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THESIS

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INSTITUTIONAL INCLUSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCES OF ACCESS, BELONGING AND PARTICIPATION OF INTERNATIONAL/ FOREIGN STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae in the Department of Education

University of Cape Town

June 2020

KEYWORDS

Power

Inclusive Education

Inclusion

Exclusion

Marginalisation

Coloniality

Socio-cultural Capital

Acculturation

Voice Research

Access, belonging and participation

“#Fallist” movements

Xenophobia

ABSTRACT

Institutional inclusion in higher education:
An analysis of the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international/ foreign students at the University of Cape Town.

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Despite the ongoing global conflicts, wars, disputes and crises which face the world, education is one of the forces enabling global unity. Cultural enrichment, through 'semesters away,' student exchange programmes and the marketing of 'ivy-league' education online, have resulted in an explosion in student migration. However, international student migration is not a new concept, dating back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe, where foreign students formed communities at recognized universities. The value of global migration in the realm of academics, has gained increasing attention in light of the tremendous value migrant students add to host countries' cultural, political and academic landscapes. However, the largest contribution relates to economic gain, which earns host countries billions of US dollars. While migrant students may be 'welcome' into host communities, evidence points to issues surrounding homesickness, xenophobia, acculturative stress and social adjustment. One of the largest pull factors in student migration is the issue of university rankings.

The University of Cape Town (UCT) is described as the '*Harvard*' of Africa due to its global and local ranking. The institution is ranked 1st in Africa and 136th in the world, in part for its *international outlook* (staff, students and research collaboration) (Times Higher Education, 2020). It is for this reason that students from across the globe traverse to South Africa to obtain a recognised qualification. The seductive power of UCT as a highly ranked university, exerts a tacit, subtle power over IS. Although there is this academic attraction, student experiences of access, participation and belonging may be questionable. Apart from seductive power, overt power, as seen in the application process for visas, study permits and inflated fees for IS, may create barriers to entry. Migrant student experiences may also be affected by the recent and continued volatility in the higher education landscape.

Student mass action, centred on the calls for the #feesmustfall / #rhodesmustfall ('fallist movements') and calls to decolonise higher education, have taken centre stage in the South African academic landscape. This begs the question of where and how IS fit into the struggle of the host nation. Students' ability to cope and acculturate into the host society is influenced by socio-cultural capital, determined largely by their country of origin (global north versus global south). In this regard IS may experience acceptance or marginalisation based on their social capital or by how they are viewed and accepted by the host nation. Students can also build resilience through assimilation, integration and self- marginalisation. The role of host societies and institutions in assisting migrant students to cope with the acculturation process and culture shock is globally, well documented.

This researched is aimed at uncovering issues of access, participation and belonging of IS at the University of Cape Town. The aim of this study was explored by asking the following questions:

> **What are the lived experiences of access, belonging and participation of international students at the University of Cape Town?**

Sub questions:

i. **What factors motivated students to migrate to South Africa?**
ii. **How did IS experience and negotiate their experiences during the application process?**
iii. **What were their experiences during registration and orientation?**
iv. **What were their experiences academically and socially?**
v. **How did they negotiate their transition from their home countries to South Africa?**
vi. **What are the differences in experience between IS from varying socio-economic, cultural and geographic backgrounds?**

This qualitative research, using constructivist grounded theory, sought to uncover the experiences of IS through the lens of inclusive education, power, social capital, acculturation and voice research. Addressing issues of inclusive education is sometimes described as a conundrum in seeking to find solutions to, exactly 'who is included, and into what?' Research indicates that inclusion is rather a layered, grey area rather than a binary of 'who is in or who is out?' What inclusive education points to however, is the nature of power

between students and institutions. The effects of the various types of power relations on IS are greatly influenced by class, culture, race and origin of students. This study captures the experiences of a cohort of 25 IS from various parts of the world and includes representation from both sexes and varying years of study. Findings of this study, relating to access, participation and belonging within the ambits of inclusive education, indicate varying degrees of inclusion. In the main, the political and geographical nature of the country of origin has a pronounced bearing on the experience of the IS. Similarly, the effects of the seductive power of western, coloniality play an integral role in choice of institution. The South African scenario is further complicated by student unrest/ #fallist movements which further alienates IS.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I declare that, this thesis titled,

Institutional inclusion in higher education*: *An analysis of the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international/ foreign students at the University of Cape Town,

is my own work, which has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

David Naidoo

Signed : Signed by candidate

29 June 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, my gratitude goes to Yahweh and Jesus Christ for granting me the health and determination to complete this study. To my precious children, Emily Crystal and Jody Reuel for your constant encouragement. My appreciation and love goes to my mom, Mary and my late dad, Emmanuel for providing me with all the love and care. Mom, thank you for believing in me. To my sisters, Cheryl and Charmaine, God bless you for standing by me.

To all participants, both international and staff of UCT, thank you for participating in this incredible journey.

Finally, thank you Professor Alan Cliff, my supervisor, who was always calm and collected in guiding me down this path – God bless you!

LIST OF ACRONYMS:

CHE	**Council on Higher Education**
DoE	**Department of Education**
HEQC	**Higher Education Quality Committee**
IAPO	**International Academic Programmes Office**
IS	**International students**
SA	**South Africa**
SADC	**Southern African Development Community**
UCT	**University of Cape Town**
UK	**United Kingdom**
USA	**United States of America**

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem background

> *Superiority? Inferiority? Why not the quite simple attempt to touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself? Was my freedom not given to me then in order to build the world of the You?* (Fanon, 1967, p.231,2).

