression of black academics.

4.3 The state of Historically Black Universities: geography, infrastructure and funding

The maintenance and development of an institution is closely linked to the available financial resources. One of the major disparities between historically black and historically white universities has been their different financial capacities. While historically white universities enjoy more substantial income streams, historically black universities struggle to attract funding beyond state subsidies and fees. This in turn affects the nature and amount of resources they can afford and the pace of developing their infrastructure and facilities. A number of

participants indicated their struggles in trying to mitigate the challenges associated with not having adequate resources for their teaching and learning process.

One of the most significant issues that affect HBUs is the infrastructure. However, infrastructural development is tied to the available funding and the geography of the institution. In the two universities included in this study, it was noticeable that the geographical location of institutions affected their access to surrounding services and their connectivity to neighbouring areas. Participants from the rural based institution expressed their challenges in accessing basic resources for their work and how institutions take time to address infrastructural demands by academics. For instance, Vuyani shares his experience with lodging a request to have his office amenities fixed and having to wait for long without a response:

> Another problem is infrastructure. Sometimes you would need a fan or a heater. This heater is my personal heater I had to buy from my pocket. You request a heater, they don't provide. If they do provide, it would take ages—bureaucracy. The classrooms, the overhead projector that was there, they're all spoiled and unrepaired. Sometimes the lighting is poor in the classrooms. The sound system is down. The infrastructure is not being maintained. And there is no new infrastructure. That's how long I've been here for. Since I've come here, I have not seen a new building, except a student village. (Vuyani)

This demonstrates how HBUs are also more likely to be characterised by work environments that are challenging to work in and infrastructure that either needs to be purchased or repaired. Another participant felt that although there is a shortage of finances in HBUs, it is often worsened by the institution's misplaced priorities which diverge from the core missions of research, teaching and learning:

> And then the Vice-Chancellor or the Dean of Research goes to the research Chair and says, "Oh, but there is no money because money went to X, Y and Z". So the point is that some of these things, most of these things are not tangible. If you don't have money, especially for the kind of work that I am doing for the kind of research area, if you don't have students. The kind of students that come to you will need full time support in terms of funding. So if you don't have funding, you don't have students. (Ntombi)

Due to the limited resources to support research, teaching and learning, the burden of underperformance is unfairly placed on academics who are still expected to produce graduates and research outputs. When black academics raise concerns, they are usually met with excuses

of how the institutions lack sufficient funds or how the money available has been prioritised for other needs. This has a domino effect where the lack of resources affects the ability to provide quality teaching and research for black academics. This also has an effect on the functioning of the institutions. Andile and Themba explain their concerns with the lack of resources and how it affects their productivity:

> The environment for research—more especially when you talk about the practical part of it, it's not in a good state. Limited resources, poor infrastructure, and limited funding. You struggle to get funding to attend a conference, for workshops, funding for exposure, attending training that will develop you academically. (Andile)

> Those are some the things that are really not very encouraging for one to prosper as a good academic. And the research facilities are not there. The working environment and conditions for you to research and so on is not there. (Themba)

In addition to this view, Nkululeko contended that the condition of institutional facilities is worsening under the democratic dispensation because they are not properly maintained:

> I think at some point—as much as I feel these universities were disadvantaged before I think they are even worse now. (Nkululeko)

Nkululeko raises a concern that points to the poor maintenance of the available resources which are sometimes already inadequate. In some instances, the geography and location of the institution has a bearing on the institution's access to important services. Noting that some of the participants in this study are situated in rural based campuses while some are in urban based campuses, they often give contrasting views about their experiences with their location. Participants in the urban based institution noted that resources are fairly available to them. Therefore, the urban based institution has relatively better facilities due to its proximity to urban facilities and infrastructure. This is illustrated in Themba's response:

> I don't see any challenge. They have the facilities. The facilities are there, but in my area of speciality they are not there. But otherwise the issue of networking and other things, those things are not an issue. (Themba)

Participants in rural based campuses contended that the location of their institution posed a critical disadvantage to their work. One of the reasons for this stems from their lack of research equipment which they have to borrow from other institutions. Being in remote areas can sometimes affect travel and connectivity to other campuses and institutions. As a result, instead

of buying equipment for the research, academics have to travel to other institutions or pay for the transportation of the loaned equipment:

> We don't have that much equipment that we can use. Otherwise we rely on CSIR in Pretoria and sometimes here and University of KZN to get the instruments to do data collection. The distance is a problem because for you to get those instruments at UKZN to come and do data collection here, who will pay for you to go there? (Nkululeko)

Zama added that the state of rural based campuses is even worse when compared to other institutions with regards to their connectivity:

> It's very poor. I'm saying that because I come from two institutions where although UCT is slightly removed from residential places but the networking is easy because you don't travel for long distance to get to UCT. (Zama)

Despite this challenge, another participant, Njabulo still preferred to work on the rural campuses because of the spacious, peaceful and quiet atmosphere which urban based institutions cannot provide for him. For Njabulo, the tranquillity of living a rural life trumps the conveniences of living in the city:

> It's not bad. I don't want to go to cities and make money. Although the facilities here are not really encouraging for my children. They already left this place, although I still have one. I prefer a quiet life—this rural place. You can relax, there is no traffic congestion and so on. (Njabulo)

Some academics however disagreed with this view. For them, being situated in a rural campus poses challenges to black academics that are beyond their academic work. These include access to much needed facilities such as good schools for their children, medical facilities and recreational spaces. Ntokozo and Lindiwe shared their challenge with finding good facilities nearby:

> Sometimes we have to send our children far away from here because there are no good schools around. You have to get up very early in the morning to drop your child, maybe about 5 km away and get your child again—I mean Fort Hare is about 20 km. You have to drive them 20 km in the car. (Ntokozo)

> Also, for instance because of children, they will rather be in an urban area where children will get access to high quality education in these former model C schools. (Lindiwe)

On the other hand, participants from the urban based campuses do not see any challenges associated with the location of their institution. Instead, they appreciate the benefits that come with their proximity to urban areas. Participants from the urban based institution found their institution's location important towards their student catchment and visibility. For example, Mbuso and Lerato noted the following:

> I don't think there's a problem. In fact, in terms of resources, we have been getting better over the years. And our basic big building here, your science buildings, that have been built here, have attracted funds, big funds, from international organisations. So I don't think our location is disadvantaging us in any way. (Mbuso)

> I think the location is fine, because it is in the centre of Cape Town. It's not far from the black townships like Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and other places. People can have access to transport to come here. The infrastructure is also inclusive, because if you go to our library you can see that even if you have a wheel chair, you can still go to the library and access the books and everything that you want. For me, I think the location and infrastructure is user-friendly. (Lerato)

However, the location of HBUs can also have a bearing on the cost of living for black academics and the students who live and attend the institutions. This is mostly true for urban based HBUs which are located in areas where accommodation, transport and other services are a daily and necessary expense. This in turn affects both staff and students with their need for cheap accommodation, affordable transport means and other living costs. Nkululeko expresses this concern below:

> Imagine it's here in Cape Town. You are saying that this is a previously disadvantaged university, but the accommodation out there doesn't recognise that. The price is the same for the person who is rich or poor. (Nkululeko)

Therefore, while people at rural based HBUs are troubled by the long distance they have to travel to access the services they need, urban based HBUs have high living expenses for an already struggling population of students. These disparities need to be considered when accounting for student success rates in HBUs. With institutional location affecting student

catchment, academics from rural based campuses suggested that the majority of students from rural backgrounds need more work and patience when adjusting to university environments. This is because the students typically come from disadvantaged schools without computers and laboratories and are often underprepared for university. As such, their slow integration into university systems and under preparedness can be demotivating for the academics who work with them. Jabulani and Philani from rural based campuses noted their concerns about their students:

> You need to be passionate about your work and if the students are not serious and they don't take their work seriously it's very discouraging. (Jabulani)

> Lastly for me is the type of student that we have. It's totally different from – so people are becoming discouraged. It's the type of student we have. For them to do research, it seems like it's something that they take as a punishment. (Philani)

Therefore, the location of these institutions determines the profile of students that get enrolled. Most of the students enrolled remain black students typically from lower to working class families. As a result, historically black institutions have to be prepared to cater for the growing numbers of black working-class students. With the high concentration of black working class and poor students at HBUs, these institutions are important contributors towards producing black graduates and academics through their institutions.

