The experiences of African Immigrant Academics in South African Higher Education

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Masters Dissertation

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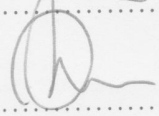
Signature: 

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Key words: African academic immigrant, immigration, citizenship, exceptionalism, belonging, alienation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

The available academics in South African higher education are insufficient for the growing demands of the sector. The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) (2013, p.35) argues that post-1994, South African universities have needed to confront key challenges.

> … [T]he first challenge is reproducing and retaining the next generations of academics. The large increase in student enrolments over the past 20 years has not been accompanied by an equivalent expansion in the number of academics.

The reasons for this shortage are varied but the most common one is the lack of suitably qualified academics with doctoral degrees to take up academic posts as posited by Lawless (2008). Moreover, the lack of sustained effort to develop the next generation of academics might also be seen as a contributor to the limited number of academics. This has necessitated focused interventions designed to grow the next generation of academics. The negligible representation of black and women academics within the sector as well as employment equity legislation (Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998) has meant that initiatives meant to foster the development of the next generation of academics have had to pay particular attention to these designated groups. Higher Education South Africa (HESA 2014) further reiterates that this is a challenge that should be addressed.

> … [T]he second challenge is transforming the historical social composition of the academic workforce through measures for advancing social equity and redress for black and women South Africans (DHET, 2014, p. 35).

However, in recognition of the period of time it takes to develop an academic pipeline and the increasingly global nature of higher education, the first and third White Papers on Education and Training (Notice 196 of 1995) notes that higher education institutions should also look to the rest of the African continent for qualified academics.

> … [T]he Ministry would like to encourage institutions to recruit academics actively from the rest of Africa. Although this should not divert attention from the importance of recruiting and retaining black South Africans, it could play an important role in the short-term to (sic) providing role models for black students and in helping to change institutional cultures. It would also contribute to the broader development of intellectual and research networks across the continent, thus contributing to the social and economic development of Africa as a whole (Education White Paper 3, 1997).

In response to the need for a diverse academic pipeline, the Carnegie Corporation of New York funded initiatives towards the development of the next generation of academics at three South African universities. These Universities include the University of Cape Town (UCT), the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN), and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). At Wits and UCT the funding focused on supporting black and female academics including those from the rest of the continent. At UKZN, African immigrant academics were not eligible for this funding. For this reason, only academics from Wits and UCT were included in this study.

Problem Statement

A review of the initiatives of the three universities has been conducted by the Cape Higher Education Consortium (2014). This review focused on how the three institutions implemented their respective programmes. However, to date, there has been no assessment of where the beneficiaries of the grant are in terms of career development, retention and attrition rates, and how African immigrant academics in the South African Higher Education system experience their sense of belonging within these institutions. While this research utilises data from a tracer study to understand the movement of academics, it is primarily interested in their experiences of their universities and by extension, the higher education sector. This research therefore seeks to address the gap in research based on the experiences of African immigrant academics and how they navigate the higher education sector of South Africa. The rising number of African immigrant academics within the South African higher education system warrants closer qualitative exploration in order to understand their unique position and experiences. The study seeks to enhance and expand the knowledge base and inform any policy amendments on matters affecting African immigrant academics.

Objectives of Study

Following the major investment by the Carnegie Corporation of New York towards the development of the next generation of academics in South Africa, this research is part of a broader study which seeks to understand the growth trajectory of funded researchers within the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand. This research seeks to explore:

- The experiential accounts of funding and development opportunities of African immigrant researchers within the higher education sector

- The perceptions of their sense of belonging and/or non-belonging to their universities in relation to their status as international African immigrant academics and other intersecting identities.
- The opportunities and challenges encountered by these academics in relation to their development or lack thereof

Research Questions

- What funding related research development challenges and opportunities do African immigrant academics face in universities within the higher education sector?
- How do African immigrant academics experience their sense of belonging or non-belonging in the higher education sector?

The Carnegie Programme

The Carnegie research grants were awarded to three universities in South Africa to assist their transformation agendas. These were University of Witwatersrand, University of KwaZulu Natal and University of Cape Town. The target population was black and women academics. However, at UKZN, Carnegie support excluded African immigrant academics. The aim of the grants was to ensure that adequate support is provided for the growth and development of black and women researchers. National statistics provided by the Department of Science and Technology (2015) note the marginal status of these groups as active researchers at a national level. The statistics on academic staff at Wits in 2016 show the impact of the apartheid education system on the development of black academics in particular. (42.89% of the academic workforce is black while 57.11 % are white). They indicate that black academics remain a minority are mostly located in more junior positions. These figures are consistent with those of universities similar to Wits. The Carnegie Corporation invested in the transformation

initiatives of the three above mentioned universities with two universities namely Wits and UCT also awarding grants to African immigrant academics which then informed the study. This study is part of a larger study on the trajectory of grant recipients from the three universities.

The Carnegie Corporation aimed to help developing countries identify and solve their problems using local resources and build capacity to make use of information and resources from the rest of the world. The Corporation provides support in three main areas:

- Strengthening African Universities
- Enhancing Women's Opportunities in Higher Education
- Revitalizing Selected African Libraries

The Corporation's program in South Africa began in 2005 and focused on social, political and economic change. The grant of $2million provided by the Corporation in 2005 to the Universities of Cape Town, KwaZulu Natal and Witwatersrand was dedicated to the training and retention of primarily black and/or female South African academics and to the transformation of post-apartheid institutional culture at each of these institutions. The emphasis is on equipping graduates to contribute to their communities and their nation and on nurturing the next generation of South African scholars. This grant was renewed on a similar basis for another five year period.

There are overwhelming challenges facing universities and transformation programmes in South Africa. The skills shortage and limited pool of black women academics hamper transformation initiatives and many strong academic women move to private institutions who

offer more money (Wilder 2013). Nevertheless, there is something about academia that is appealing to many individuals and this intrinsic value needs to be extracted from the job.

The study used a thematic analysis based on qualitative methodology to understand the challenges faced by African immigrant academics within the South African higher education sector. The study was based on data from the broader Carnegie Corporation tracer study that was conducted (Canham, 2015). This research report is made up of five chapters. The first chapter focuses on the introduction and overview of the study while chapter two focuses on the literature review, chapter three details the research methodology and chapter four presents the findings. Chapter five focuses on the discussion and chapter six concludes the study.

Conclusion

Chapter one presented the introduction of the study, incorporated key objectives as well as the research questions and the significance of the study. The chapter also introduced the background and the rationale of the study. The next chapter presents the literature review.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This section unpacks the key concepts and the theoretical frame which underpins the research project. The literature review focuses on an intersectional approach to dissect the broad terrain of African immigrant academics' experiences. This is a transversal study of the experiences of African academic immigrants and the socio-structural mechanisms that reproduce their experiences of belonging or alienation at the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand. The literature reviewed provides an analysis of immigration, academic migration in South Africa, and the politics of belonging and exceptionalism. It highlights systems that affect African immigrant academics, options available to them, and access to resources to be productive academics.

Immigration

The concepts of migration and immigration have over time been used interchangeably to describe the movement of people from one location to another. While immigration means for an individual or a family to move to a new country from their country of origin with due formalities at the embassy, the word migration denotes the act of moving from one place to another - within a country or across borders, for people or birds, and usually refers not to a single individual or family but a larger demographic (Bailey, 2009). Since the nature of the movement of academics within the formal structures is immigration, in this research project the term immigration is used. However, in order to fully capture the embodied meaning of immigration, we need to fully understand the concept of migration and its theoretical connotations. According to Hurst (2014, p. 2), "recent developments in migration theory have turned towards recognition of the heterogeneity of migration, allowing for more flexible

descriptions of migration as a process which involves complex trajectories and resources". This means that the reasons, patterns and circumstances which inform migration are diverse and have varying textures.

Although few specific studies exist on the migration of academics from and within Africa, according to Prah (1989), South Africa has for a long time attracted intellectuals from the rest of Africa. Due to the nature of South Africa in the apartheid era, immigration of intellectuals was more controlled and in most cases reserved for white immigrants who enjoyed the differentiating term "expatriate' in relation to the African migrants who were classified as immigrants. The difference between expatriate and immigrant is semantic and these words may be used interchangeable to define and position a certain individual.

Richardson (2002) understands expatriate from a perspective of someone who chooses to go overseas of their own volition, while Vogel, Van Vuuren & Millard (2008) define expatriate as a term used to refer to people who move across national border (s) to another country to pursue their professional, economic and financial goals. Others such as Javed & Ahmed (2011) define the term expatriate to refer to a highly skilled worker with unique expertise who is sent to work in another unit of the company located in a foreign country. The concept of expatriate has no common meaning and application and thus a more accepted term "immigrant" is used to refer to the African academic in this research project.

During apartheid, African immigrants worked at formally black universities such as Fort Hare, University of Transkei and University of Zululand. Like their black South African counterparts, they were not permitted to work at white Universities. With the political instability in Zimbabwe, greater numbers of Zimbabwean academics have come to work in the country. Hurst (2014) citing Shumba and Mawere (2012) on their recent study, reports on the exodus of higher education professionals from Zimbabwean institutions and gives as major destinations

the neighbouring countries of South Africa, Namibia and Botswana as well as countries further afield such as the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Hurst (2014, p. 4) states that "the reason for increased immigration to South Africa relates partly to the demise of apartheid and partly to immigration policies of the South African government which are focused on skills acquisition". The proximity to South Africa and the relative size of the local higher education sector are additional considerations that might explain this trend.

Academic Immigration

Although specific studies on academic or skilled migration exist, the core focus of those studies was to inquire about the migration of skilled African immigrants from the global South (developing and underdeveloped countries) to the global North (developed countries). The analysis of such studies shows a pattern towards migration from Africa to the more industrialised and developed countries in the North. The increasing migration of Africans to the developed countries is part of the current trend of international migration whereby labour from the developing countries in the South has been moving to the rich developed countries in the North and the oil rich Middle East (Adepoju, 1991; Cohen, 1992; Iredale, 2001 and Castle & Miller 2013). There has however been limited attention to immigration patterns of skilled Africans within the continent.

Scholars such as Nesbitt (2002) argue that a rise in the migration of Africans to the global North has resulted in the creation or formation of a new group of migrants which he terms the "Comprador Intelligentsia". The term refers to a new class of African immigrants that are skilled and educated. The transversal politics which promotes equality for black people has fought for them to enter international organisations, universities and international human rights organisations. Thus it is evident that African immigrant scholars today are well positioned to

take advantage of these opportunities by virtue of their education and contacts on the continent (Nesbitt, 2002).

Academic migration to South Africa has been noted and has consequently led to what some have called the "brain drain" of the sending country. Shumba and Mawere (2012) argue that it has benefited the hosting country more than the sending country. Teferra and Altbach (2004, p. 5) postulate that "academic migration to regional and neighbouring countries has also brought about serious shortages of high-level academics in some countries such that many academic departments have lost their preeminent faculty members to regional universities in other parts of Africa". This suggests that receiving countries such as South Africa have benefitted from highly skilled immigrants from the African continent

Academic Immigration: The brain gain and drain

The migration of highly trained professionals out of Africa and other continents often leads to what has been called the brain drain in the sending country and the brain gain in the receiving continents or countries. Benedict (2011) postulates that brain drain happens when skilled professionals from mostly poor countries migrate to mostly richer (developed) countries. The concept of brain drain is said to negatively affect the development of the sending country mostly the poor sending countries. The notion of brain drain refers to the loss of skilled personnel educated in developing countries and who migrate to more developed nations (Brown & van Staden, 1998). The concept of brain drain was first used by the British Royal Society to describe a situation in the 1950s, where scientists, doctors, engineers and other skilled individuals were migrating from Europe to the United States and Canada in search of employment (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011).