This oration from (Fanon, 1967) succinctly summarises the nature of this study. As a qualitative, exploratory description, it delves into the lived experiences of the *other*, the *stranger*, the international student (IS) in SA. This study analyses the response of the host nation to the challenges and experiences of IS searching for a better experience for themselves through academic and/or socio-cultural enhancement. The research is located at the campus of the globally ranked and academically recognised University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa (SA). It examines the lived experiences of access, participation and belonging of a cohort of 25 IS hailing from various globally diverse locations. The study locates itself within the ambits of power, seeking to locate student experience within the realms of the internationalisation of education. IS/ migrant students are defined in this study as those who cross international boundaries to study at UCT. In the main, they are fee-paying students who have chosen to apply and register at UCT. While *internationalisation of education* has many connotations (discussed later) in this study, it refers to the physical, temporary sojourn of students for the purposes of education. This chapter provides an introduction into the global trends in student migration, the significance of migrant students, their experiences, challenges and contributions to host nations' economic and academic capital. In this study, students' lived experiences are examined through lenses of inclusive education, power, acculturation, social capital and voice research. Slee (2011), in arguing for fully inclusive academia, maintains that sometimes in our responses to injustices of exclusion, we choose to look away. This study is a means of looking *into* the experiences of migrant students so that those in authority may become more aware of the issues and challenges of their access, participation and belonging. As a point of departure, I would like to draw attention to the global trends in student migration and hence the need for closer examination of the topic.

1.1.1 Global trends in student migration

Global migration of people due to pestilences, wars, natural disasters, genocide, lifestyle changes and education is as old as the history of humankind. However of late, migration has reached astronomical proportions. In 2017, members of the G20 countries (which includes SA) accommodated more than 127 million migrants (OECD, 2018). In terms of migrant students, as recent as 2016, there were 5.1 million IS globally, with a sizeable contribution of US$300 billion (Choudaha, 2019). This figure is, said to escalate to 7 million by the year 2020 (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley, 2009). It is recorded that English is the *langua franca* of the modern global village. It is therefore not surprising that countries such as, Australia, Canada, the USA, New Zealand and the UK are sought after destinations for IS (OECD, 2017).

It is argued that internationalization of education is not a new concept, dating back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe, where foreign students formed communities at recognized universities (Wildavsky, 2010). In the 13th century, the University of Paris opened its doors to scholars from outside France, catering for the cross border flows of students through the commonly used medium of Latin. Despite the long history of international education, it is presently described as multifaceted and perplexing, hence a need to constantly evaluate its challenges (Knight, 2004). Furthermore, there is a lack of clarity on roles and responsibilities, main beneficiaries and the sustainability of internationalisation. The term can refer to student and staff mobility, creation of off-site university hubs abroad, research partnerships between countries and hosting of global academic conferences. Of most importance, are the responses and obligations of academic institutions to the process (Knight, 2004). Currently, the focus of international education relates to the *massification* of HE, with a direct emphasis on research output and the building of additional revenue streams. Massification of education has significantly grown from just *student mobility* to *programme mobility* (Knight, 2013) where education hubs and online learning has become a great source of revenue. Programme mobility has also meant the outsourcing of accredited programmes to the developing countries under licence and with strict academic rigour (for example, Pastel Accounting and Edexcel programmes). More recently, 20th century international education related primarily to building diplomatic, political and cultural relationships. For the purpose of this study, internationalisation refers to student mobility, where students relocate to host

countries and are involved in face-to-face tuition. Knight's (2003) definition of internationalisation of education adds a focus to this study:

> *Internationalization at the national/sector/institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education (Knight, 2003, p. 2).*

Of importance is the integration of an *intercultural dimension* and *delivery* which speaks to inclusion and acceptance of IS at universities. This section provides an introduction to the reasons behind the student sojourn, the significance of internationalisation and the acculturation of students. It further sheds light on positive as well as negative student experiences as seen through the lens of power, inclusion and marginalisation. The increasing enormity of student migration has huge financial implications for host nations and academic institutions alike.

1.1.2 Motivating factors in the student sojourn

Studies on student migration indicate that students generally leave developing regions to study in the global northern countries for self-improvement (including language skills) and ultimately gain employment (see for example, Koelet & De Valk, 2016 in Belgium; Cicognani, Sonn, Albanesi & Zani, 2018, in Italy). *Ivy League Education* is considered to be a marker of distinction, a form of cultural capital which secures advantages in domestic and international markets (Bourdieu, 1986). In addition, the nationality of the education provider is significant in determining the legal and policy regime of the qualification (Marginson, 2012). Ranking of universities provide an important drawcard for IS. Consider, for example, the status of the *The Big Three* (Harvard, Yale and Princeton) which form part of the top 10 of the prestigious universities in the USA. Yale's effort to go global and become a *world university*, involves marketing on a global scale (Karabel, 2005). Alliance with a highly ranked institution is one of the main reasons for studies abroad, especially among students hailing from developing countries. Students migrate to SA due to the country's proximity on the African continent, employment after studying and opportunities for research. Students from the global north, on the other hand, want to experience the South African culture and tourist attractions. Furthermore, SA's economic exchange rate with Euro-centric countries makes travel, accommodation and tuition fees highly affordable to students from the global north. For the purpose of this study, students from the global north (defined later) are

traditionally English speaking whites with English bloodline. In the main, they hail from the USA, North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. Given the magnitude of student movement across the globe, it is necessary to examine how students are able to adjust to host cultures.