Apart from the geography of HBUs, the institutional funding co-determines the state of HBUs particularly with regards to development. While the limited funding affects the development of black academics with state funding constituting 65% of their total funding (Ntshoe & De Villiers, 2008), some academics are actively involved in establishing collaborations and partnerships with other universities as well as independently sourcing private sponsorship and funding. Although government funding for historically black universities has been useful, HBUs remain in need of more funding towards the development of these institutions. Where research is dependent on expensive equipment, HBUs have less opportunities for this kind of research. However, for cheaper research activities, the funding within the institutions is relatively available and has increasingly been more accessible for black academics in general. Thabo supports this contention below:

> There is funding. University X has R30 000 for research funds that you can apply for. There's also new funding that they created this year, for the low, middle and senior staff members. I think for the low is about R30000, middle, and then about R60 000 is the

> highest. So there are those funds available, ja. I just don't know to what extent people are grabbing them. My sense is that, at least in my department, most people don't apply. And I don't know why that's the case. (Thabo)

Here Thabo suggests that one of the reasons why black academics do not have funding is because they do not apply for it. While this might be a true observation, other participants felt that the processes of applying for and acquiring funding are not explicitly shared with other academics especially junior academics who are new in the system. Sipho shares similar experiences:

> I've been here trying to enquire about how to go about publication, what is the journal – even those kinds of small information you can't get it. They won't disclose it. They'll tell you to do the research yourself. There is no support for young academics. Senior staff really keeps the information to themselves. They will divulge that information if there is a return or some form of incentive, but if there's nothing they won't give anything away for free. (Sipho)

Junior academics often face challenges which come with being new to the nature of their work such as conducting research and publishing the research. Therefore, experienced senior academics can be useful in showing, mentoring and leading junior academics in their work. This does the work of preparing the next generation of academics for the demands of their careers and how to execute their tasks.

Nkululeko claims that while state funding is mainly aimed towards research activity, the research conducted using these grants does not seem to be appreciated or taken as an important contribution. Instead, it seems more like the government only funds these institutions to appease the structural management and not necessarily to grow their research capacity and give black academics a voice through their voice in academia:

> I mean, the government is funding universities. But also, I think what I'm critical of, is that the government is not, they are only interested in universities in terms of the structural management. I don't think that they are interested in the actual output from the university. You know, you have lots of research being carried out at university. But it never reaches the government. (Nkululeko)

Although historically black universities get state funding to the same measure as historically white universities, they struggle to source third stream funding of the same magnitude as their

counterparts. For this reason, the main sources of funding are state funded opportunities which remain inadequate to maintain and improve the institutional infrastructure and for competitive remuneration. From participant responses, it was clear to see that while some black academics were unhappy with the state of their infrastructure and the subsequent pace of development in their institutions, other participants were generally content with what they had. It was also noticeable that participants in rural based institutions expressed more concern with the state of their institution than participants in the urban based university.

As senior black women academics, Ntando and Zama shared their experiences with independently sourcing additional resources for the institution's benefit in the following excerpts:

> Basically, my experience back then of working within these historically disadvantaged universities—even in nursing the funding that we had from UNETSA, I reworked the funding in such a way that we build the capacity of staff, and then we engaged staff members. We sent them with scholarships like John Hopkins, Maastricht. (Ntando)

> We received lots of funding from that project (Walter Sisulu Executive Leadership Programme). We then partnered with the University of Pretoria's School of Public Health, and Harvard Public Health School. In that partnership we were able to introduce other departments with that funding because we appointed more people, introduced developing curricula, growing this faculty, acquiring this very building from that Walter Sisulu Fund, and then we had this Faculty of Health Sciences. (Zama)

Achievements like those described above are often made possible by established and experienced academics, who are professors in their institutions. As a result of their accomplishments, they are also often headhunted by better performing institutions because they are more funded towards research activity. Therefore, funding is a necessity for black academics to expand on their research capacity. In order to retain experienced and competent academics, HBUs are failing to offer competitive incentives due to their limited funding. HESA (2014) shows that for senior academics, salaries are significantly higher than their peers in the public and private sector while the opposite is true for junior academics. As junior academics Sandile, Xolani and Ntombi expressed their concerns with their salaries:

> But for us, we have extended families, we are responsible for the sisters, for example, I have one biological child, but I have other children that I'm responsible for. So now, all of those are dependent on me, and then there's this salary. (Sandile)

> Institutions of higher learning in my experience are not well resourced and especially those that are historically disadvantaged and academics are underpaid. They are underpaid. So it just remains with ones passion to remain in the job. (Xolani)

> And the reason why they are also resigning—except the fact that there is no support is the issue of salaries. (Ntombi)

The preceding views were supported by Zama who pointed out a challenge with unfair remuneration practices which compensated other academics better salaries while disregarding her experience in her field and at the institution:

> So, I was not comfortable with the salary. Better salaries were given to people who were new in the institution. As a person who has long been here, I was not satisfied with the salary I was getting and I kept asking for a top-up, but there was nothing. And the fact that I had experience was not taken into consideration. (Zama)

There is a held belief that the remuneration of black academics is generally less than their peers in historically white universities. Canham (2018) shows that the salary disparities are often as a result of the level of qualification and experience in the field. Levels of qualification and experience among other factors are found to be higher in HWUs which have an average of 65% PhD holding academic staff and therefore more professors (VitalStats, 2017) compared to lower qualifications and seniority at HBUs. While this does not negate the need for higher salaries by black academics, it provides a context of the underlying factors behind their current earnings.

4.4 Politics of belonging and alienation: Gender, language and choosing to stay

In the post-apartheid period, tertiary institutions have established a number of institutional initiatives that challenge the idea of a singular and unified culture. This has resulted from the inclusive policies and programmes that were instituted to diversify the academy. However, despite the inclusion of black academics in HBUs, some of them still struggle to integrate because of the institutional cultures of these organisations. This suggests that being part of an HBU does not necessarily lead to integration and belonging.

Belonging and alienation are not limited to the racial identity of black academics and participants in this study have expressed a number of concerns with institutional culture. Some

participants in this study often detailed how their institutions have traditions that sometimes exclude them from participatory processes. Most of the adversely affected participants are women academics. Their alienation suggests that the institutional culture is patriarchal. There are elements of inclusion and exclusion which award privileges to some groups over others. Sandile expresses how she does not feel welcome in the academy because of the general atmosphere:

> I struggled to be comfortable in the staffroom so I would walk in and feel like I should just get out because this is not my space... I still feel the space is not welcoming. I have to create the pockets where I feel welcome, but I have to create them, they are not natural. (Sandile)

With regards to their experiences of institutional belonging and alienation, some participants feel like they do not belong due to the lack of support while struggling to navigate institutional cultures that do not offer them a representative voice as academics. For some academics, the inattention to their need for assistance severely distorts their sense of self-worth and undermines their contributions to the institution:

> Mentoring perhaps. That was mentioned a long time ago, but it never materialised. Senior academics are very busy. When you ask them to help you with your research, they would say ok. Then you would E-mail them your document and it never comes back. They're busy with their other things. Besides that, they are not paid for your personal stuff. (Siphokazi)

However, the notion of institutional belonging is also subject to numerous intersectional contestations that demonstrate how layers of social identity affect one's ability to integrate into an institution. For instance, while race has been the basis of many discriminative practices in institutional culture, gender also carries significant weight. Much of what constitutes the institutional cultures in universities have originated from the history of discrimination, which has grown to be normalised. However, because racial discrimination is not of great concern in HBUs, many black academics have chosen to stay and not move to HWUs. Two participants shared how they feel about black academics making HBUs their home as opposed to leaving for historically white institutions:

> And the other reasons for me to stay is that, I've learned from other institutions that it's very difficult to get a promotion and it's very difficult to get funding so at least here,

> I've got better opportunities of being promoted and of getting where I want to be as far as funding is concerned. (Lerato)

> Just to say that being a black academic here is quite empowering in some ways, compared to when I see colleagues from other universities. I think my colleagues are having it tougher. I would love to see more black people coming here. And maybe they will have a different experience of academia, compared to being at a HWU, where you always have to fight against white oppression all the time. (Themba)