Today, 40% of some of Africa's most skilled people live outside of the continent (Benedict & Upkere, 2012). Moreover, "there are more African scientists and engineers working in the

United States than there are in Africa" (El -Khawas, 2004, p.38). Thus it is not surprising that Africans have been reported to be "the most educated ethnic group in the United States" (El -Khawas, 2004, p.38). The above statement highlights the importance and challenges associated with brain drain and brain gain to the receiving and sending continent. The problem with this phenomenon is that the African continent is being deprived of the very skilled professionals it needs the most. This ever-growing rate of skilled migration to the West, poses significant benefits and challenges for Africans at home and in the diaspora. Potential benefits include economic stability, improved standard of living, and remittances being sent to home countries. Some challenges may include over -qualification in the labour market and separation from family members.

The phenomenon of brain drain leaves these countries in a state of acute shortage of skilled professionals despite their investments in human capital (Imran et al., 2011). Pull and push factors can be used to explain the causes of brain drain. Dzvimbo (2003) is of the opinion that push factors such as unfavourable conditions (decline in education quality, low salaries, and poor infrastructure) in Africa drives people to leave. He maintains that pull factors in the receiving country tend to attract immigrants. Pull factors in this instance may be relaxed immigration regulations, better infrastructure and competitive pay that may attract highly skilled professionals to emigrate to other countries and continents.

Brain gain on the other hand is the benefit that is a result of the emigration of highly skilled individuals to the receiving country. The country gains skills which might have been missing in that country. Authors such as Kamoche (2011) illustrate the possibilities of brain gain. Sebola (2015, p.1) argues that "the immigration of skilled employees from developing countries to better countries may be influenced by the push and pull factors, while those migrating from developed countries to developing countries are mostly influenced by the desire to explore and learn cultural differences" . Contemporary literature on brain drain is filled with

references to remittances as a generally positive aspect of an otherwise negative process of brain drain. Bucklaschuk and Wilkinson (2011, p. 22) define remittance as "monies sent by immigrants to family members in their home country". The money remitted is then used by families to elevate their quality of life and may assist in sending siblings and children to school, purchasing new residences, renovations to existing structures or other familial expenses". Furthermore, remittances are now estimated to exceed the amount of foreign aid received by developing countries (Nworah, 2005). This suggests that the brain drain may have some advantages for sending countries as the effects are not all negative.

Globalisation of Higher education

Scholarship on the impact of globalisation on higher education is comprehensive and detailed Scholars such as Blight, Davies and Olsen (1999) have argued that globalisation, the Internet and the scientific community will level the playing field in the new age of knowledge interdependence. Other scholars such as Maringe (2010) argue that globalisation means both worldwide inequality and the "McDonaldisation" of the university. It is argued that all of the contemporary pressures on higher education, from the pressures of massification to the growth of the private sector, are the results of globalisation. There is a grain of truth in all of these hypotheses as well as a good deal of misinterpretation as well.

Altbach (2004) also argues that globalisation today, at least in higher education, does not lack precedents, from the beginning, universities have incorporated tensions between national realities and international trends. Other scholars such as Larsson (2001, p.3) define globalisation as the "process of world shrinkage, of distances getting shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other side of the world." In this analysis,

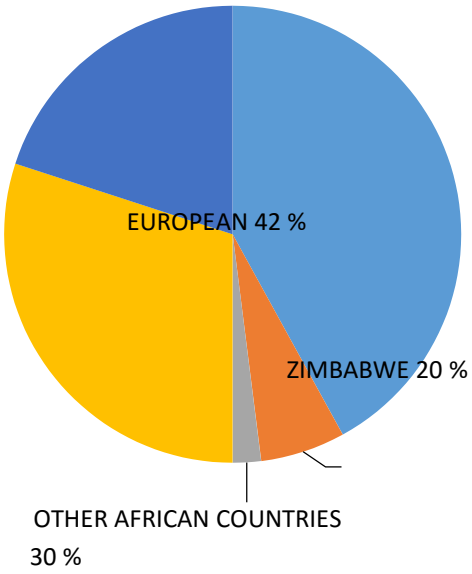
globalisation is defined as the broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education and are largely inevitable Altbach (2004). Politics and culture are also part of the new global realities. Academic systems and institutions may accommodate these developments in different ways, but they cannot ignore them.

Academic Migration in South Africa

Literature on immigration into South Africa suggests a shortage of skills within the labour market and one of the most affected sectors is academia. Bernard (2012) argues that South Africa is experiencing serious challenges in terms of recruitment, selection and retention of academics. Sebola (2015) argues that the skills shortage in South African academia is as a result of the poor quality education provided by the former apartheid government to blacks. In 2010, the Higher Education Information Management System (HEMIS) of South Africa released statistics of the distribution of foreign academics in South African Universities (figure 1).

Figure1: HEMIS report

Figure 1: Distribution of foreign staff across regions, 2005-2008



The figure above demonstrates that the highest proportion of academic immigrants in South Africa come from African countries (50%). 20% of these academics are from Zimbabwe. The second largest chunk of the expatriates comes from European countries (42%) with the smallest percentage of 2% from Australia and 6% from Asia. Sebola (2015) argues that the increase of African immigrant academics in the South African higher education sector may make no positive improvements in the education sector. By this he means that without a performance measuring mechanism, the relative value of these academics cannot be known and hence may make no meaningful contribution to the sector. According to Tati (2008), the increased numbers of African academic immigrants may insinuate the perception of cheap labour and abuse of defenceless academics from the rest of the continent and may lead to conflict with local black South Africans. This is to mean that the increased migration of African immigrants into South Africa, irregardless of profession and educational qualification has negatively

affected the perception that local black South African have and as a result instances of xenophobia have played out.

Conceptual Framework

Politics of Belonging

Having outlined some of the underpinning reasons for the movements of academics on the continent, the focus of this literature review now turns to explore theoretical notions of belonging or non-belonging once people have moved from one place to another. Crowley (1999, p. 15) defines politics of belonging as "the dirty work of boundary maintenance". Yuval-Davis (2006) states that this dirty business of boundary maintenance that underlies the politics of belonging is all about potentially meeting other people and deciding whether they stand inside or outside the imaginary boundary line of the nation and/ or other communities of belonging, whether they are 'us' or 'them'. In order to fully capture the politics of belonging, the notion of the nation and citizenship should be analysed to provide a clear picture of the potentially oppressive ontology of belonging. Anderson (1983) defined nations as "imagined communities". This means that even members of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion which in turn constitutes this imagined community, the nation. According to Steans (2007, p. 731) , "the 'imagined community' of the nation state is privileged as the single irreducible component of identity and human attachment through powerful representations of national interest and through received narratives on identity and on political space and place (territory)". It is thus through such ideologies that people attach a sense of belonging and non-belonging under the guise of national interests and thus oppress or subjugate the other for not belonging to that imagined community.

The growing importance of identity politics and more exclusionary ideas of citizenship is matched by the urge to detect difference and to distinguish between locals, nationals, citizens, autochthons' or insiders on the one hand, and foreigners, immigrants, strangers or outsiders on the other hand, with a focus on opportunities, economic entitlements, cultural recognitions and political representation (Nnoli, 1998; Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998). The viewpoint thus provides us with the conditions of how to understand the role of identity politics in the construction of the other. This serves to portray the kind of boundary maintenance inflicted on the outsider. Xenophobia outbreaks in South Africa are one example of the consequences of boundary maintenance.

The everyday life of immigrants is mostly negotiated in the convergence of different cultural influences and constrained or enabled by different power structures such as class, nationality and gender. Their experiences are lived 'outside' and 'inside' a 'displaced space'. This space is constructed by several axes of differentiation and inequality including nationality, class, gender, ethnicity (Brah, 1996). Put otherwise, it is constructed and lived as a 'trans locational positionality' as demonstrated by Bailey (2011). It is thus evident that the location of the immigrant is not fixed and is thus confronted by many layers of oppression of inclusion and exclusion, in the power axis.

The politics of becoming and belonging as discussed here refer to a "self-conscious movement, a re-invention of the 'we' towards a goal of belonging better somewhere else" (Kannabiram 2006, p. 57). It is thus through the performative roles of identities that immigrants contextualise and mediate their non-belonging or belonging. Scholars such as Bailey (2011, p. 853) argue that "belonging refers to both formal and informal experience not only to the cultural domain of identity and recognition but also to economic redistribution". Alternatively there is a very interesting and practical perception that African academic immigrants are better located to view their migration as a positive choice. Despite the setbacks of perceived discrimination, some

scholars argue that due to their middle class location and cultural capital in universities, they are shielded from the discriminatory experiences that working class immigrants are subjected too. According to Shibutani and Kwan's (1965) view of the American experience, social mobility through economic advancement, though not as common as it is perceived to be, allows for upward movement in class standing thus creating assimilation. Some African academic immigrants enjoy a sense of belonging due to the nature of their middle class positions in the academy.

Cultural Capital

In order to better understand the differential position of African immigrant academics, the concept of cultural capital is explored. Cultural capital may be defined as the knowledge of a particular culture and the ability to perform and navigate within the particular culture in question. Bourdieu's concepts of social and cultural capital have been used to explain why the academic and social outcomes of people of colour and of the working class in general are significantly lower than the outcomes of whites and of the middle class in general (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). However here the concept is used to illustrate the importance of dispositions of knowledge among racialized "foreign" bodies in HEI in South Africa and how it impacts the overall execution of duties and the navigation of impeding institutional cultures.

Cultural capital refers to "the possession of cultural goods, resources (e.g. books and computers) and dispositions, such as knowledge, skills and connections to education related institutions (e.g. schools, universities, libraries), a positive attitude towards school, parental support, ease in dealing with authority and linguistic competence" (Grenfell & James,1998, p.74). Linguistic capital is defined by Morrison and Lui (2000, p. 473) "as fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, worldwide language, which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society', is a type

of cultural capital". In addition to fluency, accent may be used as a marker of linguistic capital that distinguishes between who belongs and is knowledgeable and who is not.

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three forms: in an embodied state, i.e., as a long-lasting disposition of the individual's mind and body; in an objectified state, when cultural capital is turned into cultural goods such as "pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments and machines" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). It is in an institutionalised state, when the embodied cultural capital is recognised in the form of, say, an academic credential such as a PhD. For Bourdieu, the embodied state is the most important. He notes that "most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). In this conception therefore, African immigrant academics can be said to possess cultural capital to the extent they have the necessary academic credentials. However, because the black body has not historically been associated with knowledge, it can also be said not to embody the cultural capital of the academic. This complexity is engaged in the discussion section of this report.