1.1.3 Student adjustment

Migrant students on experiencing a new culture are exposed to an acculturation process, which speaks to changes in their original culture patterns and behavior (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936). The work of Berry (1980) on the influence of cultural factors on individual behaviour has highlighted questions around how individuals, who have developed in one cultural context, respond to a new cultural context as a result of migration. As early as the 1950's, there have been attempts to explain sojourner adjustment (Mendenhall & Black, 1991; Berry, 1980; Bhatia & Ram, 2001, McLellan, 2009). This study hopes to include the socio-political and historical factors in the acculturation process. Berry's (1980) acculturation model provides a point of departure in understanding adaptation of IS. This study argues that the social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) which students bring with them assists in the acculturation process. IS students elicit cultural resources to fathom their experiences of in/exclusion based on power dynamics and thereby create their own social identities within the new social order (Cicognani, *et al*., 2018). Engaging with the forms of power and privilege in society has a bearing on the acculturation process of students. Linked to this notion, are instances where students are able to use their own social capital to self-include and have positive experiences abroad. Given the complexities associated with student sojourn, there is significant need to research student experiences from an academic, cultural and social perspective.

1.1.4 The importance of research on IS

Of greatest significance to host countries is the issue of income as IS contribute vast amounts of foreign investment to the country (Yeoh, 2012; Lee, 2014). Consider that in the USA alone IS generated $ 30 billion on fees and subsistence while in the UK students spent £ 25.8 billion in 2014-2015 (UK Universities, 2017). Apart from the economic benefits, IS add to the diversity of the culture, providing competitive advantages in international relations, which enhances the society's adaptability (Berry, 1997; Lee, Paulidor & Mpaga, 2018). Cross-border flow of knowledge and culture is vital in building relationships between countries and

reducing prejudice between people (Münch & Hoch, 2013). Given the magnitude of student migration in first world countries, it is not surprising that the field of internationalisation of education is highly researched. Current literature on the internationalization of education provides an interesting discourse on the merits and demerits of global student mobility. On the one hand, there is evidence which points to several advantages for students, host nations and sending countries. One such advantage is that universities provide a platform to produce global citizens based on the neutrality of academic participation (Lee & Rice, 2007). Such a platform can be used as a vehicle, devoid of gender, ethnicity, race and class, to be used as a mechanism to fashion a mutually supportive academic society. Benefits also apply to the host nation, as migrants bring knowledge and skills, especially within sciences, engineering, and technology (Altbach, 1989; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) and form a pool of migrant qualified labour (OECD, 2013). Studies in the UK indicate that local students prefer a nationality mix in their courses. This creates a more open minded and tolerant community since IS create an important source of new ideas and alternatives (Brown, 2009). Furthermore, internationalization of education provides an opportunity to sensitize locals on cultural perspectives and the ability to communicate with students from other cultures, nationalities and social backgrounds, thereby creating awareness and appreciation of other cultures (Bevis, 2002; Harrison, 2002; Thorne, 2015). Living in a multi-cultural environment may assist in attributes such as tolerance and respect for diversity, which are necessary for global citizenship and competing in a global market (Berry, 1997). Social benefits include friendships with host students, professional contacts, partnerships, marriage, capacity building, up-skilling and acquisition of new skills (Thorne, 2015). Moreover, in terms of foreign relations, IS may take up leadership positions, which ultimately may benefit relations between countries (Altbach, 1989; NAFSA, 2003). Of significance to this study is that there is often an inconsistency between IS' expectations and their lived experiences. This points to superficial contact between themselves and host students (Dunne, 2009). Student migration, as alluded to previously, has tremendous value for students, themselves.

1.1.5 Benefits for students

In terms of student life, a considerable amount of time is spent at education institutions where social interaction with other students and staff can build strong ties and dense networks (Hoehne, 2012). Portes (1998) further argues that such networks are important in the theory of social capital in that the benefits, gained from such interactions, form the core of social capital. Building bridges between bonded groups requires opportunities for members to meet

and exchange resources that are mutually beneficial, hence developing inter-cultural trust (Ager & Strang, 2010). Conversely, the absence of such opportunities for exchange of resources may lead to greater hostility with minorities grouping together (Morrice, 2007). In this regard, weak interactions and marginalisation lead to a low accumulation of capital. A study of migrants in Johannesburg indicates that they are disadvantaged with regard to access and linking social capital (Landau & Duponchel, 2011, cited in Hoehne, 2012). Similarly, in an Australian study, Naidoo (2009) used the theory of social capital as a platform to explain the educational exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups. Despite the benefits of migration to students, evidence suggests that students face an array of negative experiences.

1.1.6 Negative student experiences

Despite the success stories of migrant students, many studies on IS provide anecdotes of coping strategies to adjustment. Facing many challenges, IS are left to adjust and adapt instead of institutions catering to their unique needs (Lee & Rice, 2007). Studies by Furnham and Bochner (1982) indicate that people facing a new culture are often confused, anxious, bewildered, depressed, stressed and embarrassed. Zimbabwean students living in Russia, complained about the high cost of living and fears of expulsion and deportation (Mukeredzi, 2019). Research in the USA report that IS faced language barriers, academic difficulties, financial issues, homesickness, alienation and discrimination (Yeh & Inose, 2003; Williams & Johnson, 2011). These problems are exacerbated in migrant students, who in the developmental phase of their personal and social identity, have to negotiate the acculturation process abroad (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). In this sense, these adolescents on *becoming* adults need all the support they can get. The process of *becoming* is compounded for migrants who are in a strange culture, possibly facing hostile environments. In terms of support, IS felt that staff were unfriendly, gave poor guidance on courses and restricted their access to facilities (Dandy, 2009; Wang, 2003). Studies by Robertson, Line, Jones & Thomas (2000) indicate that lecturers felt that IS had a different attitude towards learning, lacked critical thinking skills and were reluctant to involve themselves in class discussions. Staff also reported pressure to mark leniently to protect the valuable income source and others admit that some students may well be getting away with cheating when there is no one to catch them (Reay, 2016). On the contrary, other studies in the UK indicate that academic staff perceived IS to be academically superior to host students (Dunne, 2009). What is clear from the above arguments is that there is no consistency with regard to perceptions and experiences of host

students, staff and IS. Given the challenges faced by migrant students, it is incumbent on HE institutions to consider additional academic and socio-cultural support.