These quotes by Lerato and Themba suggest that HBUs can be more inclusive for black academics than HWUs. According to Jabulani, the reason that black academics choose to stay is because of the rich history that HBUs represent for black people and how the academics in these institutions exist as a community. Here black people do not feel like visitors. They have highly accomplished predecessors that have paved the way for them:

> The university has a rich history and we are more of a community. (Jabulani)

In further support of this, other participants have also highlighted that they would also prefer to stay in their respective institutions than to leave for other options. While this might be for a number of reasons, it also demonstrates their commitment to fixing the challenges they face and charting a better path for black academics. The following participants shared their views,

> As I've said, I started here in 2000 and… No, there's never been a time when I felt like leaving. (Nombulelo)

> What keeps me here is that very drive of wanting to see people develop, of wanting to make a difference. (Ntombi)

> In any job situation, leaving is not always the solution, but I think you only leave once you have explored everything and you feel that it is not working out, because I can't just for example leave now. If I leave, it doesn't mean that it's going to be better. (Thato)

The preceding excerpts also suggest that HBUs are spaces that black academics feel more comfortable around and would like to stay and improve the conditions as opposed to moving to HWUs. HBUs have institutional cultures that are different from HWUs, which presents challenges that are also unique to their context. Therefore, while institutional cultures in HBUs present both challenges and opportunities for black academics, some challenges affect some groups more than others. For instance, participants from rural based campuses in particular

experience a subtle tension between black South African academics and international African academics. For instance, Jabulani articulates his concern with the tension that exists between local and foreign academics:

> So, some issues need to be discussed and brought to light because part of what is happening academically is that. It's that feel that ok, the foreign nationals are here, but they are rejected. (Jabulani)

As a result, there is also tension with black academics from other countries who occupy positions of authority in these institutions. Themba shares his concern below:

> But for each university, it should be sensitive and promote interrelations between these different groups to help the community because there's really underneath certain feelings of displeasure for a certain position to be held by foreign nationals. (Themba)

As mentioned in the first theme, there are a number of factors that may affect belonging for black academics and one of them is their underrepresentation in university structures especially for black women. However, black academics acknowledge and recognise the presence of black academics in influential positions who represent a fair chance at transforming the institution for other black academics:

> Our Dean is a black female. But at times I feel like some things are happening because we are black females. There are those times, but nothing tangible, but we do observe that. (Zama)

> So, when you are a leader in that environment you have to create a culture where you at least make sure that people are treated well. You lead, you treat them well so that they treat each other well. (Thenjiwe)

Institutional cultures in South African higher education are closely tied with the country's history of segregated learning. With most institutions having been founded to favour the ideologies of white males, they remain environments that tend to be strongly male dominated. As a result, patriarchal values are embedded within the institutional culture of institution. Luvalo (2019) argues that institutional culture in historically black universities follow an implicit footprint of white dominance even without the patronage of white academics. Therefore, institutional culture can be better coordinated with university leadership for a better outcome. Lerato further suggests that this could be improved by having non-academics in

positions of leadership who are objective and specifically employed only to make decisions best for the institution:

> You know sometimes I wonder if institutions should be run by non- academics, including Heads of Faculties who are not attached in any way to disciplines and to people, but are very embedded in the idea of knowledge production or like the interest of African-centred knowledge production. (Lerato)

For Lerato, this is because they stand a better chance of focusing on their jobs without the stress of academic duties. The participant believes that this could bring objective leadership and decision making in faculties.

One of the most important issues that affect integration is the gender disparities and underrepresentation in the academy. Since more men occupy leadership positions of authority than women (Vital Stats, 2017), it is easier to see why women remain underrepresented and why they do not see significant progress on their inclusion. As a precursor, HBUs experience more challenges of patriarchy than racism. This is because institutional structures of historically black universities are overrepresented by men than women and while white academics are also part of the academic community, they are a minority. The underrepresentation of women illustrates how black women academics in particular are at higher risk of exclusion from institutional processes than black male academics. This discourages women from applying and progressing towards leadership roles as they become normalised as positions reserved for male academics. Nombulelo articulates the challenge that comes with being surrounded by men in positions of leadership:

> When you get here in academia especially in our positions, it's still a challenge for a woman to rise up there because men think it's their world. In the boardrooms, they think it's their world and they still don’t see that women are capable. (Nombulelo)

As a result of alienation, some black women academics in leadership roles assert that their occupation in these positions is either unexpected or unwanted. To mitigate this, they feel pressure to work extra hard to prove themselves to their male counterparts. Black women academics often are placed under pressure to challenge both gender and racial stereotypes for recognition. For instance, Lerato and Thato capture their experience below:

> I don’t know how many times you have to prove yourself against your counterparts. And I think, even at this level (professor), I’m still experiencing that. For example,

> when I started to be the Dean, you find that the Deanship is male dominated, and its White males. And when I started you could feel that there are certain voices that are dominating in certain spaces like meetings and so on. (Lerato)

> In the workplace it is known that women are actually, you know, in order to prove themselves, they have to go an extra mile in order for them to even get recognition. (Thato)

As illustrated above, institutions have a culture of undermining women academics and not affording them equal space and representation. While this is mostly done by male academics, Nomzamo shares how male students also undermine women academics. She expresses her concern with how the institution generally lacks faith in women:

> If I look at myself, one of the challenges that women face is, how can I put it, student's kind of lack faith in women, especially boys. So, students lack faith in women. I don't know whether it is something that was implanted in their minds back then that a woman is not supposed to work or something. So, women academics are faced with that challenge. Actually, let me just correct that, it is not only the boys, even girls. So, students in general, they tend to undermine women, Black African academics. (Nomzamo)

The embedded culture of patriarchy leaves black women academics in a hostile work environment that is filled with sexist and discriminatory practices as unnecessary hurdles to overcome. In another participant's story, she cites an incident where she was bullied by a white senior male for a lecturing venue that they both shared in the department as lecturers,

> Yes, I was once a victim of that. We were sharing lecture halls. So, a professor came in and demanded me to leave. And then I said I booked for the venue. And he harassed me in front of the students. Then, I reported the matter to my HOD. Then they came, the professor and other senior people from his department. Then I asked them if it is because I'm a junior lecturer, a Black female that he's doing that because I was not the only one that they harassed, unfortunately. There were other people that they harassed within this department. (Ntando)

In the case mentioned above, there is a clear demonstration of how junior black women academics can be subjected to a lot of discrimination, bullying and undermining by senior male academics in the academy. As part of her inquiry, she also tried to understand whether this

attack was on the basis of her race and gender. This case also illustrates how black academics in HBUs need structures of governance that address disabling institutional cultures which affect black women in particular.

Attempts by HBUs to accommodate black academics are generally the strategic thrust of policies of inclusion. However, these policies do not adequately address the problematic effects of institutional culture on black women academics. Moreover, using these policies to challenge institutional culture can sometimes put them at risk of jeopardising their jobs. For this reason, some academics choose to remain silent while some tackle the issues of concern. For example, Siphokazi shows how this could pose a threat for women academics by reinforcing the existing dynamics of gender inequality in the academy:

> Other people are not bold enough to stand for themselves. And I was saying this in class that, other people like to be submissive and depend on the male folk. So there are things you cannot change, much as you want to be treated fairly, but there are other things that you cannot change. (Siphokazi)

Women academics therefore face a lot more challenges that are beyond their academic work within the academy. On the other hand, men benefit from the patriarchal dividend. For instance, some of the participants are single mothers who have to provide care to their children whilst also giving attention to their work and meeting related deadlines. As such, some women participants expressed their concern over having to simultaneously fulfil the roles of being mothers and a full time academics. Zama recalls her experience when she had just begun her career:

> And when I had my second child, I literally had to breastfeed in hospital while marking papers. You know that kind of thing. And I had just been hired so I couldn't - it's not that I didn't have maternity leave, but I felt that it was unfair after having just been employed, to take leave. (Zama)

> During my breastfeeding days I couldn't attend classes. So, I wrote a letter to the HoD to say. I'd ask for permission to register for an MBA next year. My other colleagues would always advise me to apply for sabbatical leave. (Andile)

Black women academics are burdened with maternal responsibilities that male academics do not have to deal with. Without measures in place to assist black women academics with these challenges, they remain inadequately accommodated.