Exceptionalism as Boundary Maintenance

In this section, the African immigrant academic is studied in relation to the boundary maintenance allowed by the conception of the nation state. Belonging or non-belonging of immigrants in South Africa can be productively understood in relation to the idea of exceptionalism as a form of boundary maintenance. Exceptionalism as defined by Ndlovu (2014, p. 3) "is increasingly becoming the foundation of imagining national identity in the post-apartheid era". This ontology is steadfastly becoming the nodal point of being and becoming South African. The idea of South African exceptionalism is defined as a euro-centric imagination of becoming that leads to anti-black racism, negrophobia and Afro-phobia

(Mngxitama, 2008). This dominant discourse stems from the ideology of South African's colonial/apartheid experience being exceptional to that of the rest of the continent.

Due to the advanced infrastructure and relative political and macro-economic stability, South Africa has imagined herself as different and as better than the rest of the continent. Exceptionalism in this case applies to the belief that those that define themselves as South African are more modern subjects than those from the rest of the continent. This translates to the surveillance and ill treatment of immigrants or those who migrate to South Africa. This research posits that academic immigrants from the rest of the continent are likely to be imagined within the same stereotypical lens as not belonging within the idea of the exceptional South Africa. In order to fully understand this dominant discourse and ideology, we should look at the socio-historical interactions that shape this episteme of exceptionalism. Mamdani (1996, p. 27) augments this analysis by postulating that "the notion of South African exceptionalism is a current so strong in South African studies that it can be said to have taken on the character of prejudice". Here, Mamdani is arguing that South African exceptionalism is so entrenched that it influences epistemic questions of what counts as knowledge and value knowledges and bodies that do not centre South Africa are therefore not accorded space and value.

In its socio-historical context the African renaissance which sought to re-imagine and reposition the continent of Africa as united, conscious of its positive attributes and advancing in social, cultural, technological, health and economic innovations, was a rejection of colonial racial domination of the colonial and apartheid governments (Mbeki, 1998). This discourse on exceptionalism is thus seen as the differentiating theme in the current post-apartheid era on issues of foreign migrants and the "African Dream" of unity and social cohesion under one overarching pan-African identity. Exceptionalism is a counter narrative to the pan-African

identity and thus a nodal point for the politics of belonging and what it means to be in a nation or the politics of citizenship.

Exceptionalism is seen as an epistemology of patriotism and is conflated within the broader discourse of being and becoming African. Ndlovu argues that "exceptional people as a western-centred concept of modernity was informed by slavery, colonialism, capitalism, apartheid, racism, and xenophobia where others were based on dichotomising racial identities in terms of superior versus inferior people" (2014 p.145). The problematisation of exceptionalism is thus a critique of the notion of South Africa being a bridge like identity between the 'incapable' African subject and a 'capable' western subject. This is intimately tied to the colonial and apartheid pasts that portrayed South Africa as a white developed island within a sea of African underdevelopment. In post-apartheid South Africa, black subjects have continued to hold this belief which allows them to exceptionalise the country. The post-apartheid era of exceptionalism cannot be critiqued without looking at the historical effects of colonialism on the African subject. The sugar coated pill of modernity enshrined on the former colonised is a mere denial of western centred construct of modernity which is shaped according to the hierarchically-ordered modern world system where being a non-western subject is becoming a "marker of inferiority" (Ndlovu, 2014, p. 146).

The western subject is constructed as the somatic norm and is carved in the hetero-normative, racially invisible body which is capable of making sound moral decisions in the greater scheme of what it means to be human. Puwar (2004) defines the somatic norm as the hetero-normative hetero sexual choice imposed as the universal by the white subject. "The non-western subject in the age of western modernity is synonymous with lacking the necessary human qualities to be recognized as a fully developed human being" (Ndlovu, 2014, p. 146). The construct of non-western in a pro-western-centred modern era is thus denigrated .This has led to scholars such as Grosfoguel (2007, p. 214) to argue that

> …[W]e went from the sixteenth century characterization of 'people without writing' to the eighteenth and nineteenth century of people without history,' to the twentieth century characterization of 'people without development' and more recently, to the early twenty first century of 'people without democracy.'

The African immigrant is faced with two daunting prospects. These derive from the fact that firstly they are black and secondly they are immigrants. These are two undesirable categories of belonging to which gender, sexuality and class can be added. Du Bois (1997, p.38) articulates the phenomenon of viewing oneself from this position as "double consciousness".

> …[I]t is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his [sic] two-ness… Two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body…

Being constructed as non-western subjects while simultaneously being black means that those from the rest of the continent are outside of the somatic norm. Exceptionalism is thus a linear imagination of both development and the identity of bodies out of place or what Puwar (2004) terms as "discordant bodies". Exceptionalism, can hence be understood as a form of black racism targeting other black bodies who do not conform to the western construct of modernity albeit immigrant workers from the continent. Ndlovu argues as follows:

> This explains the source of the spirit of Afro phobia among some indigenous people of South Africa who, like the western subject that they emulate and wish to be, have now appropriated the colonial language of "othering" black Africans from elsewhere in the continent of Africa (2014, p.149).

The construct of exceptionalism is framed on the illusion of coloniality which is captured by Maldonado-Torres (2007, p. 243) as referring to the "long standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administration". In his conception, coloniality survives colonialism. It is thus through this assumption that Ndlovu (2014. p.157) insinuates that "…[T]he synchrony of the modern world system that produces oppressed non-western beings sustains itself through the strategy of making the oppressed subjects participate in their oppression". Some South African black people thus participate in double consciousness through their purges of the African immigrants. Mngxitama (2008) argues that the illusion of freedom in South Africa is tainted by the deep underlying grief that currently manifests itself as frustrations on the part of those who belong to the post-apartheid project as a result of the deep rooted phenomenon of apartheid. In short, it is continuation of the past project of apartheid in a new vehicle called democracy. The 'other' is thus targeted in vicious performances interchangeably called xenophobia, Afrophobia and negrophobia. For Mngxitama (2008, p. 7) then, "the violence that seeks to dispose those identified as other to the nation is revelatory of the unfinished and contradictory nature of the transition from the authoritarian apartheid project".

Conclusion

Chapter two of the study has highlighted the key literature that was used in the research. It explores key literature on immigration, academic immigration, globalisation in the higher education sector, brain gain and drain to articulate the understanding of the research. This chapter further unpacks the theoretical framework used in the study to contextualise the experiences of the African immigrant academics. Theories such as exceptionalism, cultural

capital, citizenship and nation were used to position the experiences of African immigrant academics.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter explicates the research methodology used in the study to gather data and make meaning of the findings. The section unpacks the research methodology used, the sampling technique used, research design, the data collection method, and the ethical considerations. Thematic content analysis was chosen to be used in the study because it enabled the researcher to best address the research questions and make meaning of the data.

A qualitative research design was used to collect data through one-on-one interviews. Reviere, Berkowitz, Carter and Graves Ferguson (1996, p. 16) note that the use of qualitative methods may be optimal when conducting research with "persons and groups whose assumptions differ from those of the mainstream culture, and who, therefore, have a particular need to speak and be heard, 'in their own voices'." In this regard, this study is particularly interested in the voices of immigrant African academics. Qualitative research methods are utilised and provide us with analytical tools for the interpretation of data. Braun and Clarke (2006) are of the view that qualitative approaches are incredibly diverse, complex and nuanced. According to scholars such as Holloway and Todres (2003), thematic analysis should be seen as a foundational method for qualitative analysis. Thematic content analysis offers the researcher with an in-depth understanding of various issues that affect the target group.

Qualitative methods of gathering and analysing data have gained popularity over the years (Strauss, 1990). The term "qualitative research" means any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about people's lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations (Strauss, 1990, p. 4). Qualitative methods can be used to explore substantive

areas about which little is known or about which much is known to gain novel understandings (Stem, 1980). In addition, qualitative methods can be used to obtain the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn about through more conventional research methods.

A qualitative evaluation inquiry draws on both critical and creative thinking- thus including both the science and the art of analysis (Patton, 1990). Qualitative research is important in this study as it explores experiences of African immigrant academics which are not homogeneous and thus cannot be quantified to arrive at a statistical conclusion. The use of such methodology allows the researcher to unpack and explore the subject positions of individual participants without assuming or homogenising the experiences of individual participants. This methodology promotes insight, enhances understanding, and provides a meaningful guide to action.

There are three major components of qualitative research. First, there is the data, which can come from various sources such as interviews, observations, documents, records, and films. Second, there are the procedures that researchers can use to interpret and organise the data, these usually consist of conceptualising and reducing data, elaborating categories in terms of their properties and dimensions, and relating through a series of prepositional statements. Conceptualising, reducing, elaborating, and relating often are referred to as coding (Strauss, 1990). The last component is the analysis and interpretation of data.

The university, like any institution, is a contested space in which a multiplicity of issues relating to perceived and projected academic identities emerge. Issues of identity and difference are not peculiar to the African university. The multitudinous nature of subject positions is common in

the university. The insertion of nationality as an additional identity marker exposes different interactive dynamics that lead to perceptions of contradictory expectations by 'African immigrant academics' within the university.

Sample

The sample consisted of African immigrant academics from the rest of the continent that are employed at UCT and Wits and that have previously received the Carnegie research grant. Data from the two universities indicating the recipients of the grants was obtained from the universities beforehand. While the grant was also given to UKZN academics, the institution did not award the grants to African international academics. This means that only UCT and Wits academics fit the sample criteria of this research. Grant recipients were sent email invitations requesting their participation through purposive sampling. The main criteria for participation were that participants must have previously received a grant funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and they must be immigrants from the rest of the continent.

Fourteen participants from both institutions agreed to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted with fourteen academics that were employed by the two universities. Four were women and ten were male. The fourteen interviews that were conducted, were audio recorded and all transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were analysed by developing categories of key themes, which emerged from the data of the respondents in a thematic manner.

Data Collection

Data for this research was collected through the use of face to face, in-depth semi-structured interviews. Interviews help researchers to observe and record a subject's unique perspective or experience as it relates to a particular issue. Questions were semi-structured and the discussions

were conversational in nature. The approach allows the subject to provide a first hand, first-person account. This gives the interviewer insight into where a subject is coming from, rather than getting "yes" or "no" answers that provide incomplete accounts. The interview provides the researcher fertile ground to probe for further clarity about an experience or perspective. It was thus important to utilise interviews for this research because of the rich data that could be extracted from interviews.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of evaluating data through using analytical methods to examine each component of the data collected. Data analysis is one of the many steps that must be completed when conducting research. Data from various sources is gathered, reviewed, and then analysed to form some sort of finding or conclusion. In this research study, while thematic content analysis was used, a critical orientation to the data was taken. In this study, participants are given pseudonyms to preserve anonymity.

Thematic content analysis

According to Braun and Clarke, (2008) thematic content analysis is defined as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It organises and describes the data set in rich detail. However, it frequently goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). In order to conduct thematic content analysis in a research project, certain phases should be followed in order to capture the true reflection of the transcribed data. In this research report the researcher is interested in the use of work by Braun and Clark (2006) who outline the steps needed to conduct thematic content analysis. The first step is familiarizing oneself with data, secondly you develop initial codes, the third step is searching for themes, the fourth step is concerned with reviewing themes, the fifth step is defining and naming themes and the last step is analysing and producing the report.

According to Kriel (2010), inductive category development essentially involves allowing the thematic categories derived to emerge from the text. When using inductive category development, as in this research project, themes should match, as closely as possible, the material from which they emerge. The starting point for any inductive category development is always the research question in combination with a preliminary reading of the text. The research project inevitably utilised the inductive approach, some themes emerged from this research while other themes were illuminated in response to the research questions.