1.1.7 The role of academic institutions in student support

Academic institutions thrive on research output and ultimately, rankings. This in turn attracts the best calibre students, which feeds the system. In marketing institutions abroad, universities show-case their academic rigour and successes of their alumni. However, although the emphasis is on academia and student experience, studies indicate the dual-faced nature of institutions. On the one hand, institutions appear as being benign, however student experiences point to surcharges in fees and other hidden costs. Students are therefore faced with mixed messages.

The DoE (2001) makes reference to welcoming a diversity of cultures calling for a "*fully-inclusive post-school system that allows South Africans to access relevant post-school education and training"* (DHET vision). However, this notion of *full inclusion* could relate to race and gender of South African students only. Whilst there may be debates around student experiences and attachment of blame to either students or staff, it is incumbent on university managers to be aware of the issues experienced by all concerned, provide support and make appropriate adjustments (Carr, McKay & Rugimbana, 1999). Furthermore, there must be initiatives to encourage intercultural learning and interaction between international and domestic students (Zhao, Kuh & Carini., 2005). Internationalisation of education is more than just relationships between two countries, it is interaction between cultures and between global and local (de Wit & Jones, 2014). Campus administrators have had to become more and more aware of the significance of smoothing the adjustment process mainly due to the consequences of poor student attrition rates caused by adjustment problems (Al-Sharideh & Goe, 1998). If students cannot overcome the difficulties and adjust successfully, they are unable to reach their pre-set goals. Academic failure of IS also has a negative on the university throughput rates and hence their global rankings.

Migrant students are described as outsiders, living on the outskirts of society where they are devoid of any human rights and are hence in a state of *disconnect* (Opotow, 1990). In viewing people who are unconnected to themselves, host societies may resort to discrimination, aggression and exclusion. The recent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in SA bear testimony to this assertion. Mobile students are perceived as the outsider, the intruder, the unfamiliar and are hence, treated with trepidation - leaving them vulnerable (Saunders, 2003;

Marginson, 2012). Given this outsider status, I posit that the theory of inclusive education has a role to play in access, participation and belonging of IS.

1.1.8 The role of inclusive education in student experience

The foundation of this study lies in lived experiences. One lens to view this is through the idea of inclusive education, which in the main addresses issues of access, participation and belonging of disadvantaged groups into mainstream education. International calls for the inclusion of minority groups stems from the Education for All (EFA) initiative, supporting an inclusive society which combats discriminatory attitudes (UNESCO, 1994, p. viii). However, defining inclusive education is not a simple task and is dependent on context. While inclusion speaks to access and participation, students may still feel marginalised within the institution. From a spatial viewpoint, "marginalisation entails material and discursive relationships between society and space" (Trudeau & McMorran, 2011, p.438). The word, *margin* itself, refers to a border. In essence, anything outside of the border is different and hence treated with trepidation. Schutz (1944), a scholar of Simmel, asserts that the stranger who is the racial or cultural *other*, is excluded and marginalized from the *in group* or host society. The stranger thus experiences cognitive and normative dimensions of cultural shock, hence finding it difficult to assimilate into the group.

By their very existence borders produce landscapes of exclusion. They therefore act as controlled instruments for inclusion in and exclusion from national identity by demarcating place and space and protecting its inhabitants. While geopolitical borders promote exclusion on a macro scale, institutions may exclude students on a micro scale. On a macro level, legal entities or *powerful social actors* relate to the gatekeepers who control access into the country through visas and study permits. In this way, access into the country is organized in such a way as to control free movement of people. The value of this study, as seen against the idea of inclusive education, is the identification of those who are at risk of marginalisation. Inclusion can be achieved by responding to diversity, removal of barriers and ensuring presence and participation (Ainscow & Miles, 2009). In interrogating in/exclusivity, the role of power relations must be interrogated.

1.1.9 Power and inclusion

Closely linked to marginalisation and exclusion is the concept of power. To expose the nature of power requires an exploration of basic forms of it (McGee, 2016). To this end, "if we want

to change power relationships - eg. to make them more inclusive […] we must understand more about how power works" (Gaventa, 2005, p. 6). Migrant students' experiences are directly or indirectly associated with theories of power. In this regard, power manifests itself in society through the social/ academic institutions' use of order and discipline. In the main, this study is informed and supported by the work of Sonn & Lewis (2009) who posit that the interrelatedness of people and social structures together with the dynamics of power and privilege, affect the group experiences of acculturation. An examination of the nature of the relationships between students and staff indicate there is an unequal balance of power, which affects personal identities and academic performance (Rambe, 2009; Moll, 2010). In interrogating the effects of power, it is necessary to apply analytical lenses to fully comprehend how power works to exclude. For IS it is learning the *rules of the game* in order to have access and experience participation. Studies indicate that upfront inflated fees and medical insurance are types of manipulation of the game used in order to subtly exclude migrant students (for example, Ramphele, 1999 and Naidoo, 2017). However, not all power is overt. Subliminal, tacit power has a subliminal effect on students' decisions.

Consider for example how tacit power is evident in colonialist manipulation of university rankings which ensures exclusivity in academic circles. Finally, the power of language and the language of power are seen through the eyes of those who are disenfranchised. This relates to the scrutiny and dismantling of *epistemic violence and Eurocentricism* at SA universities (Heleta, 2016). Indeed, as McGee (2016) posits, labelling and exposing forms of power helps to reconfigure the balance of power. Unpacking power is an important imperative in understanding exclusion and marginalisation of IS. While there are some global commonality on the experiences of migrant students, the SA context is complex and noteworthy of investigation.