Parallel to these concerns, women participants also expressed their appreciation of being academics because it allowed them to have flexible work hours. For women, academic careers allow flexibility to work with adjustable time schedules which makes it possible for them to fetch their children from school after work. Sandile and Thenjiwe shared these thoughts:

> Yes, I'm happy because at least now I have time to spend with my family and my children. (Sandile)

> I like working in an academic environment because of the flexible hours. It would have been worse if I had worked at the hospital being a professional. Yes, I found that it gave me an opportunity to look after them because I could fetch them from school, take them to dance, take them back home, and then maybe continue with what I'm doing. (Thenjiwe)

The quotes by Sandile and Thenjiwe above illustrate how academic careers have allowed them to spend time with their families. Therefore, working as academics enables women academics to attend to their maternal duties simultaneously. Although this benefits men too, it is largely advantageous towards women academics.

Despite being HBUs, participants noted their disappointment with the Eurocentric culture and lack of embrace of Afrocentric values. This includes the mandatory use of the English language in writing and communicating with students. For most black academics, the use of the English language can limit communication with students. Three participants express their concern with how languages have been intellectualised and used against black academics who are not proficient:

> There's a language barrier that is there that you need to understand. By doing that I mean the medium of instruction. Sometimes I struggle to really put my cognitive thoughts across because it's not – I'm thinking in my mother tongue but I need to translate it to the students using another foreign language. (Zama)

> Of course, language is a major part of this because your publication has to be in English. What is that saying about our own ability to uplift our languages in terms of the academic space? (Thato)

> So I have to translate and I'm trying to make materials for this module which are written in isiXhosa, because I can't go to the isiXhosa class room and teach in English. (Noxolo)

Language is therefore an important aspect of institutional culture that both black academics and students have to grapple with in order to be deemed professional. However, this becomes a burden when it affects communication especially between students and lecturers. As a consequence, teaching and learning are adversely affected. Philani and Njabulo agreed that the use of their native languages was useful in teaching and communicating with students:

> When students come into my office, I don't speak English to them, I speak Xhosa. You can see how liberating that is to them when they walk into the Head of Department's office and they can switch to Xhosa quickly. (Philani)

> I think for me the language becomes a very, very important tool to break those barriers, and to allow your students to be themselves in whatever they want. (Njabulo)

Social justice policies of institutions may change institutional cultures in order to create higher education systems that are relevant to an inclusive South Africa. Although the two are often viewed as different and separate phenomena, institutional culture and transformation are quite inseparable as one affects the other.

Institutional culture presents both benefits and challenges to navigating the academic maze for black academics. Despite some of the challenges associated with being in HBUs, most participants choose to stay. Given their passion for teaching and research, a number of black academics are determined to stay in their institutions despite the challenges they face. As reiterated above, their passions are part of what they enjoy when doing their work and the reasons why they are willing to stay in their designated institutions for a long time. In the following excerpt, Noxolo makes an argument for remaining in academia:

> I don't think I want to go anywhere. If I don't teach, I still want to be involved actively in research. I really think that we are short of research that defines us. I keep on saying these things that define us and who we are. We have so much knowledge that we can share across disciplines, Health Sciences, Philosophy and all that. (Noxolo)

However, some participants were willing to leave for other institutions for different kinds of experience even though they wanted to remain within academia. The desire to move was sometimes coupled with the need to get promoted elsewhere since some felt that their current institutions are not rewarding their efforts:

> No, I'll remain, but I will consider going abroad. I'm interested in getting a broad experience to maybe teach in Canada or New Zealand something like that. And then

> maybe after ten years also come home and finish my career so to speak. I would prefer to work abroad for maybe for a couple of years—maybe five years—just to get that experience and come back. I won't climb up the ladder here. (Themba)

Contrary to this view, other participants find it easier to get promoted in historically black institutions due to the less stringent requirements for promotion. This presents them with the opportunity to excel and to strive for senior positions as well. Jabulani illustrates this point below:

> I've learned from other institutions that it's very difficult to get a promotion and it's very difficult to get funding so at least here, I've got better opportunities of being promoted and of getting where I want to be as far as funding is concerned. (Jabulani)

A number of participants expressed varied views about opportunities and constraints with regards to career advancement. For black academics, career advancement rests on a number of issues including the use of fair institutional policies, equitable transformation initiatives and an inclusive institutional culture. Despite facing challenges, some have still managed to work hard, sometimes harder than expected to get promoted:

> I was told that immediately after I finish my Masters they will give me a Lecturers post. But it was so unfortunate because I had to fight for my promotion. There were other requirements that were not there before, like having to publish. So I had to fight, but I got my publications done and I was promoted. But it was not that what they said initially. (Noxolo)

Parallel to the availability of opportunities within historically black universities for black academics is the problem of criteria for promotions. As a result of unclear promotion criteria, there is a lot of despair amongst academics that has resulted from the processes they go through in trying to get promotions. Such frustrations are caused by the unclear and sometimes hard to meet requirements for promotion. Nombulelo describes her experience with trying to get a promotion as follows:

> I was looking at the promotion criteria that are in place in the faculty and you can see that they are meant for certain people. As much as it doesn't mean that we cannot apply as Blacks, but there are barriers that are in place. (Nombulelo)

The challenge for black academics who are unable to progress within these structures sometimes adds to their frustration of stagnant careers thereby delaying their rise to senior

positions in the academy. Despite their challenges within the academy, black academics are increasingly filling up space in higher education. For this reason, they need more support in the form of mentors to prepare the next generation of academics.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored several themes from the findings that were drawn from participants. These include career progression, the state of historically black universities and the politics of belonging as core themes. However, it is important to note that participant responses were not homogenous. As a result, in some cases participants from the same institution would share contrasting views while some shared similar thoughts with other participants. The views shared by participants sometimes included challenges and opportunities to integration within the academy and the issues surrounding the current state of HBUs with regards to funding and infrastructure. In addition to these views, participants also highlighted their experiences with the institutional culture especially women academics as they had unique experiences in particular. There were recurrent suggestions concerning the need for transformation and social justice within the academy. Despite these concerns, participants generally remain in HBUs because of their passion for academic work and helping students.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the themes outlined in the previous chapter. The findings in the previous chapter have demonstrated that both challenges and opportunities exist and that black academics face them at different stages of their careers. As such, this chapter addresses challenges and opportunities as a result of three core issues namely professional development initiatives, transformation and institutional culture and lastly institutional facilities and funding. As a precursor, although there have been substantive attempts to implement social justice policies in higher education, they will always need a timely evaluation as challenges are constantly evolving (Hodge-Clark & Daniels, 2014). The following section of this chapter explores and discusses the various issues engaged in the previous chapter in relation to the foregoing literature and theoretical framework.

5.2 Black academics careers in HBUs

Historically black universities have played an important role in educating the marginalised black majority despite their historical origins of being established to offer inferior education. Clay (2012) argues that the members of the black middle class especially those in nursing and teaching professions have largely been products of historically black universities. This implies that although HBUs were a product of separate development, they served a critical task by transforming low income families into middle class and providing critical skills for black communities. However, Naidoo and Williams (2015) note that historically black institutions are evidence of the complex relationship between racism, equity, access legislation and the underrepresentation of black faculty. Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality posits that our social identities are not homogenous hence they are mostly varied across race, gender, class and age. The class background of black academics has often stood as a barrier to their entry into the academy. The continued recruitment of black people contributes to the growth of the black middle class in South Africa, a demographic that is more eligible for tertiary education. This also serves to open more channels for the next generation of academics.

Matthews (2015) points out that the recruitment and progression of black academics has owed much to the existence of employment equity programmes which have served as recruitment pipelines for the next generation of academics. Some participants in this study have cited a number of programmes that have been beneficial towards their progression in the academy. The employment equity programmes are aimed at addressing various issues such as the employment of black academics, women academics and people with disabilities. Using an intersectional perspective allows for equity programmes to be more specifically targeted at marginalised and excluded groups in the academy. According to the participants, most of these programs have established a recruitment pipeline for black academics. Despite the attempts at establishing a recruitment pipeline for black academics, there is still much work to be done (Soudien, 2010). While there are numerous funding programmes towards this cause, they still remain insufficient to generate the next generation of academics fast enough to replace the retiring cohort in the next decade. This has also been worsened by the numbers of black academics leaving higher education for other career options. As a result, institutions have gradually failed to produce and retain the next generation of black academics (IPATC, 2019). Mentorship remains an integral part of the training and induction of junior black academics. Senior academics can play the role of mentors by providing guidance to junior academics to follow in their footsteps. However, junior academics have often cited the reluctance of senior academics to assist and mentor junior academics. This can improve the retention of junior academics who often feel like they are thrown in the deep when it comes to facing their job demands without assistance.