Reflexivity

As a person from the continent and non-South African, I as the researcher may in some ways be considered an insider researcher. According to (Mercer, 2007, p. 3), the insider researcher is a member of "specified groups and collectivities or occupants of specified social statuses". This means that the researcher poses a "lived familiarity with the group being researched" enjoying privileged access to particular kinds of knowledge and participants (Griffith, 1998, p. 361). My cultivation inevitably as a "traveller in the same boat" refined each interview not as an attempt to treat participants' narrations as potential 'true' pictures of 'reality' but rather as a process of propagating new perceptions and co-constructing knowledge on how we navigate the academy. In this regard, the analysis attempted to create "plausible accounts of the world" as postulated by Silverman (2010).

Ethical Considerations

The research focused on African immigrant academics perceptions of their experiences within the higher education sector and as this was not an emotionally distressing subject, it was anticipated that there would be no adverse consequences to participating in this study. However, in the unlikely event that participants required emotional support as a result of the

interview, they were referred to a counselling centre at their campus or advised to utilise their own private therapist as academics are covered by medical insurance. The research utilised a sample of the beneficiaries of the Carnegie research grant. This does not however imply that other African immigrant academics in higher education and other sectors of the South African economy might share the same experiences as the sampled group. Informed consent was sought from the potential participants based on a clear explanation of the nature of the research. The interview questions were conveyed in appropriately sensitive language to facilitate obtaining relevant data. Data was stored securely in a password protected computer and only the researcher and his supervisor have access to the interview transcripts. Data was reported on in abstraction from the participants in order to preserve the confidentiality and anonymity from readers. Participants are not anonymous to the researcher as he interviewed them face to face. Participants were informed that the final thesis will be accessible from the electronic system (library portal) of the University of the Witwatersrand should they wish to access it.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

This chapter outlines and reflects on the emerging themes from the interviews. It offers insight into of experiences and perspectives highlighted and identified by the interview respondents. Almost no scholarly work has been conducted to understand the experience of African immigrant academics in South Africa. The flows of people in a globalised world in search of fruitful academic experience and livelihoods were researched as part of understanding the experiences of African immigrant academics within two South African universities. Three major themes were identified in the analyses of the data emerging from this study. Each of the themes is discussed in turn and the connections between themes are highlighted in view of addressing the main research questions of this study. The identified themes are financial exclusion and inclusion, alienation and belonging, and third class citizenship.

Financial exclusion and inclusion

An emergent theme was that of financial exclusion based on the prioritisation of South African academics by most funding sources. Some of the academics from the rest of the continent said they had been discriminated against by their universities as they had struggled to obtain funding and ultimately battled to accomplish their career goals. According to the Cape Higher Education Consortium (CHEC) in its review of the initiatives of equity and transformation at three universities (2013):

> universities continue to be underfunded, especially in the light of growing student enrolments without concomitant increases in academic staff. There is also limited funding available for research programmes and the target of 1% of GDP spending on research and development has not been met (p. 9).

Examples of such exclusion were articulated by Charity, Joshua, Richard and Zama

> Most of the funding, some funding actually has that clause to say it's only open to South African citizens. So if you're not a South African citizen, in that regard you may have a problem. Although there are some funding mechanisms that open to international academics it is hard to tap into that funding. Zama

> When one looks at the funding environment, there are funding options available to South African academics that international academics cannot access as they are not citizens and this causes the international academic to feel uneasy but we understand the thrust of the positive discrimination, which is to promote local black Africans in academia. Joshua.

> I had no lab, it was there but there was absolutely nothing inside it and I was told this is where I was going to be working. I was given a start-up fund of R30 000 by our school to start work and to get a Masters student. You can't get a Masters student with R30. 000 and also buy equipment and consumables because we do a lot of experiments. So I had no equipment in the lab. As you know, when you're a foreigner it is difficult to find funding and you don't know the local companies to get funding. Charity.

> Funding for staff that is international in South Africa has not been available. Or very limited. I had to go for Canon Collins you know, which is highly competitive. The one that I got, they take four people in the SADC region. And I didn't get it here. Well, it's only when who so ever was doing it got to London, that they called me to ask me: "Are you still interested? We can offer you the funding, we felt that your thing was the top one so I don't think or know what had gone wrong or right. That's when I got the

> funding, which is very difficult. So it took me quite a long time. I could've gotten my PhD before I was 32, you know. Richard.

The nuanced nature of funding in higher education means that limited funding sources prioritise South African academics and inadvertently exclude academics from the rest of the continent. This culminates in the feeling of alienation for the African immigrant academic. For instance, each of the preceding excerpts tells a story of struggle to access funding in this context. In his account, Richard points out the fact that his career progression was delayed by lack of funding as he would have obtained his PhD at a younger age had he had financial support. Charity describes her struggles to develop a functional laboratory in which she could work. Against this background, most participants highlighted the importance of the Carnegie grant which offered them a chance to pursue their career ambitions. Unlike many funding sources, the Carnegie research grant was available to black and female academics including those from the rest of the continent. Charity, comments as follows:

> The Carnegie grant gave me benefits in terms of starting my own project, getting a student and exposure, also to publish. Once you publish you are reviewed by your peers and some might want to work with you and because if you don't publish no one will know you're there. It really helped to get equipment and students and to publish and that leads you to grow. For me, the Carnegie grant really helped me develop and I wouldn't be where I am today. You can quote me on that.

Charity's account details the pivotal role of research funding in an academic career and how it might help establish networks with peers and attract students for supervision.Another participant concurred by stating the following:

> The benefit was of course financial because we were well taken care of and also you don't have to worry about money and then you have to focus on your objectives in terms of your research and the teaching that you had to do. It also gave us a name called Carnegie Fellows and we were different to other PhD fellows because of the Carnegie Programme. Zama.

Zama, was effusive about the value of the grant for her career. Funding was crucial to her identity as an academic. In response to a question about the grant, Richard, noted that this was the very first grant he had received. It was therefore pivotal for his career progression.

> It was my very first grant to handle and therefore, I was not aware of expectations in terms of handling it. And at the same time I had a unique situation in terms of research, because it was quite a big thing, involving some of my colleagues, involving various players, some from the field. In that sense it was great.

In the following excerpt, Michael, suggests that his identity as a black person makes it difficult to access funding. The targeted and inclusive nature of the grant was therefore important for him.

> I think it was the best thing to happen to us black people, because when I first came, it was difficult to find funding. For me Carnegie was the best thing to happen because it gave me a start-up fund to buy equipment and get a student and start working.

The Carnegie grant in respect to the above excerpts was very instrumental in affording African immigrant academics the opportunity to further their research or help supplement the needs of the profession. Unlike other grants, it was inclusive of African immigrant academics. The Carnegie grant transcended nationality paradoxes to provide a funding model which included African academic immigrants and has left an indelible mark in the career development of the

recipients. Importantly, the grant came as a welcome boost to most of the recipients especially the ones that were starting out their career. Apart from the enabling conditions of the grant, some of the respondents highlighted the privileging part of the grant as was stated by Zama, in the above insert. Similarly, Lucas, notes the empowering value of the grant.

> The grant really empowers. It opens up opportunities. I'll tell you something, and the most striking thing about this grant is that it's open to everyone including the international lecturers.

Apart from the individual contribution to the participant's development, some highlighted the importance of the grant in helping them to start and maintain centres and research niches in conjunction with other universities as illustrated by the excerpt by Charity, below:

> The Carnegie grant wasn't directed mainly to me but was for the African mineral law project, which was initiated by a professor who is a mineral law expert in the faculty and has published an award winning book in mineral law in South Africa. Due to the collaborative nature of the project, at the time the programme specified that we should partner with other African centres and so the project was setup with four other universities. These included the University of Cape Town, University of Zambia, University of Botswana, and the University of Namibia. So with these three partners there was a need to coordinate the project and so my role was the project coordinator and that is how I was involved in the project and that is how it is that I was awarded the grant. Now I am part of that research team.

This lengthy quote illustrates the ways in which the grant was able to embed some researchers within the research groups that would position them as key collaborators of strategic projects with long term career benefits. It widened her networks into the region.

Financial exclusion and inclusion has been documented as a major impediment to the success and of the African immigrant academics. The funding vacuum has exposed African immigrant academics to challenges in breaking through the academic pipeline to become distinguished academics. The under-funding of tertiary education and research in South Africa has pernicious effects on African immigrant academics and thus, financial exclusion is likely to be experienced by the African immigrant academic because of affirmative action policies and the unavailability of funds to cater for the development of these academics thus stifling the career prospects and ultimately the career trajectory of the academic. This is not to say that certain grants like the Carnegie grant and other do not bridge the gap in terms of non-exclusive funding. However more African immigrant academics are inclined to source funding and career development in global north institutions because of their willingness to fund academics from other continents.

The funding conundrum and the structural implications thereof are important factors that contribute to the movement of academics from the continent to the global north. However the proximity of South Africa to other countries in the region and the well-developed higher education infrastructure has seen an increase in the immigration of scholars, academics and researchers to the South African higher education sector. The statistics provided by the HEMIS report (figure1) alludes to an increase in the African academic immigrants in the South African higher education sector.

Alienation and belonging

The experience of alienation within the learning environment can be defined as "the estrangement of the learner from what they should be engaged in, namely the subject and process of study itself" (Mann, 2001, p. 8). This may include the experience of feeling held

back, blocked, inhibited, estranged or isolated from what it is they are learning, and the study practices and learning processes, both individual and social, which are part of their particular learning context. The definition above is useful in framing how the lived experience of an African international academic. According to Breen (2001), all learning and teaching context share a concern with the social as well as with learning. In seeking to avoid some of the difficulties encountered by the social aspects of learning—identity, inclusion/exclusion, conflict.

Bourdieu (1984) argues that the challenges and opportunities that people face in life lead to the formation of a habitus characterised by resilience and assertiveness. In this regard, the choices that people make within prevailing social conditions create pathways and possibilities for their academic development and success. Furthermore, understanding academics cannot be complete if we do not recognise and acknowledge the presence of African immigrant academics in South Africa, a number of whom are black women academics. The study engaged both men and women to meaningfully gain insight into the experiences of African immigrant academics or what Taruvinga (2013) terms 'passport academics' ,a term that she posits as an identity marker occupied by academics that are foreign in a particular academic setting and who use passports to access these spaces.

The experiences of African immigrant academics cannot be understood as homogenous and this is evident in the experiences of African immigrant academics who identify as women in the study. The experiences of African women immigrant academics is important because they usually occupy a combination of subject positions that leads to their oppression and marginalisation. In this regard, they experience discrimination on the basis of their gender, race, and status as African "foreigners".

Joshua, highlights the plight faced by women in his department in relation to the concept of alienation and belonging.

> Well, the Dean of the faculty is a women. The incoming HOD is also going to be a woman. It is however not 50/50. There are few women in the academic field period.
>
> I do not know what females' experiences are. We have never had a female HOD. I think it is more a 'patriarchal system'.

While he observes the entry of women in the management of his department, he notes that there are generally very few women in the field. Interestingly Rees (2000) also notes that at every stage of the appointment process the number of women academics decreases and, as a result, the percentage of women full professors does not reflect the proportion of qualified women. Furthermore Rees (2000) claims that when women hold management roles, the position is often devalued from powerful to a service role. The gendered nature of the academy is of concern and as Lucas, expresses his concerns in the insert below.