1.1.10 Higher Education in South Africa

In addition to international trends and debates involving IS experiences, the situation in SA is further compounded by unique and nuanced conditions. Academia and academic institutions in SA are largely described as being patriarchal, racialized and dominated by western canons of thought. UCT, one of the earliest universities in SA, was established in 1829 as a high school for white boys. During the apartheid era, universities were reserved for students based on race. The largest and best-equipped institutions, for example, UCT, The University of the

Witwatersrand (Wits), The University of Stellenbosch, The University of Pretoria and The University of Natal were reserved for Whites. Indians and Coloureds were also given their own institutions close to racially demarcated suburbs. Blacks had limited access to HE and very often had to travel to *Bantu Homelands* to seek HE. Higher education institutions for people of colour were tokenistic, often referred to as *Bush Colleges* in the 1970's and 1980's. The University of Fort Hare played a critical role for students who were part of the apartheid struggle. Post 1994, there was a need to transform HE in SA, as apartheid education had undertones of white supremacy and black inferiority. As Hendricks (2018) contends, knowledge production was white in nature, with African intellectuals viewed as irrelevant or of a threatening nature to the status quo. Student protest action in SA is not a new occurrence. It stemmed from the apartheid era where calls for liberation and calls to unban leftist political organisations took centre stage. Twenty-five years into SA's democracy, there is still what is termed as *epistemic* violence and the *fallist* movements (Pillay, 2015; Hendricks, 2018). The issue of present student unrest is discussed in detail in chapter 2.

1.1.11 Voice research and inclusion

The purpose of conducting research with students is to give them a voice. This is in keeping with critical grounded theory. As Slee contends, "we seek understandings of exclusion from the perspectives of those who are devalued and rendered marginal or surplus by the dominant culture" (2011, p. 107). Voice research is said to "privilege the mundane" as "experience replaces theory as the author of knowledge" (Moore & Muller, 1999, p.202). Voice research in this study is used to complement the use of critical grounded theory and critical social realism used in the methodology. In this sense, the research is emancipatory in nature. However, I do contend that listening to the voices of IS (and not local students), would entail labelling IS as different, accentuating their *otherness* (Allan, 2007), hence contradicting the concept of inclusive education (Walton, 2011). Silence on matters relating to challenging experiences may lead to a poor educational experience and acculturative stress of migrant students from diverse backgrounds (Soira & Leuck, 2016). Having examined the issues and controversies surrounding IS and higher education in SA, it is prudent to discuss the problem statement of this study.

1.2 Problem Statement

One of the main tenets of inclusive education relates to the welcoming and support of minority groups into mainstream education. Research in the field of internationalisation of education at universities in developed countries is replete (see for example, Schneider, 2000 in Germany; Zhao, *et al.*, 2005; Ying & Han, 2006; Klomegah, 2006 in the USA; Harrison & Peacock, 2010 in the UK; Reay, 2016 in Australia; Koelet & De Valk, 2016 in Belgium). In the main, these studies examine the experiences of students from the global south sojourning to global northern countries seeking westernised qualifications. While there has also been some research undertaken in SA (see for example, Ramphele, 1999; Atkins, 2002; Ojo, 2009; Moll, 2010; Cross, Mahlanga & Ojo., 2011, Lee & Sehoole, 2015; Lee, *et al*., 2018), it is deemed to be insufficient, as none of the available research encompasses the theories of power, colonisation and acculturation in explaining student experiences. Additionally, Motha & Ramadario (2005) assert that there is a gap in research for inclusion at tertiary institutions in SA, especially for research on IS. In addition, Lee & Sehoole (2015) contend that although Africa is the largest continent in the world, empirical research in HE is limited. They also posit that SA as a leading economic hub and emerging economy, deserves scholarly attention with regard to student mobility. In terms of publications, Kennedy & McNeela (2014) affirm that the body of literature on inclusion and exclusion, published in English in peer-reviewed journals, is described as being very young, relating primarily to the global north. This study can therefore add significant value to inclusive education from an African perspective.

Given the importance of SA's history, cultural diversity, geographical and economic significance on the African continent, the country has drawn much global interest in the fields of politics, economics, human diversity as well as inclusion and marginalisation. The value of this research must also be seen against the background of calls to decolonise SA institutions. As an African academic my contribution to knowledge in this field will be local rather than being westernised. This is significant as much research in this field is from white viewpoints.

This study addresses the gap in knowledge in confronting migrant student concerns and experiences in an African country, where it may be deemed that students would easily fit in. Furthermore, the country presents unique challenges in the face of current calls for decolonisation of education and HE funding issues. The university itself, which is steeped in a deep colonial past and is highly internationally acclaimed, presents a fertile research arena for studies on in/exclusion and marginalisation of migrant students. The socio-cultural mix of IS from all parts of the globe will give a nuanced view of student experience. Findings will

add value to the university council and the International Academic Programmes Office (IAPO) of an *outsider* perspective of possible improvements in university management. IS are a valuable source of revenue for cash-strapped universities, they add value to the research output and hence international rankings. Their education and global experience also adds value to their expertise as researchers, academics and professionals at UCT.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the lived experiences of access, belonging and participation of migrant students at UCT. My interest in this study stemmed from, inter alia, my experiences of marginalisation as a student during the apartheid era, together with my engagement with IS over the 20 years of my career as a Campus Principal/ Director/ General Manager of several private HE institutions spread across SA. In my engagement with IS, I discovered the many negative issues they were exposed to. Students often arrived late into the country and hence had to catch up with academic work. The delays were caused by failure to obtain visas on time. My experiences drew me to enrol for a Masters degree in Inclusive Education at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in 2014. In 2015, I co-presented a paper on my findings at the 8th Inclusive and Supportive Education Congress (ISEC) in Lisbon.