Therefore, equally important in the retention of black academics is the development of a new pipeline to replace experienced and retiring academics. Quinn (2012) argues that by combining race and age metrics, higher education data suggests that there is a serious age crisis of an above 50-year-old white male presence which is nearing retirement. While race might not be a threatening issue in historically black universities, the replacement of the retiring academics remains a priority to sustain research throughput. HESA (2013) and VitalsStats (2017) data also illustrates that while the current cohort of senior academics is reaching retirement age, the new generation of academics is insufficient in numbers and some are abandoning academic careers early for other career options. This points to the urgent need for a new cohort of black academics to fill in the spaces as a replacement for the outgoing, skilled academics. HESA (2014) figures indicate that only 14 percent of all South African professors are black, there should be extensive research into the supply of skilled black academics in higher education

institutions. This implies that in order to successfully replace the number of retiring academics, the department of higher education may need to work on improving the recruitment and retention of black academics.

Participants in this study have highlighted how they sometimes struggle to manage and cope with their workload. This ends up frustrating them and affecting their passion for teaching and research. The pressure builds from trying to cater for the high student volumes while trying to fulfil other duties such as research and supervision. Mabokela (2004) argues that for institutions to strive towards meeting their teaching and learning demands, there needs to be realistic and balanced expectations for teaching and research duties. At the same time, the failure to meet these targets is met with poor performance reviews and slow pace towards promotion. This leaves institutions at risk of losing academics who opt for alternative offers from the private sector. Black academics need to be empowered and enabled to perform at their best. This includes increased technological and infrastructural innovation to aid in catering for the numerous students and to offer online programs that can decongest the teacher to student ratio (Hodge-Clark and Daniels, 2014).

5.3 The implications of funding and infrastructure: challenges and opportunities

Muller (1991) posits that one of the main objectives of apartheid segregation was to ensure the protection of the economically privileged position of white people at the expense of other races. Critical Race theory also demonstrates that racial privilege can be ensured by the designation of laws that ensure the advancement of white institutions at the expense of everyone else. This denotes the view of race as a precursor to class designations thereby making race a class struggle between whites as the wealthy race and blacks as the poor race. As such, space is always contested, fluid and historical, relational and interactional, it is infused with difference and inequality. South African spaces largely are tied to the historical contestations of black people which date from the colonial era. As a result, some spaces are earmarked as homelands which were mainly designated for HBUs. These systems of segregation were based on racial difference, with black people in rural homelands. Using a critical race perspective, it becomes clear that the origins of HBUs were politicized as tools of institutionalised racism. This was carried on in higher education between HBUs and HWUs by the apartheid regime. According to CHE (2010) higher education institutions have three main sources of income; state funding,

tuition and third-stream income. However, HBUs rely more on state funding and tuition while HWUs rely on third stream funding more for increased financial freedom to expand faster and further than others. VitalStats (2017) shows that although the distribution of state funding is generally fair, tuition in HBUs is relatively lower than in HWUs. The same also applies for third stream funding which comes through donor funding, research contracts and entrepreneurial activities. As a result, HBUs on average receive nearly 65% of their income in the form of state funding while HWUs generally receive an average of almost 40% of their revenue as state funding (Ntshoe & De Villiers, 2008). The issue of institutional finances affects the entire academic enterprise. The scramble for limited resources forces HBUs to make difficult choices for the sake of their continued survival and is sometimes at the expense of the employee well-being of black academics. Due to the current state of HBUs being under-resourced, their ability to recruit more experts in new and understaffed fields is undermined.

Alongside challenges and opportunities of career advancement, retention, infrastructure and facilities, institutional culture and the legacy of the apartheid past are important to consider. Crenshaw (2002) argues that in applying critical race theory, race should be understood in perspective of both contemporary and historical contexts. The attempts to redress historical injustices require that institutions re-evaluate their policies and practices and unpack how they might present challenges and opportunities for black academics within HBUs. Swartz et al (2019) argue that some of the challenges faced by HBUs were inherited from systems of separate development during apartheid. Some participants in this study cited poor infrastructure and inadequate facilities as some of the challenges they face while doing their work. The views of participants suggest that the provision of adequate infrastructure in their work environment is central to the retention of black academics. The ease of work can be facilitated by modern infrastructure that caters for the high student enrolments. Infrastructure is important to academics in HBUs in two ways: for delivering quality education more effectively and secondly, to keep up with other universities through cutting edge research (Hodge-Clark and Daniels, 2014). At the moment, HBUs seem to be struggling to maintain the already existing and dilapidated buildings because of insufficient funds to improve them. It is important to also note that in some cases, poor infrastructure affects some faculties more than others, especially science related faculties because of the need for use of equipment and laboratories. Clay (2012) argues that infrastructure is useful for enhancing the quality of education delivered and to keep up with the developmental standards in other universities. For many HBUs, the ever-changing technological advancements are an integral infrastructural concern which needs renewed

funding attention every year. This specific kind of funding will not only improve infrastructure but will also go towards maintenance. As highlighted above, higher education institutions cannot solely rely on state funding and thus have to independently embark on ventures that secure alternative streams of revenue. Therefore, the disparities between HBUs and HWUs can also be seen as rooted in the nature of partnerships and financial muscles that each group has at their disposal. As indicated by many participants, the infrastructural challenges affect the shortage of science equipment, laboratories and advanced teaching equipment. The need for infrastructural improvement goes beyond just equipment but rather goes further to assist with virtual learning, online registration, financial aid and inventory management (Hodge-Clark and Daniels, 2014). Furthermore, with these institutions expanding every year with enrolments, there will be need for them to expand in several ways to accommodate their growing enrolments.

In this study, participants who work in rural campus expressed both benefits and disadvantages to this location. Some participants prefer working in rural based campuses because of their decongestion, quiet and spacious environment as opposed to urban based campuses. Some participants prefer working in urban based campuses because of their proximity to better health, schools and accommodation. From these differences, the geographical location of campuses can inform the kinds of support they need. In rural based campuses, facilities such as internet connectivity, availability of transport to move between campuses and access to services can pose problems for black academics. Urban based institutions face different challenges. For instance, urban based HBUs might struggle to expand due to the limited space and high costs of buying urban land for expansion (Hodge-Clark and Daniels, 2014). Therefore, given the different contexts, the geographical location of universities has a bearing on the type of needs that they require. In rural based campuses, there is need for decentralised departments especially for campuses that are far from each other. In contexts of decentralised departments, for academics lecturing on two different campuses on the same day, it is challenging to travel long distances to teach classes. One participant mentions how costly and time consuming it is to travel from one campus to another for classes because they are far apart. HBUs need restructuring plans to build bigger and better facilities cater for their student capacity (Ntshoe and De Villiers, 2008).

Hodge-Clark and Daniels (2014) further posit that financial challenges for HBUs emanate from the financial models used to attract third stream income in addition to the state income and their relatively low tuition income streams. The recruitment, development, retention and progression

of black academics requires a significant financial commitment. However, according to VitalStats (2017), on average historically white universities net more third-stream funding than historically black universities. Mouton, Louw and Strydom (2013) argue that private and public sectors should regard HBUs as equally important to the development of South Africa as HWUs. This is mainly because of their contribution towards producing graduates needed by the economy, for achieving equity and diversity in the higher education system and promoting research productivity. HBUs have been able to accommodate students from middle to lower class backgrounds due to their relatively lower costs of tuition which in turn forces them to operate on thin financial margins. Swartz, Ivancheva, Czerniewicz and Morris (2019) also point out how HWUs are able to attract more funding from their alumni at a significantly higher rate than HBUs. From 2000 to 2003, the share of government funding coming directly into higher education institutions decreased from 49 to 40 percent (Swartz et al, 2019). The decreased state funding puts pressure to increase student tuition to cover for the shortfall. With most of the HBUs already relying more on state funding (VitalStats, 2017), institutions have to survive under-budget to cater for their high student enrolments. As a result, HBUs have to constantly manage the rising operating costs while trying to serve an important population with black academics playing a very pivotal role.