> We have women but the men are the majority although the head of school is female for the past two years.

Christopher, further highlights the plight of women in the academy by bluntly stating the gendered and racialised nature of academia.

> We don’t have black women academics in my department.
>
> Well in my school we do have a few women and in senior position. In terms of the faculty I’m not really sure. In terms of the University, they are not adequately represented. Charity.

Women continue to occupy precarious positions as they negotiate career objectives in a patriarchal system which favours the male subject position as has been noted by Charity and Christopher. Anecdotal data suggests that academia mirrors the rest of society and gender inequity still exists in the academic environment. Gender inequality in the academy is a serious issue as evidenced by the low numbers of women in senior positions in their respective institutions. Universities continue to be the bastions of gender inequality with more support afforded to males. Omolewa (2002) argues that this inequality has its root in the colonial system of education which was primarily geared toward meeting the person power need of the colonial government that obviously alienated women from educational and economic opportunities. According to Mamdani (1996), incidence of poverty is more rampant among women in Africa because of discrimination in educational opportunities. Furthermore "scholarship by immigrant women professors reveals, however, that the classroom is not a neutral and safe space but a battleground infused with contradictions and conflicts" (Luthra 2002, p. 110). Similarly, Mohanty (1997, p. ix–xv) states that it is a dangerous territory crossed by invisible but carefully drawn national, racial, and imperial borders that consolidate "particular regimes of gender, race, class and sexuality".

Apart from negotiating spaces not meant for them or what Puwar (2004) calls 'consecrated spaces', the African immigrant academic also faces discrimination for the gender performance they exhibit and this intersects with race and nationality which altogether serve as exclusionary mechanisms. This cocktail of different subject positions places the immigrant African woman academic in a precarious position. Manrique (2002) eloquently argues that "the three characteristics that make us unique in academe is gender, ethnicity, and foreign origin which are both pluses and negatives," which means that "the characteristics that may lead universities and colleges to hire us can be the same factors that are used against us once we are hired" (p.

146). This suggests that institutions often employ black women in order to consciously diversify the employee profile. Perversely, they often experience discrimination because they are black and women. It can thus be deduced that women African immigrant academics constantly negotiate academia differently from their male counterparts and their voices should not be silenced. According to Canham (2014) as the most marginalised group (Nkomo, 2011; Employment Equity Commission, 2011-2012) in the South African workplace, black women often find themselves outside the organisational cultures of their places of employment.

> You know, you can talk of treatment at a policy level and I already indicated that South African's stand a better chance because it's actually indicated in law that they should be affirmed. Whereas with us, it's just that sentiment that we are looking for African representation, diversity which should be promoted in the institution but it's not necessarily in law that we should be black African international academics. Charity.

The above insert sensitises us to understand that alienation and belonging can embody different forms. Charity, highlights how she understands alienation and belonging with a sharp focus on structural implications on her sense of belonging and alienation. Employment equity as a policy on redress structurally prevents immigrant African academics from feeling that they belong within their respective institutions as it is engineered to promote groups that were previously disadvantaged by the apartheid system. She on the other hand can neither benefit from historic and ongoing white privilege nor from policy interventions targeting black South Africans.

Joshua, advises that he is unqualified to talk about experiences of women as he does not embody that position but alludes to his own positionality in terms of belonging and alienation. He is somewhat shielded by his gender privilege

> I do not crave for belonging to the environment. I am just comfortable. I am not at the centre of the department, but I am not marginalised either. I do my work well and expect respect. Objectively speaking, one could say yes, and I do have ideas of how things could be better but I do not have that platform, although I am happy and fine in the space I am in.

Belonging and alienation are contested identities and subjectivity markers that have significance in academia because they impact the overall contribution towards the academic project. Interestingly Joshua, is of the opinion that belonging does not matter to him as highlighted above. While he may not aspire to belong, this may have limited resource and opportunity implications for him.

Alienation and belonging in this instance can also be experienced through racialised tension as evident in the insert below. Nomsa, highlighted the mixed experience of staff members in her department in relation to racialised tension and how it impacts their research aspirations.

> Yes there is a difference, it's a racial thing. For us the thing is our department is practical. So most of our research comes from industry and as you know most mining companies are controlled by whites, so for you as a black academic it is quite hard to get funding from a white organisation. So it is easy for a white person to get funding from an industry controlled by whites than for a black person. So that already is a significant difference. The other is black people have to fight for every step that they take to go up the ladder. They have to do twice as much work a white person will do for you to go up there and to be frank I think the university needs to put more support for blacks and mostly the younger ones in terms of infrastructure, mentoring and support and not just to say we want them to be promoted to next level.

The above assertion by Nomsa, highlights the incredibly suppressive nature of academia for the African immigrant academic. It is apparent that there are intersecting oppressions which come with the habitus of the African academic in the South African academy. In Nomsa's case we see that racialised discrimination is an important issue in ways that would not be the case for white people. Here she is alienated on the basis of race, gender, and national identity.

Alienation and belonging are important tenets to any institutional culture initiative and it is also interesting to understand the levels of such alienation or belonging from a cultural capital perspective to gain insight into the challenges faced by African academics who are not from South Africa. Eunice Nyamupangedengu (2014) raises pertinent issues that relate to how cultural capital, and specifically linguistic capital as reflected in a person's habitus, either enables or constrains the person's success; and how the issue of linguistic capital operates in schooling and shaping how people experience belonging and alienation (Nyamupangedengu, 2014).

African immigrant academics from Francophone regions are thus constrained due to their different colonial history as compared to Anglophone colonised countries because of their shared similar histories in the South African education system. Arguably the language factor or linguistic proficiencies in the South African higher education system is denominated by English because of its colonial history, while most Francophone countries are more proficient in French and this presents a constraint on the academics from the Francophone regions.
As Rong (2002, p. 136) explains, ''A foreign appearance accompanied by an accent may immediately discount an instructor's credibility unless one teaches subjects such as Greek or Chinese history''. Similarly, findings of studies on immigrant faculty by (Lippi-Green, 1997

and Braine, 1999) argue that accent is the most problematic aspect of immigrant professors' teaching. Stereotypes of accents suggest that some people are more competent than others. Therefore, those with accents that are most different to that of the average white South African accent are under constant suspicion and surveillance.

> Perhaps not institutionalised treatment, but the perception, when you go to class for example, when you open your mouth to speak, you could get biases before you start, which can later be broken down with the delivery of the material. Joshua.

> I think language is important because it allows you to understand the real issues affecting the students and they become more close to you because you can relate to their challenges and were they are coming from for example going to school without shoes. When they tell me those things I identify with them. And that's why I try to uplift them and that's why I say I am not afraid of the protests. For me, it helps to understand some of their challenges and helps me understand some of the frustrations they face which affects my teaching and lecturing. Nomsa.

> I have not done much in postgraduate, I have dealt a lot with honours students, in terms of Architecture, its more about one and one, then that's where you might feel more secluded. I don't feel disadvantaged, the issue of social capital is a major problem and lack thereof might influence some students to choose other supervisors. Joseph.

The inserts above highlight the importance of cultural capital (language and accent) and how the lack thereof impacts the fulfilment of the teaching and supervisory component of academia. Cultural capital as Nomsa highlights, allows her to understand the challenges faced by her students while Joseph alludes to his lack of cultural capital (in this case linguistic) as a challenge because of the nature of supervision, for instance, if students associate a particular

accent with incompetence, they may not want to be supervised by some academics. The two respondents highlight the importance and consequences of the lack of cultural capital as contributing to the feeling of alienation and belonging in the academy.

The respondents reported that the experience of socio-cultural antagonism was pervasive at places of employment and in the localities they lived in. By this, they were signalling their race, cultures, language and national identities. However, despite the sense of alienation among some African international academics, there is a view that white South African's prefer them over black South Africans. Sebola (2015) is of the view that in South Africa, academic migrants are welcomed with open arms in order to close the skills gap. Joshua, highlights the following:

> But what I can tell you is (it is an impression) that the university is not that welcoming or keen on hiring black South African staff. I get the impression that despite what the law might say (I have participated in a number of these recruitment committees), there does not seem to be an eagerness to hire local blacks. I do not know why. The system seems to prefer to want to hire black international academics.

Mark, echoes the same sentiments in relation to the propensity of the culture in terms of the preference of African academics above local South African academic.

> I think this is a feeling, not better than the whites but better than black South Africans. Mark.

This assertion by Mark is interesting when read in relation to Mary's assertion that the appointment of black South African's is favoured by the law. Following Richard's observation of the paucity of South African black academics, one might conclude that it is for this very reason that the law is necessary.

> I cannot answer that question unless I use an anecdote or evidence because we do not have black South African academics in this department. In the faculty, there are very few if at all, maybe there is one or two. So the black academics that you see, most of them are international.

Comments like these confirm the emerging idea that identities are constructed in response to context, that they shift as conditions shift, and that they are self-conscious creations. The capricious nature of identity is reaffirmed in comments that address the new approach of South Africans to foreigners. For instance, black South Africans may express xenophobic attitudes to African immigrant academics as a consequence to their perceived superior employment prospects.

Mark, Joshua and George highlight the ambivalent situation they find themselves in as they feel their institution favours African academics above their local counterparts yet structural policies such as the Employment Equity Act of 1998 seeks to redress their historic exclusion. Authors such as Sebola (2015) support and add that from a legal perspective, the foreign national are not easily favoured by the South African law when it comes to recruitment and appointment to employment positions. Sebola (2015) adds that " despite the harsh realities that they can only be appointed in positions where there is a critical shortage of skills, South Africa still faces its own ghosts of satisfying the objectives of Employment Equity Act ,1998" (p.183). Subsequently, these African immigrant academics allude to belonging, as their respective institutions have a propensity to attract and hire African academics more than they do local black South African academics. Participants highlighted interesting views when the issue of xenophobia/negrophobia was raised and whether they are targeted in these heinous acts in the academy. Joshua, stated the following.

> African immigrant academics are in an advantageous position when it comes to social ills e.g. xenophobia as opposed to those in other sectors because xenophobia is more a problem of class. As academics, we are privileged because we do not particularly compete for resources with people involved in xenophobic activity. We do not live, shop or have children that go to school in those areas. So we are privileged.

Similarly Richard attributes the struggle to be more around racism than xenophobia, because the universities are still largely white in composition even though it has been two decades since the beginning of democracy.

> No, I think xenophobia is unlikely to be a problem in a white majority community. It is more likely to be racist than xenophobic. They (white community) even state that they prefer international blacks to their South African blacks, hence if you are black international, you will suffer racism within white South African communities unlike you suffer xenophobia with black South Africans.

Mark also weighs in with his perspective on the positionality of African academic immigrants in the following excerpt:

> Where we see actual violence however, it involves the people who stay in the low or no income group, of which academics rarely stay there. It is mostly those people who are struggling to get proper jobs, so they also stay with local people who struggle to get jobs, which is why there is violence in that regard. In my field, it is not violence-related, perhaps just being mocked.