A qualitative approach using grounded theory was used in this study to purposively sample IS enrolled at UCT. Students from all countries and years of study were invited via email by IAPO of UCT, to participate in the research. The email included the nature of the study, to which participants could respond if interested. Students were able to respond directly to my email if they were interested in being part of the project. The study included a total of 25 individual interviews and one focus group interview. Three of the staff from IAPO were also interviewed for this study. The research site was chosen, mainly due to its global ranking and the fact that the university has a vast number of IS from all parts of the globe.

This study is supported and informed by Moll's (2010) work on the relationship between power and female international student experience at UCT and Atkins' (2002) work with IS experiences at public universities in the Western Cape. On the African continent Lee & Sehoole (2015) report that students from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) were prone to study in SA to enable their chances of gainful employment and the opportunities the country presented for research. However, in the main this study is informed and supported by the work of Sonn & Lewis (2009). They posit that the interrelatedness of

people and social structures together with the dynamics of power and privilege, affect the group experiences of acculturation. Furthermore, they maintain that the concepts of oppression and exclusion particularly among migrant youth, have been inadequately researched. Noting that Sonn & Lewis' (2009) work pertains to South African immigrants in Australia, I believe that the theories of power, acculturation, inclusive education can be used to view IS' experiences through the veil of the liberation struggle in SA. As Cicognani, *et al*. (2018) contend, the occurrence of oppression, which manifests itself through prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia spawn social and psychological responses in migrants. This in turn constructs their identities, sense of belonging and hopefully, their resistance to discrimination.

In focussing on SA, this study hoped to provide deeper insights into why migrant students would want to study in SA, a developing country. To this end, SA may provide an *African* experience, which is more inclusive on a cultural level - noting the *rainbow nation* characteristic of the country. This research encompasses the theoretical frameworks of power, acculturation and social capital to shed light on the inclusion of IS. It argues that student experiences are a result of the cultural capital they bring with them and the various types of power to which they are exposed. In order to draw a comparison, students from developed as well as developing countries were, invited to participate in this study.

1.4 Research questions:

Main question:

What are the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international students at the University of Cape Town?

Sub-questions:

i. **What factors, motivated students to migrate to South Africa?**
ii. **How did IS experience and negotiate their experiences during the application process?**
iii. **What were their experiences during registration and orientation?**
iv. **What were their experiences academically and socially?**
v. **How did they negotiate their transition from their home countries to South Africa?**

vi. **What are the differences in experience between IS from varying socio-economic, cultural and geographic backgrounds?**

In chapter one, I presented a summary of this study. In chapter two, I will conduct an in-depth analysis of the related literature and compile a conceptual framework through which I will view issues of lived experience (access, belonging and participation).

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter one of this study began with a global synopsis of the importance of IS in the international arena as well as their issues and challenges. It also highlighted the tenuous nature of internationalisation against the backdrop of *who*, benefits from *what*? Parallel to this argument is what are host nations obligations in terms of support? (Knight, 2004). I then provided an overview of IS against the backdrop of the current crises facing HE in SA and proceeded to shed light on in/exclusion and marginalisation. The central theme of this study relates to the lived experiences of IS as seen through the veil of inclusive education, power and voice research, with emphasis on the inclusion of minority groups into mainstream education. This is in keeping with the DOE's (2001) call to make HE fully inclusive. Furthermore, the Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa provides set parameters for universities to provide assistance to IS, in all facets of their stay in the country (DHA, 2017).

The purpose of chapter two, is twofold:

- The first section reviews theories of power (with emphasis on coloniality and decolonisation); literature in the fields of in/exclusion; inclusive education; marginalisation; social capital and acculturation. It concludes with the value of voice research as a tool for social justice.
- In the second section, I develop a conceptual framework to illuminate understanding of how the complex theories and concepts of interactional power relations, have a bearing on the lived experiences of IS. The theory of acculturation is reconceptualised to explain how IS react and adapt to the power relations in host cultures.

2.1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1.1 Introduction

This section of the thesis begins with providing a context to the study. The purpose of contextualizing the study at this point is to create a canvass or background on which the literature and theories are discussed and debated. Lived experiences do not exist in a vacuum but is a product of the physio-socio-cultural make-up of individuals. Aside from what individuals bring into a socio-academic setting are extraneous factors which having a bearing on experience. This section provides a foundation for this study and establishes the current research's originality. As a point of departure, it is necessary to provide a contextual description of HE in SA. This is important, as the status of HE in SA was shaped by its evolving and troubled political landscape. The country in its newly formed democracy still bears the scars of a racially divided country. This has a bearing on the student experiences of local black (including Indian and Coloured) students and ultimately on IS experiences. Xenophobic attitudes towards migrants form a major type of animosity that IS are exposed to. This has an impact on the acculturation process experienced by students.

2.1.1.1 Contextualising the significance of IS in SA.

As highlighted in chapter one, copious amounts of money is spent by migrant students globally, especially in countries in the global north (UK Universities, 2017). Between June 2014 and January 2016, over 121 000 temporary residence visas were issued. Of significance are the 21 780 applications (18%) for study visas and visitor's visas (DHA, 2017). The magnitude of student migration therefore offers a fertile area for research in the field of marginalisation, exclusion and inclusive education in SA. Decolonisation, internationalisation, globalisation and funding of HE have notably taken centre stage in global academia. Given SA's apartheid past and recent democracy, the issue of xenophobia and decolonisation in HE has greater domestic relevance than for other older democracies. One of the petitions to decolonise education is related to *access* to HE by previously disadvantaged groups and funding thereof. As an added complexity, there is the perception that IS are denying local students access to HE. This is due to the oversupply of applications, vis-à-vis the number of available seats at public HE institutions. As an indirect, unfortunate consequence of addressing the needs of local black citizens, IS may be inadvertently marginalised and excluded. However, in terms of funding of cash-strapped universities, IS

play an important role. In essence, calls to decolonise education are seen through the veil of funding and access to institutions by locals, while globalisation calls for access and participation of the world's citizens within academic institutions.