Clay (2012) argues that HBUs should find and invest in alternative ways of sourcing revenue such as fundraising and endowment building. The previous chapter quotes how one academic managed to source private sponsorship to fund the building of a science laboratory for the institution. It should however be noted that to a certain extent, access to funding also relies on the location of the university (Hodge-Clark and Daniels, 2014). Universities that are located in rural areas are generally far from large private corporations that typically partner with neighbouring urban universities. Participants have expressed their frustration with the lack of funding towards their research interests, teaching relief and for those still occupied with their doctorates - study grants to further their studies towards PhDs. Funding opportunities are particularly limited for those academics that are interested in working on local and indigenous forms of knowledge such as traditional medicine. This implies that while the lack of funding stands as a barrier to the pursuit of varied research interests, the nature and type of research also determine whether academics get funding or not. The failure to fund new research fields gives other universities that offer these courses more leverage when recruiting researchers in relatively new fields of study. Phakiti (2008) argues that the government has reprioritised the research focus to align with the nation's development goals that favour the socially

marginalised and poor masses of South Africa. This claim is however not fully supported by the participants of this study. This should also be read in relation to some participants claims that there was sufficient funding but it is often not applied for by some academics.

5.4 Belonging and alienation

Puwar (2004) argues that racial identities can be a function of space and its connection to the people inhabiting it. Therefore, the idea of belonging and alienation is also strongly linked to identity. Yuval-Davis (2015) links belonging to identity, emotional attachment, ethical and political values. Therefore, the politics of belonging can be broadly understood as the work of maintaining boundaries of imagined communities. In the academy, these communities are mainly based on race, gender and age. Soudien (2010) argues that in most policies, race is conflated with racism and often used to cover all other types of disadvantage. As much as historically black universities do not have a serious threat of racism in its conventional form, their problems remain unique to their racial identities. This warrants the need for advanced and targeted social justice initiatives for black academics in historically black universities. However, often HBUs due to their high numbers of black academics are often seen as the most diversified spaces which embody race. While this might be true, this prevents attempts to address any racial issues that might be recurrent despite their rarity. The same applies when gender issues are raised for women in leadership positions as an indicator of progress. Ahmed (2009) posits that the main challenge of transformation begins when race and gender equality becomes an indicator of performance. While HBUs are essentially black spaces, diversity would also involve the politics of feeling good, relaxed and less threatened in an environment. Luvalo (2019) argues that for this to happen, there needs to be coordination between institutional transformation and institutional culture and the two should be approached as different phenomena. Transformation should be seen as the policies aimed at including black academics into new spaces and positions of power while institutional culture pertains to practices, beliefs and values that govern behaviour. Luvalo (2019) further argues that there is an intertwined relationship between transformation and institutional culture in higher education institutions. If policies in HBUs are aimed at social justice, this might have the potential to improve the empowerment of black academics. This is especially true for black women academics whose experiences are sometimes as a result of patriarchal institutional cultures.

While some participants cited the lack of mentors in the academy as one of their major challenges to integration, it becomes clearer to see how newer black academics often feel alienated and unsupported. This is especially true for junior academics who often feel like they do not belong in their institutions. Junior academics expressed their need for support through mentorship from senior academics without which they feel like they are alienated and set up to fail. Sehoole (2016) argues that a sense of alienation for black academics can also stem from curricula that are aligned to the historically white traditions, values and attitudes of teaching and learning. One such belief that has promulgated the alienation of black academics is the use of English as the only official professional language. Some participants complained about the conflation of values such as intelligence with one's proficiency in speaking and writing using the English language. Such beliefs make it hard for black academics to be recognised as competent even in their fields of expertise. Gqola (2004) demonstrates how language has the power to shape thoughts and restrict the freedom of self-expression in academic spaces.

The retention of black academics can be related to their sense of belonging and integration into institutions. In this regard, the challenge is based on the institutional culture and how it affects belonging for black academics. With a number of academics sharing how they feel alienated from the academy for several reasons, it is clear to see that retention can be linked to how welcoming and supportive institutional culture is. When institutional culture is welcoming then black academics are likely to feel like they belong where they work. Luvalo (2019) argues that the relationship between transformation and institutional culture is based on structural discourses of transformation in the broader democratic society. However, tertiary institutions do not always follow the same path and sometimes continue to operate in conservative ways. Participants who hold managerial positions felt that transformative practices were being effectively implemented while ordinary academics felt there were gaps in the system that needed to be addressed. This could be an ideological disconnection that is not only informed by their different levels of authority but also different understanding of what needs to be done for an adequate accommodation of black academics in totality. Some participants felt that having representative leadership in university structures does not completely absolve all the challenges that black academics face in the academy. In addition, participants still argue that there needs to be collective efforts from both the leadership in place and the academic staff towards social justice and transformation. This serves to mediate between institutional culture and transformation goals of HBUs. Luvalo (2019) also highlights how institutional cultures and transformation are enabled by governing and management structures.

According to Higgins (2007), one of the most outstanding concerns is how universities fail to recognise the intricate connection between institutional culture and transformation as well as how inseparable they are. Yuval-Davis (2015) describes this as the ethical and political values of an institution. The governing structures are generally underrepresented by black women who make up the biggest composition of the academy. Instead, male academics fill up the ranks of senior academics and leadership positions statistically (VitalStats, 2017). This leads to a perpetuation of patriarchal forms of governance which overlook the need for creating a space for women in leadership. Women participants for instance shared their experience with being undermined by both male staff and students. Therefore, the increased representation of black women academics in senior positions might bring inclusive institutional cultures that are sensitive to their needs as well. Condreanu (2013) argues that institutional cultures are also shaped by demographics and the associated values that are tied to the dominant group. Structures of governance matter in the well-being of black academics and direction of historically black universities. Soudien (2008) postulates that transformation is rooted in three imperatives namely: policy and compliance, epistemological modification and institutional culture. Black academics do not only need policies in place but also the compliance to policy. Equally important in the transformation of HBUs is a system of governance that is committed to the restructuring of institutions to serve the decolonisation mandate. Luvalo (2019) argues that this is because university management holds the power to determine the decision-making methods of institutions. Therefore, it is important for institutions to have transformation committees that prioritise the fair representation of black academics with regards to both race and gender. A few participants in this study expressed their dissatisfaction with the governance in their designated institutions with regards to concerns on their underrepresentation and the inattention to serious problems faced by black academics. Higgins (2007) explains that institutional culture is in many ways the organisational culture of an institution. The relationship between black academics and the governing committees should be collegial and transparent enough to set a proper tone for a healthy work environment. Beyond the representation by numbers, governing bodies should also ensure that all included parties have an equal voice in decision making processes.

With regards to representation, gendered disparities in HBUs have the potential to shape important dynamics within the academy. For instance, if more men hold PhDs, it creates a cohort of more experienced men over women academics. According to CHE (2016) data of PhD holders by gender, about 59% of PhD holders are men while women constitute 41% of

this group. This presents a challenge for women academics as their chances of promotion, research productivity and advancement are reduced for those without PhDs. According to a DHET (2018) report on post school education and training from 2016, universities employed 7 068 black academics. Beyond the figure of black academic staff, about 2 836 (40%) were women while 4 232 (60%) were male. This indicates a statistical distortion against women academics. Clay (2012) notes that most HBUs have resorted to hiring part time staff for budget reasons and because of the low supply of qualified staff. Participants in this study expressed their frustration with gatekeeping from male senior academics at the expense of black women academics in particular. This explains why 61% of women in South African higher education occupy administrative positions, even though women academics have been gradually matching the number of men in higher education (IPATC, 2019; VitalStats, 2017). However, the inclusion of black women academics in decision making committees is not an accurate representation of their collective participation in university structures. With more male academics obtaining PhDs than female academics (VitalStats, 2017), the promotions based on qualifications have been in favour of men while black women academics in particular need more programs targeted at their progression from PhD level to professorship. Mabokela (2004) argues that given how women are overrepresented in the lower ranks, in the few instances where they occupy senior positions, they still experience treatment that undermines their seniority and experience in the field. As a result, in order for women to be successful in patriarchal institutions they have to constantly prove themselves and outperform their male counterparts. In such cases women are held to a higher standard of performance and qualification to hold office in their institutions.