African immigrant academics by the virtue of being in middle class positions have different experiences compared to working class African immigrants in relation to xenophobia. Being in the middle class as the above participants have demonstrated, mediates against societal ills

that may face working class African immigrants. Here, being middle class loosens boundary maintenance and hence the African immigrant academic may associate this positionality with belonging. Apart from the destabilising position of being an immigrant, belonging is usually experienced in this cohort of African immigrants. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that the position of a particular subject in the field is envisaged from the synergy between the agent's habitus and their social and cultural capital with the specific rules of the field. Hence, the position of the African immigrant academic can become substantially incomplete due to the lack of adequate "interaction" with the field. Their distinctive habitus and cultural capital become largely incidental in the transition to a new field. In this conception they become Puwar's (2004) space invaders who are perceived as different but who also experience their new world as unaccommodating.

The cultural disconnections of international academics are very subtle and revealed cautiously, perhaps, to reassure themselves that this contained difference is due to natural preferences rather than any deeper incompatibility. According Pherali " the perception of what "others" think of "me" has a powerful resonance in shaping the "persona" of international academics in their workplace" (2012, p. 324).

> (…) you don't want be assessed or perceived, you know, or your perception to be affected by how they know you. I wanted a different, a totally different environment, that was going to give me an international experience and where I was going to be judged by who I am and what I'm capable of doing. Not by other perceived stuff that you know, like being an international person and any other classification that had already been in the environment where I was operating. Luke.

Luke highlights how perception and judgement should ultimately be on merit and hence it strengthened his resolve in his endeavours. The othering of international academics through held perceptions either strengthens the person's persona or may break their mould and thus some academics may view themselves as alienated through their subject position. Joshua, states to the following.

> I like challenges and you know when you deal with stereotypes, and some of them you know, you can't blame some of my colleagues. You know they're apartheid daughters and sons, sons and daughters, some of the staff they don't really mean it. It just comes because that's where they come from, you know what I mean?

African immigrant academics are always attentive of their background and often work extremely hard and ardently to avoid potential communication lapses in giving feedback to students or drafting of emails to colleagues.

> I had to work five times more than anyone, because my department is very white dominated, even during my promotion I had to argue the first time before they could approve my promotion. The office they allocated me was unfurnished and was constantly looked down upon by the department. Nomsa.

African immigrant academics that operate in a racialised department are often more pertinacious and often put extra effort into completing their tasks. Luke, highlighted the stress invoked by double consciousness.

> You come from a different environment, you sometimes get a surprise because you're just wondering: "How can a person do something like this?" But they're used to doing

> it to certain individuals, certain kinds of people, it's systematic. However, it's been quite empowering because you learn to see what not to do to other people or what to do better.

This insert highlights the empowering nature of dissonance as it strengthens academics resolve in handling pressure from racialized tension.

The cultural differences associated with the language and background were not the only barriers to emerge under the theme of alienation and belonging. A greater number of the participant's indicated that the initial period of settlement was generally full of uncertainty. This particularly, in relation to frequent incidents of violence (xenophobia) due to noticeable social problems ravaging the South African society. This gives rise to what Foucault describes as the disciplinary society, the society in which bodies of people and populations are produced and maintained through power and discipline, in the service of a particular discourse (Foucault, 1991). For Foucault, these mechanisms include the penal and penitentiary system, as well as schools, workplaces and factories, all of which serve to inscribe within the body and reproduce within the population, a system or discourse of power that is based on discipline and surveillance (through both the self and others) (Foucault, 1991). Here this means that feeling alienated or belonging is constructed by the disciplinary society and maintained or policed by the self in relation to Du Bois' notion of double consciousness.

> Initially when I came to South Africa I was a bit hesitant because apartheid had just ended and because I came from Nigeria, my view was of fear but then I was interested in pursuing my career. Joshua.

In relation to their experiences with fellow academics, some interviewees expressed feelings of belonging and feeling welcomed within their places of work. The experience of African immigrant academics cannot be homogenous as some may experience alienation, while others may experience belonging because of the different contexts in which they navigate their career advancement. For instance, Joshua, is of the view that one's experience is contextual and may be different depending on the settings within which they work. The assertion about the exclusion of black South African academics is frequently supported in anecdotal accounts. This may however not be the universal view as different faculties and universities may have differing patterns of representation.

The contribution towards the South African Higher education sector by African immigrant academics is recognised by most Higher education institutions in South Africa. The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE, 2010 and Rasool, 2011) argues that South Africa needs skills if its economy is to grow. With more skills, the country could attract more investment, make better use of technology, build the physical infrastructure needed to accelerate economic growth, and create employment for the unemployed and under-employed. Given the paucity of black academics then, employing academics from the rest of the continent is a strategy to widen the skills base. The government's strategy to look within the African continent has seen unprecedented migration of academics from the rest of the continent to South Africa because of better remuneration and infrastructure to further pursue their careers as proved in the insert above. Apart from structural obstacles like applying for Visas or permits, alienation and limited funding opportunities, African immigrant academics continue to participate, carve out their careers and contribute to widening the academic base of the higher education system.

> If one looks at the South African higher education sector, it is one which operates at international level. So I would say African international academics are central players

in that. Even the student body is well-reflective of the continent, so yes, there is room for that. It would also be a great disservice if the local students were only limited to local ideas and local academics. Roger.

The reason why we are here is because our skills bridge the gap of shortages of qualified people in certain areas. So we definitely contribute positively in that. If we were not here, the university would be struggling to teach students and graduate as many students as they do. We also groom their people and we supervise them to do their PhD and Masters. Richard.

They add a lot of value and they are acting as role models to the South African black students because the white South African academics don't act as role models to the black students but to the white students. We need role models for South African blacks. So there is a void and so we act as role models for these kids and the diversity is very valuable in any country. I am probably one of those that do that. We need transformation because we need South African academics (blacks) and not bring foreigners, we need black South African to be in this academic community. Charity.

The preceding excerpts clearly articulate participants their views on how they help and add value towards the academic project in the South African Higher education sector. In so doing, they share Beck's (2002, p. 21) view that "in the struggles over belonging, the actions of migrants and minorities are major examples of dialogue for imaginative ways of life and everyday cosmopolitanism". They see themselves as enhancing diversity as envisioned by the Education White Paper 3 of 1997. They also understand their role as that of being necessary role models for black South African students.

As demonstrated above, the experiences of African immigrant academics cannot be homogenised. African immigrant academics in these institutions have mixed experiences in

their departments and ultimately alienation and belonging are sometimes contingent on the department, faculty and more broadly the university. Being identified as an 'outsider' African immigrant academic due to nationality, African immigrant academics are still expected to project a shared understanding of the experience of exclusion or marginalisation as a black 'sister' or 'brother' and colleague upon which some solidarity could be built for purposes of seeking a strategy for change (Taruvinga and Msimang, 2014). While they might understand the plight of black academics given their own historical and socio-economic backgrounds in education in a former colony, the reception of mixed messages that of belonging and not belonging creates ambivalent feelings and generates an identity crisis. Du Bois (1997, p. 38) articulates the phenomenon of viewing oneself from this position as "double consciousness".

Ndlovu (2014) argues that there is an ideology of superior black South Africans as compared to Africans from the rest of the continent. However, the participants of this study have debunked this view – at least within the higher education sector. A clear form of solidarity is portrayed by the African immigrant academics with their local counterparts due to historical legacies of racism. Ndlovu (2014) argues that the idea of South African exceptionalism is defined as a Euro-centric imagination of becoming that leads to anti-black racism, negrophobia and Afro-phobia (Mngxitama, 2008). Drawing on the analysis of data from the participants an emerging theme of solidarity between the African immigrant and the black South African is articulated based on similar experiences of racism. Belonging and non-belonging as evidenced above is a very pervasive and (in) visible within the context of the immigrant African body in the academy.

Third class citizenship

The concept of "third class citizenship" was coined to identify a third tier in the hierarchy of human existence. This habitus is characterised with multiple intersections of oppression that

ultimately condemn the body to occupy an inferior role in social relations. In this regard, if white South African's are first class citizens based on the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and black South African's are second class citizens by virtue of their citizenship and legal protections, immigrant African's are at the bottom of this hierarchy. Charity, captures this experience as follows in relation to a question about the difference in the treatment of African immigrant academics and other international academics such as those from Europe:

> We are treated like third class citizens. Other international academics from the rest of the world, mainly white academics, are given the red carpet treatment and everything is placed in order before that person comes into the institution. But for us we are never treated with respect. You sometimes find that there is no office or the office has no furniture to work with. Yah, so I think it's because we are black Africans.

Although not all the respondents vividly expressed how they were treated in their departments, it is important to note that African immigrant academics are not a homogenous group of people and thus experience varying settings differently. The positionality of the African immigrant academic is precarious as they have to negotiate the racial tensions first before they encounter nationality and ethnicity struggles in order to carve out a successful academic career in the academy. In response to a question about whether or not she has any disadvantages over her South African counterparts, Mary, whose excerpt appears below stated:

> One disadvantage, especially in our area which is engineering is that we are very dependent on our relations with industry in terms of funding. In terms of contract research as engineers, we're supposed to be in touch with what's happening in the industry and we do that through contract research. Now if you're someone who does

> not come from here you may not be well-networked to be able to access contacts in the industry and that's one big disadvantage if you're not from South Africa.

Charity, continues by pointing to the differences in treatment between European and African immigrant academics, as follows:

> Often when you come as a white international academic, you have that sort of respect, even if you're really not quite up there. The fact that you're from Britain, you're a white academic, it's different to when you're coming from Zimbabwe and you're a black academic. In fact even if you're a white Zimbabwean coming here, you have just a little bit more respect than somebody who is actually Zimbabwean black. There's always that reality that whiteness matters. Blackness matters in South Africa and everywhere you go, including universities such as this one. And this often then gets into issues of salary and negotiating your position. Because negotiation is not about talking to one another, you negotiate by virtue of being white, you know. There are certain perceptions that are all there by the fact that we negotiate with our colour, with our voice, with everything that we are. So at that point we don't have much of social capital to negotiate with. These things often show in the way we negotiate salaries, in the way we get access to resources, in the way we get treated.

The preceding excerpt is powerful because it makes the body central to one's experience as an academic. She poignantly asserts that "we negotiate with our colour, with our voice, with everything that we are". Respondents highlight the racial and national tensions that exist and get played out in the departments. Racism is a core experience, thus they are made to feel more subservient than other academics. They feel disadvantaged in relation to black South Africans who can at least use their nationality as a form of belonging to navigate the higher education environment.

> You would know people like, Professor [name withheld] who used to be in Sociology and who moved to [name withheld]. A whole lot of black academics who managed to manoeuvre and leave are South African. Whereas we, who are black internationals from the African continent we cannot manoeuvre that much. Richard.

This excerpt by Richard clearly illustrates the superior negotiating power that South African academics have over their African immigrant peers who often have to stay within institutional climates that are toxic for them because of limited job security.

Academics from other African countries face additional pressures created by the fast altering immigration laws that complicate their stay in South Africa and consequently impacts their career development. Globalisation links together labour markets and creates labour flows that span global cities that are rooted in hierarchies of labour demand. The impact of highly skilled immigrants is generally not a blanket phenomenon, but rather affects specific occupations within a country, and/or certain groups of countries that are closely linked to flows of highly skilled migration like South Africa and some countries in the global North such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The South African Department of Home Affairs' restrictive policies on immigration have come under strong criticism with many organisations complaining of being denied imported talents they desperately needed (Bhorat, Meyer and Mlatsheni, 2002). The conventional pattern of African immigration to South Africa may however continue into the future as the country has not lost the reason that makes it attractive including its relatively advanced human rights climate and dominance as an economic power in the region and on the continent. Scholars such as Harris (2001, p.10) argue that "a historical perspective is necessary for understanding the phenomenon of migration into South Africa. The 'push' factors of poverty, political instability

and socio-economic disparity in the home country are as relevant to migration as the 'pull' factors of employment and economic opportunity in South Africa are".

In order to protect the labour market from competition from non-South African citizens, the country has strongly limited the access of foreigners to work and obtain residence permits, (Tati, 2008, Landau and Singh, 2005). Considering the present shortage of highly skilled employees, pressure has been exerted on government to reverse this policy. Whitney (2015) argues that South Africa has adopted protectionist and nationalistic immigration policies, emphasizing border control, rather than migration facilitation or migrant protection. Despite South Africa's post-apartheid commitments to human rights, democracy, and Pan-Africanism; the restrictive nature of these laws has led to the mistreatment and neglect of refugee and asylum seekers, the unlawful detention and deportation of legal immigrants, and the failure to address societal problems like xenophobia and unemployment. These policies have also contributed to a severe skills shortage in South Africa, impeding the growth of the South African economy, while also thwarting SADCs ability to govern migration cooperatively in the region. The White Paper on International Migration (1999), points to this direction and recommends a more flexible attitude, facilitating the entry of highly skilled workers while still limiting the access of non-skilled individuals and controlling more adequately illegal immigration. Roger, notes the limitations as follows:

> When you're from outside, it's not easy for you to move on because even if you get the job, they still have to motivate for you in the institution where you're going. You go through the whole process and you're not sure if you'll get the visa, the working visa etcetera. So that does not allow us to move as much as we want. Whereas South Africans, the moment you pick up nonsense, they can move or manoeuvre the system. For example, by reducing from100% to 50%, you can do something else and only come

> to teach a bit and you don't have obligations for research etcetera. So there is that difference but as far as being black? That itself is a signifier and it signifies particular things.

Roger, highlights how immigration policies inhibit success in the academic fraternity, with access also implicated as a problem. One can argue that the signifier to which Roger refers to is third class citizenship. Third class citizenship embodied by African academics is mostly experienced through immigration policies, the Employment Equity Act No.55 of 1998 and also limited to changing institutions and funding opportunities as well as treatment by colleagues and students.

While the push factors may be essentially the reverse side of the pull factors, attention can be drawn to those factors closely related to the conditions of underdevelopment in the native countries of some African immigrant academics. Principal amongst these are unattractive and often socially debilitating remunerative conditions; an over-supply of highly-educated professionals in a narrow occupational field with a consequent depression of wages and salaries, discrimination, repression and sometimes terror arising out of intolerant social climates, diverging political opinion, race, religion, caste, ethnicity, or a combination of these factors. This phenomenon is highlighted by most of the respondents. The South African higher education sector is well developed and competes internationally, while the economy is the most diversified on the continent (Cloete, 2006). These motivating factors are also enhanced by the general multicultural position that the country takes. Richard, an academic from Uganda noted the following:

> It's more like what pushed me away from Uganda. I felt Uganda wasn't going to offer options for career growth that I wanted in terms of building my research and academic career. And they did not offer facilities for my family to do what I wanted.
>
> Well the first time it was really not that I chose to but, more of an opportunity of associate researcher was passed to me at work by a friend. I was recommended for it, and I applied for it and got the job. So I came here more as function of my work. Mark.

Mary, articulates her decision to come South Africa as follows:

> Well I had quite a lot of job offers actually in the United Kingdom but I am an African and I didn't feel like I belonged there. Zimbabwe was like going through an economic meltdown and South Africa has a very big mining industry. The metallurgical mining industry and Zimbabwe was a bit chaotic at the time and I wanted to practice more of what I had learnt. I didn't think I was going to get enough chance to work in academia. South Africa was looking for lots of academics to develop the mining industry. There was a friend I was with and he sent me an advert and said I should apply so I applied and I got the job and I like the fact that it is close to home. And I am in Africa.

The two excerpts above highlight the attractiveness of the South African higher education sector and decisions that guide their relocation to South Africa.

Conclusion

The emerging themes from the participants was in relation to how they perceive and experience higher education institutions in South Africa. Most notably the theme of financial inclusion/exclusion resonated with most African immigrant academics. Alienation and belonging were contextualised by the respondents to illustrate the dynamics that they find themselves in. That is to say gender, race, nationality and language were frameworks used to

flesh out the notion of belonging or alienation. The theme of third class citizenship is common in the academic discourse, and many of the participants highlighted the experience of being made to feel inferior. The next chapter looks at the discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter seeks to build on the findings to make sense of the emerging themes that have been captured in the previous chapter. Here the researcher tried to understand the impact of these findings in relation to the study objectives. Limitations and recommendations are also articulated in this chapter.

The forgoing findings illustrate the attractive nature or lack thereof of the South African higher education sector to African immigrant academics from the region. It allows academics with pan-African sensibilities to remain on the continent while also being relatively close to home. It also highlights the benefits of working in the sector and promotes it as a sought after destination for African immigrant academics. The general proximity of South Africa to the rest of the world enabled by a fairly advanced transport system, adds to the attractiveness of its industries as major destination for African skilled professionals in relation to global North institutions and developed countries.

Scholars such as Adepoju (1991) and Cohen (1992) argue that the increasing migration of Africans to developed countries is part of the current trend of international migration whereby labour from the developing countries in the South has been moving to the rich developed countries in the North and the oil rich Middle East. Takyi, (2002) argues that this is situated in the pre-independence mentality of previous African immigration systems. For Tayki (2002), this was common in the period before independence as many Africans sought educational opportunities in Europe due to limited and sub-standard educational opportunities on the continent. The propensity of African immigrant academics to migrate to the global north has been well documented in the literature yet the typologies of inward migration within the continent have been anecdotal in nature. Oduba (2000) posits that the brain drain is not uniquely

African and that experts in research and development from developing countries migrate to developed countries on a regular basis. This alludes to the fact that brain drain as previously noted has led to highly skilled individuals emigrating to the global north and in this case academics are not immune to this type of migration. Apartheid ideology and planning resulted in higher education institutions that were reserved for different 'race' groups, ethnicities, genders, and also allocated different ideological, economic and social functions in relation to the reproduction of the apartheid and capitalist social order. The differences in allocated roles constituted the key axis of differentiation, and the principal basis of inequalities between the historically white and black institutions. The substantive development of South African higher education has somewhat changed the direction of migration as more and more African immigrant academics find South Africa attractive due to the proximity it has to their sending countries evidenced by the growing numbers of African immigrant academics.. Hemis *(figure1)* data presented earlier sheds light on the growing attractiveness of the South African higher education sector to the African immigrant academics with the majority of academics coming from the continent. This may very well be in line with the White paper 3 of 1997 which advises institutions of higher education to look into recruiting African immigrant academics as a form of transformation.

African immigrant academics experience and navigate higher education institutions differently and offer valuable contributions for institutional culture programmes and policies, and play a crucial role in the need to decolonize the higher education sector. Issues of financial inclusion or exclusion are key challenges faced by many institutions in higher education around the world and are not exclusive to the higher education sector in South Africa. The experiences of alienation and belonging of academics as articulated above can take many forms and some may experience the intersection of gender, race and language as mediums to inform their alienation or belonging in the higher education sector.

Higher education holds the promise of contributing to social justice, development and democratic citizenship. Yet, this promise often remains unrealised and instead universities frequently continue to be a powerful mechanism of social exclusion and injustice, through both their own internal thinking, structures, cultures and practices and their external conditioning by the wider society (Soudien, 2008). This regime of social exclusion extends well beyond issues of access and admissions to universities. It includes the questions of the opportunities for intellectual, social and citizenship development and for success.

African immigrant academics occupy a very precarious position in any institution and their personal accounts in shaping the institutional culture is of paramount importance. Institutions such as Wits and UCT have internationalisation objectives which ultimately affects the recruitment of such valuable skill force from the rest of the continent. According to Bentley (2006), any serious agenda of inclusion in higher education entails the duty of using 'the powers conferred by academic freedom' to substantively decolonise, deracialise, demasculanise and degender our inherited 'intellectual spaces'. South African institutions of higher education are still undergoing a process of massive transformation to carve a new identity as inclusive, equitable institutions which need to understand and interrogate the experiences of African immigrant academics.

Academia has since time immemorial mirrored the social dynamics of the society at large and thus has been an extension of the social dynamics played out in the society. Bourdieu's (1984) notion of field is useful in explaining the distinctive cultural settings (university) spawned by the agent that is, local academics and administrators and their "social positions" such as social status, educational backgrounds, gender, and race. The study highlights the dearth of women in academia and additionally if construed on a nationality and ethnic basis, women African immigrant academics are adversely affected by structural and social settings they find themselves in, thus relegating them to feel like third-class citizens in academia.

Alienation and belonging in academia if analysed from a gendered perspective, determines, marginalises and privileges males. Academia has been constructed as a consecrated space (Puwar, 2004) and has been generally geared to advantage males and white males in particular. The academy is a dichotomous environment. On the one hand universities are the incubators of new ideas and the nurseries of future generations while on the other hand, they are among the most conservative and patriarchal of organisations. They have demonstrated little change over centuries, replicating their epistemologies and cultures through an international code of embedded practice (Davies and Holloway, 1995; Morley and Walsh, 1996).

The National Plan for Higher Education drawn up by the Department of Education explicitly states that:

> The staff composition of higher education has not changed in line with the changes in the student composition. Blacks and women remain under-represented in academic and professional positions, especially at senior levels (National Plan for Higher Education, 2001, p. 47).

Staff compositions in the higher education sector highlights the continued marginalisation of women especially these in senior academic positions. This alludes to the continued patriarchal inclination by the institutions even though efforts have been made to include and develop women, the general trend has favoured men. Sandler & Hall (1986) support this claim by purporting that research shows that women and minority faculty tend to negatively evaluate the social climate of their academic work environment and feel alienated from it.

Additionally, gender is mediated through class, race and nationality. These identities structure access to resources and opportunities. The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in the public political domain. Employment patterns in the academy reflect the pattern in the larger professional world,

positions with higher status, power, and remuneration are generally dominated by males. The under-representation of women as intellectual leaders has far reaching implications. This is because it is senior academics who are responsible not just for training successive generations of students and would be academics, but also for the very production of knowledge through research. Mama (2003) highlights that the dearth of women who are respected as accomplished thinkers, researchers, and writers presents one of the most intractable aspects of gender inequality in higher education systems all over the world.

An interesting discussion that arises from this research is the interplay between structures of discrimination with respect to race and gender, and whether this can be mutually beneficial. Mahlck (2001) argues that both men and women are trapped in gender relations but in different power positions and that it is the power positions that are further complicated when race and class are intertwined with gender.

This study offered insights on normally impermeable academic bodies that stay largely undocumented. More structural action should include interventions that change 'the way we do things here' to improve institutional cultures that are more inclusive and diversity driven. This calls for reflection on the current inequality practices in recruitment and selection and explicit attempts to break fossilized patterns and cultures. Secondly, future policies should take into account diversity dynamics in the various fields in academia so as to fulfil developmental and career objectives of all academics.