The gendered disparity between men and women PhD holders has a subsequent effect on management and senior role appointments which are also male dominated, feeding into a patriarchal norm of men being generally elevated above women in the workplace. Women participants in the study also cited incidents where their male counterparts have used patriarchal norms to have their way in work conflicts and decision making. Although higher education data seems to suggest the presence of a racial imbalance with regards to held managerial positions (VitalStats, 2017), HBUs seem to have a problem of gendered inequality more than race. As a result, transformation objectives should be aimed at solving issues surrounding staffing equity, development and support along gendered lines. This includes having an equitable number of black women academics with doctorates and their increased involvement in international research collaborations. By doing this, management become instrumental in

creating and maintaining an environment which encourages the career advancement of black academics and women in particular. Paul and Berry (2013) demonstrate the role of leadership in changing institutional culture and transforming higher education. Management structures should be committed enough to question equity practices that still allow for the overwhelming numbers of men who hold senior positions at the expense of the inclusion and representation of the women majority. This serves as an illustration of how the transformation of higher education institutions cannot occur without concurrently addressing the institutional culture.

Luvalo (2019) argues that in order to better understand institutional culture, there needs to be an exploration of experiences that affect sense of belonging. Jacobs (2012) notes that although institutional cultures vary within each university, their impact is shared in the form of alienating symbols, practices, narratives and language. Participants in this study were asked if they ever contemplated leaving their institutions and while some of them did have mixed feelings, many of them boldly claimed that they chose to stay. One of the main reasons they chose to stay was their passion for the students they work with who still need their help. Participants also cited that they choose to stay because of the substantial presence of other black academics. This gives them a sense of belonging and community. A few participants who have previously worked in HWUs made comparative references between their previous and current institutions. Their main reasons for staying were about not having to deal with rampant racial discrimination and difficult routes to promotion. Despite the hurdles of discrimination and difficulties of promotion, most participants expressed that they would still choose to stay in their institutions than to go elsewhere. Another reason why they stay is their dedication to teach and help underprivileged students. For black academics, it is a chance to also mentor them, especially those who are going to follow their footsteps to becoming academics. Participants however expressed a heavy frustration with teaching unmotivated and underprepared students as this burdened their teaching practices.

Kezar and Eckel (2002) suggest five strategies that institutions should follow in the quest for transformation namely: collaborative leadership, senior administrative support, flexible vision, staff development and visible action. Likewise, the concerns raised by participants in this study would also require these five strategies in order to achieve transformation. Tufvesson (2016) argues for a unique view of transformation that takes careful cognizant of the history of institutions by advocating for the discontinuation of the likeness between the past and the present. This is because in HBUs the past has been inextricably linked with constraints that have not been in favour of black academics, which have warranted the need for a new

dispensation of transformative ideas and practices. South African higher education therefore needs a redressing of historical injustices which left visible demarcations in higher education structures, resourcing and class positions. This is a relevant consideration given the context of South African higher education experiencing historic challenges after 25 years of democracy.

5.5 Conclusion

Black academics and historically black universities have long served as ports of entry to tertiary education for first generation black academics in South Africa. Therefore, paving a way forward for black academics in historically black universities means working towards both supporting black men and black women academics and developing the institutions they work in. This serves as a provision for a means to entry for black academics in higher education. This can be done by exploring people, programs, policies, practices and institutional cultures that have sustained higher education institutions post-apartheid. At the moment, black academics are facing multiple challenges which eventually take a toll on their progression as professionals which include funding for research interests, integration through mentorship and unwelcoming institutional cultures especially for women. These issues have the propensity to affect the retention of black academics in HBUs. Therefore, this chapter draws connections between theory and recommendations for transformative practice. This research serves as a starting point to the much needed and continued research on the challenges and opportunities of black academics in historically black universities in South Africa.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter presents the recommendations that can be drawn from this study, the limitations and possible directions for future research. As the final chapter, it provides a feedback loop on the shortcomings of the research and what could be done to improve for future research. The recommendations in this chapter are partly informed by participant responses while the directions for further research are derived from the findings of this study.

6.2 Recommendations

The findings from this study point to three main recommendations which emanate from the participant's combined responses to what the ministry should improve or maintain in HBUs. As some of the issues have been mentioned in the previous two chapters, this section only highlights the recommendations that were frequently raised.

There is need for strengthening of the pathway for the recruitment and development of black academics in HBU. With most junior academics reported a lack of preparedness for their academic jobs, they need more and improved programmes to prepare them for their new jobs. Although there might be a few programmes aimed at inducting junior academics, they remain insufficient. A number of junior academics also raised a concern with the heavy job demands with regards to teaching high volumes of students and meeting their research demands. There is need for a more equitable workload that is sensitive to the various developmental needs of academics.

Improving the poor infrastructure in rural campuses should be prioritised as a means to expand the teaching and research capacity of black academics. Rural campuses have poorly maintained and inadequate infrastructure which in turn affects academic activities. It is also important to note that some disciplines require more equipment and better infrastructure than others. Therefore, the focus on infrastructural development needs to be mindful of the disciplines which require special attention. This calls for revised strategy on meeting the resource demands of black academics in historically black universities.

Although black academics in general have a number of concerns about their experiences, black women in particular have unique experiences that are generally overlooked. Of the many issues, black women academics are underrepresented in the number of PhD holding academics in professorships and leadership positions where more male academics are found. This is also seen with the overrepresentation of men in some disciplines particularly STEM fields. The relegation of women from leadership positions in HBUs is as a result of patriarchal institutional cultures. HBUs need more programmes that encourage and support women to pursue PhD studies. Women academics also need more representation in leadership positions. They should be allowed and supported to hold positions as a means to give them a representative voice in decision making. Therefore, more black academics should be empowered through participatory action in departmental decisions that affect them. This not only affords them a representative voice but it allows them to shape the future of institutional policies and practices.

Similarly, black academics from the rest of the continent often complain about their exclusion from funding opportunities that are targeted at South African academics. In addition to their ineligibility for funding and competence in the academy, they are often appointed on a short-term contract basis. This makes it difficult to make long term commitments to their institutions. There needs to be full time appointments where necessary for all qualified academics and funding for all deserving applicants including foreign black academics.

6.3 Limitations

The study has a number of limitations that are worth mentioning. One of them is that the study only focusses on two HBUs in South Africa which makes the findings context specific and difficult to generalise. Therefore, generalisability is narrowly limited to black academics in two Historically Black Universities. The transferability of this study is also limited to black academics. Although some of the issues raised are also applicable to non-black academics, the study does not highlight that. It is however important to note that generalisability is not the purpose of qualitative research. Moreover, given the history of black exclusion, it is important to focus on the experiences of black academics in particular. This helps us to understand their experiences of belonging and exclusion and how they navigate their careers in the present.

Another limitation from this study was not having a balanced representation of participants by gender across disciplines. This was mostly true for science related disciplines because of their

overrepresentation with male academics at the expense of female academics. In some instances, some disciplines were overrepresented with white academics which made it more difficult to find black academics during participant recruitment.

A delimitation of this research is on its focus on black academics only. This was deliberately made to shed more light on the unique experiences of black academics given their historic exclusion from the academy. As the literature review chapter shows, historically black universities have a past, present and future that is unique to their origins and continue to employ a lot of black academics. Therefore, while this might exclude white academics, it remains important to bring black academics into discussion as they make up a huge demographic of HBUs.

6.4 Directions for future research

The study raises a number of points that might need further attention for future research in higher education. The category of black academics is quite broad and its use in this research often overlooks the underlying intersectional differences and their impact on experiences. Most of these issues emerged from the findings.

In this study, two main issues should be considered for future research. The first issue is a focus on the underrepresentation of women in science related disciplines. This is because during participant recruitment, there were less women in science faculties and this was especially true for black women academics. Further research would therefore need to consider exploring why black women academics are underrepresented and what programs are in place to encourage black women into STEM fields.