The interplay between financial exclusion/inclusion and alienation/belonging is of significant importance in the study as it highlights the plight of African immigrant academics. On the one hand financial inclusion plays a crucial role in determining ones' career progression. On the other hand financial exclusion may lead to the academic feeling alienated or feeling like a third-class citizen. The general underfunding of tertiary institutions world over is of grave concern

to the academy and impacts the future of any academic. According to the Cape Higher Education Consortium (CHEC) in its review of the initiatives of equity and transformation at three universities (2013) it states that:

> Universities continue to be underfunded, especially in the light of growing student enrolments without concomitant increases in academic staff. There is also limited funding available for research programmes and the target of 1% of GDP spending on research and development has not been met (p. 9).

With structural policies such as the Employment Equity Act 57 of 1998 that promote the employment of local South African academics, African immigrant academics are generally overlooked in the bridging of the skills gap highlighted earlier. African immigrant academics through the negotiation of their careers might opt to migrate to the global north institutions that may offer unrestrained funding. The Carnegie grant which was open to all academics offers an incentive to African immigrant academics as it allows them to participate in the knowledge production and helps them to feel like they belong within the academy.

The politics of belonging are the dirty work of boundary maintenance according to Yuval-Davis, and this dirty business is played out in numerous forms within the academy. Grants and funding are used as structural measures to foster belonging for the African immigrant academic as this affects their career aspirations and ultimately their willingness to belong in the academy.

The politics of belonging are thus played out to disadvantage and advantage other bodies within the academy. According to Puwar (2004), consecrated spaces are reserved for a particular bodies within academia and thus the African immigrant academic might feel alienated and ultimately a third-class citizen because they are not the envisaged bodies for that space.

Interestingly scholarship on the movement of academics either as post-graduate students, post study international graduate employees, or direct recruitment of immigrant academics by South African Universities is generally under researched and this is a cause for concern for Universities and organizations that employ African immigrant academics. However this process is facilitated by various immigration strategies in different countries aimed at attracting skilled human resources from the international market. This trend also contributes to the process of globalization and the changing nature of education in the knowledge economy. In line with the Department of Higher education and Training White paper 3 (1997), there is mutual beneficial advantages to the receiving institution as it plays into the problematic symptom of balancing the national and the international strategies employed by universities, this means the universities are constantly balancing the internationalisation of higher education at the same time ensuring that the national issues of employment are addressed and thus it plays into the problems of internationalisation and national interests.

Recommendations

The study has given insight on the experiences of African immigrant academics within the higher education sector of South Africa and highlights some of the nuanced challenges faced by this group of academics. The short term concern is to develop more academics within the sector while the long term strategy is to bridge the skills shortage by employing and nurturing local black academics and women.

More efforts should be directed at investigating the experiences of African international academics and more inclusive institutional cultures should be fostered so that everyone is welcomed and experiences a sense of belonging. The transfer of skills should be monitored to ensure that African immigrant academics transfer the necessary skills to their counterparts. Institutions should clarify their positions on internationalization of universities in order to

resolve the contradiction of attracting but not adequately supporting African immigrant academics. Deliberate polices should be made to stimulate academic and skills exchanges in fields of low performance.

Strategies should be aimed at minimizing the skills shortage in South Africa and this can be achieved through creating guidelines on immigration of African immigrant academics. Certain incentives for international mobility for both inflows and out flows should be made to lift a large number of fields to levels of international excellence. Measures such as funding and training and development should be put in place to assist graduate students whom want to enter the academic field. Conclusively more unrestrained funding should be made available to help develop and nurture talented academics form the African continent, while balancing the needs of the black South African and women.

Limitations of study

The study of the experiences of African academic immigrants is useful for aiding the further understanding of silent and minority voices within the academy. Due to the scope of the study which investigated experiences of academics within previously white institutions, it would be interesting to understand the experiences of African immigrant academics in previously disadvantaged universities (PDI) like the Universities of Fort Hare, Zululand and Walter Sisulu University for instance. Another challenge was accessing participants for the study as it only engaged participants who had been awarded the Carnegie grant.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In South Africa, racism and patriarchy are key features of colonialism and apartheid and have shaped all areas of social life, including higher education. In the specific domain of the academic workforce, the consequence was a racialisation and gendering which has bequeathed South Africa with a small predominantly white and male academic work force which is in dire need for growth and transformation. With respect to the current social composition of the academic labour force and employment equity, South Africa has an immediate and serious challenge in its universities. The most daunting challenge is to ensure that in the future, the number and quality of academics is suitable and that the academic profession grows and becomes more representative in terms of race and gender.

Undeterred by the lack of an established institutional mechanism to provide necessary support for African immigrant academics in these universities, all respondents mentioned that they experienced friendliness and felt welcomed by their local counterparts. Personal relations with colleagues at work is felt to be highly beneficial in enabling a smooth transition to a new work environment. However, this falls outside the university support systems and would depend considerably on the individual's disposition and ability to relate with colleagues. Diversity itself was not seen as a problem. It is the significance attached to 'difference' that poses questions about the locus of power. If these issues identified above are left unacknowledged, we are in danger of oversimplifying by making sojourners into a 'problem group', rather than seeing them as the rich resource that they are and fostering the range of cultural, pedagogic and academic experience that they bring to Higher Education Institutions and students.

The research paper has outlined the importance of African immigrant academics within the sector and has further understood the challenges faced by this heterogeneous group. It has

exposed the personal accounts of the academics in relation to their experiences of belonging and non-belonging. This article has argued that there is a need for South African universities to appoint African academic immigrants as a way of working towards improving the knowledge-base for local university students and transfer the skills at the same time. If well managed, the engagements of African immigrant academic will help to improve teaching and research and the development of knowledge production that would produce individuals capable of socioeconomic problems.

This study contributes to our knowledge of the perception of African immigrant academics in academia experience faculty differently from all the other academics in academia and why it is so hard to undo inequality and unequal practices in institutions of higher learning. The research on this group of academics simultaneously implies doing institutional cultures and it would be more fruitful to distinguish between multiple bodies within academia and equality practices if we are to disrupt the status- qou and bring about the decolonization of higher education through the acceptance and recognition of different bodies that constitute the academy.

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Appendix A: Participation Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Good day,

My name Thulani Nkomo and I am a Masters student in Diversity Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting a research project to understand the experiences of African academic immigrants in South Africa. This research focuses on African academic immigrants that are former recipients of the Carnegie Research Grant. It forms part of a larger study on the trajectory of Carnegie funded researchers at two universities. The study is interested in African academic immigrants in the higher education sector in relation to how their experiences are shaped by their identities as immigrants and discourses of migration, and belonging and non-belonging are investigated and how the academic immigrant contributes to this sector.

At this point, I am kindly inviting you to participate in this study. Participation is purely voluntary. All participants are allowed to withdraw from the research or to avoid answering questions which they are not comfortable with at any given time without any consequences. The interviews will range between 45-60 minutes in length. Interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed in order to ensure that data is captured accurately, no identifying information will be used and data and quotes will be used in ways that do not lead to the identification of any participants. Instead Pseudonyms will replace real names for anonymity purposes. Only I and my supervisor Dr Hugo Canham will have access to the information provided by participants. Data will be stored safely in a password protected computer. The completed research report will be available from the University of the Witwatersrand Library portal. A summary of the report will also be sent to participants that would like to read the findings of the study. For further information please be free to contact me or Dr Hugo Canham.

Thulani Nkomo: cell +27818982626 email: thulani.nkomo@wits.ac.za
Dr Hugo Canham: tel +27117174516 email:hugo.canham@wits.ac.za

Thank you for your time and I hope you consider taking part in this research.

Yours Sincerely, Thulani Nkomo

Appendix B: Interview schedule

Interview Questions

Interview Guide: International African Academics

Stayers:

- How would you describe yourself, e.g. African, female, male Black/White/Indian/International etc.?

  Follow up's

  a. Which of these categories do you identify with more
  b. What is your country of origin?
  c. When did you come to South Africa?
  d. Did you study in South Africa?
  e. What attracted you to come to South Africa?
  f. Did you come with your family or have you obtained family in SA (e.g. your partner is South African?)
  g. What was your first job when you arrived?
  h. When did you begin working at the university?

- What is your current position at this institution?

  Follow up's

  a. When you started here what was your position?
  b. What did the Carnegie grant do in relation to your career development?
  c. In what ways?
  d. When did you receive the grant?

e. What do you perceive are the benefits of receiving the Carnegie grant?
f. Did the grant present any challenges or disadvantages to your career advancement?
g. Have you received other research grants?

- Is your department predominantly S. African? If so, what is your experience of being in a predominantly S. African department?

    a. What do you enjoy most about working here?
    b. What was your greatest achievement since joining this institution?
    c. Are there any ways in which you think SA academics have advantages in academic life when compared to African international academics?
    d. Are there any ways that African international academics have an easier time in this institution compared to their local counterparts?
    e. Do African international academics publish more than local academics in your department?
    f. Is there a difference between the treatment of black SA's when compared to African international academics?
    g. Is there a difference in the treatment of African international academics and other internal academics such as those from Europe?
    h. Have you been part of a research group? If yes, did you struggle to get in or has it been a great experience? If no, why not?
    i. Are there roles that are more traditionally assigned to African international academics and others assigned to locals or are there no differences?
    j. Do students prefer to be supervised by any group/category (black, female, African international academic, locals) or are there no differences or preferences that you have observed?
    k. Do you think African international academics are thriving in your department?
    l. Are there differences in the way that white female academics and black academics experience this department? Does being a male/female African international academic add to these differences in experience?
    m. In your view, are women academics adequately represented in the senior roles within the school or department? Do you feel that African

international academics numbers should grow in your department and within senior positions?

n. In you view, what do you think are the experiences of senior African international academics and heads within your department and school? Do you think they have an easier or harder time than their local counterparts?
o. Who spends more time in the tea room? African international academics or local academics? Do black women African international academics spend an equal amount of time in the tea room when compared to white female/local black female academics?
p. Do you feel that you belong to the department and school or do you feel like you at the margins?
q. Who is in the inner circle of power? Why do you think this is the case? What would you have to do to get into the inner circle?
r. If there is a tradition of drinks after work or during the weekend, who attends these most and is there anyone that is not invited? What could be some of the reasons?
s. Would you describe this department/school/university as xenophobic in character and culture? Why?
t. Do you feel safe within the university?
u. Do you feel safe within the city and your place of residence?

- Is the career development from the receiving the Carnegie grant a contributing reason for you remaining at this institution?

  Follow up's

  a. What are the other possible reasons for you staying?
  b. Have you considered leaving the university before?
  c. What made you change your mind?
  d. Are you considering leaving the university now?
  e. What are some of the reasons that you would leave if you were to leave?
  f. Does the xenophobic violence make you consider leaving the university?

Appendix C: Consent Form

Experiences of African immigrant academics in the S.A Higher Education Sector

Consent Form (Tape-Recording)

I, _____ , consent to my interview with Thulani Nkomo for his research exploring experiences of African academic immigrants in the S.A Higher Education Sector.

I understand that:

- The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed for research purposes
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or research report
- Direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report.

Signed:

Date:

Wits Centre for Diversity Studies
School of Social Science
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 Thulani Nkomo, for his study exploring the experiences of African academic immigrants in the S.A Higher Education Sector. I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary.

- The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed for research purposes

- Direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report

- 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 for the partial completion of the degree, Masters in Diversity Studies

- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and published in a journal and/or book chapter.

Signed:_____

Date:_____