Secondly, there needs to be a separate focus on black academics from the rest of the continent who are currently working in South Africa. A few participants in this study were foreign academics and in some ways their experiences were different from those of black South African academics. Despite the presence of programmes that assist black academics on many issues, they are largely reserved for South African academics. For this reason, the input and inclusion of foreign academics in the collective voice of black academics in this study has been limited. This needs further research into the opportunities and challenges of foreign academics.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study has illustrated the complexities that underlie the experiences of black academics. While both challenges and opportunities exist, it is important that they both be explored with caution in order to paint a more comprehensive picture of black academics in the context of historically black universities. However, the study has shown that HBUs can be a home for black academics and that given the right support, black academics can succeed in their work environments.

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APPENDIX A: INFORMATION LETTER

Department of Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 450 Fax: 011 717 4559

Greetings,

My name is Campion Zharima, a Masters student at the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting research towards my research report. The study explores the institutional constraints and opportunities on black academics' careers in historically black universities.

In order to conduct this research, I kindly request your participation in a one-on-one interview, which should take approximately 60 minutes to complete. This is a substantial investment of your time; however, your participation is valuable as it will contribute towards a broader understanding of what has worked and what has not worked well in the development of academic careers of black scholars. I would therefore like to invite you to participate in this research.

Participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate. Participation involves being interviewed by me. Everything you say during this interview will remain confidential. The interview will be audio-recorded, and only me and my supervisor Prof Hugo Canham will have access to the recordings. The recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password protected computer. Although the interviewer will know who you are, confidentiality will be maintained by not disclosing any identifying information that is of a personal nature in the report. Even though some direct quotations might be used, data will be written up in a manner that ensures participant anonymity. I will assign a pseudonym such as Participant A to your data in the report. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. You also have the right to refrain from answering any question should you wish to do so.

Should you have any queries about this study, please contact me using the details that appear below. Before beginning the interview, you will need to read through and sign the two consent forms attached. Please detach and keep this sheet.

Yours sincerely,

Campion Zharima (783436@students.wits.ac.za)

Supervisor: Prof Hugo Canham (hugo.canham@wits.ac.za)

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

The institutional constraints and opportunities on black academics' careers in historically black universities

The questions below pay attention to the institutional challenges and opportunities faced by black academics in historically black universities.

Questions

1. Please tell me about yourself and describe your position at this institution. (qualifications, roles and duties)
2. Do you recall when you decided to become an academic? Tell me about this and your journey to becoming an academic.
3. What did or do your parents do for a living?
4. Briefly describe your career trajectory since you started working at this university up to your current position.
5. A lot of attention has focused on black academics leaving the sector. What do you think are some of the reasons?
6. What do you think are some of the reasons why black academics remain in this sector?
7. What keeps you in this sector?
8. You work at a previously disadvantaged university. Why did you choose to work here?
9. What do/don't you enjoy most from working at this institution?
10. Do you think black academics are thriving in your department, school, faculty or institution? (If not, why. If yes then how)
11. What challenges did/do you face as an academic throughout your career at this institution?
12. How have you or other black academics managed to cope with these challenges?
13. Did you receive career development opportunities when you first became an academic?
14. Are there any institutional initiatives such as research funding in place to help alleviate some of the problems that you face? Tell me about this.
15. What other or additional institutional measures can be put in place to help you and other academics overcome any of the challenges you mentioned?
16. Women academics are said to endure challenges in patriarchal cultures within universities. What unique struggles and opportunities do you think women have in this university?

17. Have you ever considered leaving this institution at any point in your academic career? Tell me about this.
18. How long do you see yourself remaining in this career path?
19. In what ways can the upcoming black academics be better equipped to become senior academics?
20. If you were to advise the VC and the Minister of Higher Education on the kinds of support required by black academics at previously disadvantaged universities, what would you tell them?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 450 Fax: 011 717 4559

Consent Form (Interview)

I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Campion Zharima, for a study exploring the institutional constraints and opportunities on black academics' careers in historically black universities. Please tick relevant boxes. I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary. ☐
- I may refrain from answering any questions. ☐
- I may withdraw my participation and/or my responses from the study at any time before the research report is examined. ☐
- There are no risks or benefits associated with participation in this study. ☐
- All information provided will remain confidential, although I may be quoted in the research report.
- If I am quoted, a pseudonym (Participant A, Respondent B etc.) will be used. ☐
- None of my identifiable information will be included in the research report. ☐
- I am aware that the results of the study will be communicated in the form of a research report or journal articles. ☐
- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and published in a journal and/or book chapter. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D: AUDIO RECORDING CONSENT FORM

Psychology
School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
Tel: 011 717 450 Fax: 011 717 4559

Consent Form (Recording)

I, _____ give my consent for my interview with Campion Zharima, to be audio recorded for a study exploring the institutional constraints and opportunities on black academics' careers in historically black universities. Please tick the relevant boxes. I understand that:

- The audio-recordings and transcripts will not be seen or heard by anyone other than the researchers and/or their research assistants. ☐

- The audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password protected computer. ☐
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report. ☐
- Although direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report, I will be referred to by a pseudonym. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX E: WITS ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Canham

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H18/06/09**
PROJECT TITLE	Black Academics in Higher Education
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Prof H Canham
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human and Community Development/
DATE CONSIDERED	22 June 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Permission letters from all the Universities involved are required before date collection can commence
EXPIRY DATE	**11 July 2021**
DATE 12 July 2018	**CHAIRPERSON** (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor: **N/A**

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature

12 / 07 / 2018
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX F: APPROVAL LETTER FOR UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

University of Fort Hare

OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY REGISTRAR

Alice (main) Campus:
Private Bag X1314, King William's Town Road, Alice, 5700, RSA
Tel: +27 (0) 40 602 - 2501 • Fax: +27 (0) 40 602 - 2577
Email: nmabindisa@ufh.ac.za

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

30 July, 2018

Prof. Hugo Canham
hugo.canham@wits.ac.za
University of Witwatersrand

Dear Prof Canham

Approval from the Registrar's Office to Conduct Research

Having consulted the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee, I hereby grant permission for Prof Canham to conduct research relating to his thesis "Transformation in Higher Education Institutions: Black academics in South African Higher Education.

We look forward to reading the research report.

Kind regards

Prof M Somniso
University Registrar

Bhisho Campus: P. O Box 1153, KWT 5600, Independence Avenue , Bhisho, 5600, RSA
Tel: +27 (0) 40 608 - 3407 • Fax: +27 (0) 40 608 - 3408

East London Campus: Private Bag X9083, EL 5200, 50 Church Street, East London, 5201, RSA
Tel: +27 (0) 43 704 - 7000 • Fax: +27 (0) 43 704 - 7095
V/C Dial Up: +27 (0) 43 704 - 7143/ 7144

www.ufh.ac.za

APPENDIX G: APPROVAL LETTER FOR UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

DEPUTY REGISTRAR: Academic Administration
Administration Building, 1st Floor
ashaikjee@uwc.ac.za, nschoeman@uwc.ac.za
021 959 2110

08 May 2018

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Name of Researcher	:	**Hugo Canham**
Research Topic	:	**Ministerial Task Team: Transformation in Higher Education Intuitions – Black academics in SA Higher Education**
Date of issue	:	**08/05/2018**
Reference number	:	**UWCRP080518HC**

This serves as acknowledgement that you have obtained and presented the necessary documentation in order to proceed with the above referenced project. It is noted that no direct ethics clearance from your home institution or other was received.

Approval is granted for you to conduct research at the University of the Western Cape for the period 08 May 2018 to 08 May 2019. You are required to engage this office in advance if there is a need to continue with research outside of the stipulated period. The manner in which you conduct your research must be guided by the conditions set out in the annexed agreement: *Conditions to guide research conducted at the University of the Western Cape.*

The University of the Western Cape promotes the generation of new knowledge and supports new research. It also has a responsibility to be sensitive to the rights of the students and staff on campus. This office will require of you to respect the rights of students and staff who do not wish to participate in interviews and/or surveys.

It is also incumbent on you to first furnish this office with a copy of the proposed publication should you wish to reference the University's name, spaces, identity, etc. prior to public dissemination.

Please be at liberty to contact this office should you require any assistance to conduct your research or specifically require access to either staff or student contact information.

Yours sincerely

DR AHMED SHAIKJEE
DEPUTY REGISTRAR: ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

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