The importance of foreign capital in the funding of HE in SA must be seen against the backdrop of the *#feesmustfall* campaign which made media headlines in 2015/ 2016. Despite the increase of government grants from R5,2 billion in 1996 to R23 billion in 2014, there remains a huge deficit in terms of state funding of HE. In effect, this led to an under funding of university education and subsequent fee increases of 13.7%, which was much higher than the government grant increase of 9.7% over the same period (Mthembu as cited in MacGregor, 2014). Aside from the subsidization of poor students by universities, the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) provides loans and bursaries to many previously disadvantaged students. However, reports indicate that NSFAS experienced a shortfall of some R400 million in 2016 (CHE, 2016). Essentially the *#feesmustfall* campaign is a protest against double-digit fee increases with many calling for a 0% increase in fees while some are calling for free HE. Universities will collectively lose a further R800 million in revenue in addition to R1.4 billion lost in 2016 - despite the further R5 billion diverted from other projects (CHE, 2016).

Alternative means of funding of HE is a national priority and one solution is the recruitment of IS - especially in light of SA's physical and geographic position on the African continent. SA has well-developed infrastructure, communication systems and international transport hubs which enable international travel. Furthermore, the country's GDP is five to seven times that of the rest of the SADC (DHA, 2017). The country is thus a major destination and transport hub for the continent and the world. The low value of the country's currency against western countries bodes well for students from the UK, USA and rest of Europe. In the main, these *study abroad* students find studying and living in SA financially attractive. In terms of the attractiveness of UCT to white students, the Eurocentric roots of the institution, the use of English as the medium of instruction and the campus' physical and academic resonance with the likes of *Ivy League* institutions abroad, makes the adaptation process more palatable.

As far as the total number of movements through the points of entry are concerned, volumes have increased from 33 million in 2011 to 41,9 million migrants in 2016. Between June 2014 and January 2016, over 121 000 temporary residence visas were issued. As part of the SADC protocol, 5% of SA's HE places are reserved for students from member states. This in itself may be construed as exclusionary to host students who have limited access to HE. However,

converting these IS headcount statistics to revenue for public academic institutions deserves economic and academic attention.

In SA foreign students account for 12 277 (9.2%) of a total of 1 333 096 students at the country's top five universities (Businesstech, 2015). The OECD (2018) reports that the total number of IS in SA stands at 43 000 students (private and public), representing 7% of the total enrolled in G20 countries. If IS generate more than 10% of student fees (noting that they pay significantly more than local students), then surely their experiences and levels of customer satisfaction requires scholarly attention.

In terms of academic contribution, the DOE (1997) contends that IS students undertaking postgraduate studies are an important means to adding to the skills- base of SA. Research by the Academy of Science of South Africa indicates that, IS students tend to finish their doctorates faster (in about 4.5 to 4.6 years), than their local counterparts (who take an average of 4.9 years). In 2005, 25% of all doctoral students in SA were IS (DBSA, 2010). This is especially significant since SA is described as producing too few doctoral students per million - 23 for SA versus 43 for Brazil and 157 for South Korea in 2005 (DBSA, 2010). In 2013 there were 20 962 IS at postgraduate level. Cross-pollination of ideas, drawn from IS' varied experiences, research interests and linguistic competencies, adds to a broader perspective for students and lecturers alike. Jeannin (2019) reported that multicultural experiences were beneficial in understanding students from various cultural backgrounds. IS who remain in the country as academics are able to extend awareness of issues which extend beyond borders, introduce fresh perspectives to administration and benchmark practices of local academics with those abroad (Jeannin, 2019). In this way, the community of practices becomes global rather than local. Retention of IS after graduation serves to assist in the recruitment of skilled foreign nationals with South African qualifications. This obviates the issue of non-recognition of foreign qualifications (DHA, 2017). Research on IS affords the country an understanding which can assist students who may fall prey to bribery, extortion and human trafficking. Furthermore, building relationships with other countries reduces crime and improves conditions for economic growth (DHA, 2017).

2.1.1.2 Student experience and the significance of this study

The transition of students from adolescents to adults may be described as traumatic. In this sense, these adolescents on *becoming* adults need all the support they can get. This is especially true due to the huge academic gap between high school and university. The process of *becoming* is compounded for migrants who are in a strange culture, possibly facing hostile environments. This study adds value to migrant adolescents in that the developmental phase of their personal and social identity overlaps with the acculturation process abroad. (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

In the main, studies on IS advocate a deficit model of student experience, examining issues of adjustment or what was lacking in students or coping mechanisms. As Lee & Rice (2007) purport, "international students confront an array of cultural adjustments, but the responsibility is often left to the student to *adjust or adapt* to the host culture rather than for institutions to understand and try to accommodate their unique needs" (p.386). Furthermore, Sonn & Lewis (2009) argue that the concepts of oppression and exclusion, particularly among migrant youth, have been inadequately researched. Noting that Sonn & Lewis' (2009) work pertains to South African immigrants in Australia, I believe that the theories of power, acculturation and inclusive education can be used to view IS experiences through the veil of the liberation struggle and decolonisation in SA. As Cicognani, *et al.* (2018) contend, the occurrence of oppression, which manifest themselves through prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia spawn social and psychological responses in migrants. This in turn constructs their identities, sense of belonging and hopefully, their resistance to discrimination. The term *xenophobia* is derived from Greek and corresponds to fear or *dislike of foreign or strange.* Xenophobic attacks on IS are largely due to a lack of understanding and appreciation of students from other African countries (McLellan, 2009). A number of scholars have conceptualised xenophobia in various ways, for example, the "fear of difference embodied in persons or groups" (Berezin, 2006, p.273) or an "intense dislike, hatred or fear of Others" (Nyamnjoh, 2006, p.5). However, the following conceptualisation of xenophobia as is relevant to this study:

> *attitudes, prejudices, and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity (ILO, IOM & OHCHR, 2001, p.2)*

The relevance of the above definition is seen through the lens of the various *fallist* movements, evident at most academic institutions in SA. Some of the ways in which

xenophobia is exposed in these *fallist* movements, centres on host students vilifying IS for taking up scarce seats. In other cases, host students have been reported to victimise IS for not joining the mass student action. Among the important events for UCT was the #*RhodesMustFall* campaign, which occurred on 9 March 2015 when students demanded the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes. This was in light of the role he played in the colonisation of the country. The movement was coupled with calls for progress relating to institutional transformation at UCT. In October of 2015, Wits university students began the #*feesmustfall* campaign which spread rapidly across the country. In essence, students were vehemently against the double-digit fee increases which universities were tabling.

The status of the IS in the South African context is a controversial one especially for those hailing from the African continent. The country's lack of service delivery, burgeoning population growth, political and employment instability places the sojourner as an outsider, waiting to share in the limited resources available to the masses. State universities in the country are unable to absorb the hundreds of thousands of applications on an annual basis. For example, for the 2018 academic year, UCT had 27 040 applications for 4 200 seats (UCT, 2017). These statistics point to the dilemma of *who* to apportion these seats to. This issue must be seen also be considered from the viewpoint of black South African students, for whom access to public HE institutions has been previously restricted. In some ways black students may, also be considered as *foreigners* at universities.

In the HE space, the DHET (2016) recommends that IS be specially catered for so, as to ensure that their social and educational experiences are rewarding. This was in line with the country's commitment to African development and the African Renaissance. More recently, the DHA's (2017) Draft Policy Framework for the *Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa*, sets guidelines for the state and institutions to be more inclusive of IS by providing appropriate support services, including "study visas applications, on-campus administrative support and advice regarding registration, housing, academic support, counselling, social and cultural activities" (DHA, 2017, p. 16). Despite calls by the DHA, it is argued that the country does not have any targeted, "projects that ensure social integration of refugees and migrants in South Africa," (Motha & Ramadiro, 2005, p.26). Research indicates that the processing of student visas is rather convoluted, nefarious and bureaucratic in the South African context (Lee, *et al.,* 2018).

While politicians and policies support the inclusion of IS, there is little translation of action at grassroots level. Consider Lee, *et al's.* (2018) argument regarding this dilemma. Minister of

Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba is quoted as saying that, "there is no important linkage between countries and regions than people, and we are extremely happy about the number of African students studying in South Africa, which we see as an important component of our regional integration." Contrary to this statement, political figures have often vilified and disparaged immigrants in SA (Lee, *et al*., 2018, pp. 1980/81). Given the challenges in SA higher education, IS may self-exclude due to fears of visas restrictions and inability to complete studies

This study argues that student experiences are dependent on their cultural capital as well as the various types of power to which they are exposed. This in turn has a bearing on their acculturation process in SA. In order to draw a comparison, students from both the global north and African/ Asian descent were invited to participate. The study deserves scholarly attention as the theories used to explain student experiences are unique to this study. Furthermore, SA with its previously exclusionary apartheid policies, protests surrounding the decolonisation of universities and xenophobic violence, affords a unique lens to view the experiences of IS.

Previous research in this field, included theories of power (see for example, Moll, 2010) or the theory of acculturation in Italy (see for example, Cicognani, *et al.,* 2018). This study therefore seeks to address the gap in knowledge of previous literature on migrant student experiences, using a *multi-faceted* approach. To this end, I posit that student experiences of access, participation and belonging are multi-layered - dependent on the origin of the student. Furthermore, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, IS are a valuable source of revenue and academic output. Their education and global experience also adds value to their expertise as researchers, academics and professionals at UCT. Pillay's (2015) rhetoric on the decolonising of universities raises important questions around the engagement of bringing "new knowledge into our universities that breaks with geographical and linguistic apartheid," thereby, bridging the "continental fault lines between Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone, and Arabic knowledge." In essence, this new knowledge adds value to SA, enriching the country's cultural and academic capital. To this end, there is tremendous value in conducting research on their experiences IS as they have much to offer the country.

The literature review draws from work done by theorists in the field of inclusive education and student migration to elucidate lived experiences. This section of the chapter is divided into four subdivisions, namely, literature on theories of power and coloniality, motivating factors in student mobility, issues of inclusion/ marginalisation and the theory of

acculturation. These theories and themes were chosen based on other studies conducted with IS (see for example, Moll's (2010) use of power and Cigogni, *et.al's (2018)* use of acculturation). To explicate further, in/exclusion are based on power relations between social actors. The social capital students bring into the country act as *enablers or precluders* to inclusion. As the student is able to acculturate over time, he is able to self in/exclude and participate in campus life.

Power has a direct and tacit influence in attracting students to the highly ranked UCT. This powerful influence acts as an academic magnet in drawing students from abroad. On the other hand, power is also manifest by gatekeepers, such as the DHA in streamlining access and inclusion. However, students are not docile recipients of the negative issues of power but through the process of acculturation, they are able to build resistance. As a foundation for this chapter, the theories of power deserve initial attention.

2.1.2 CONCEPTUALISING POWER

The relevance of power in this study, relates to how institutions are capable of holding groups of people in subjugation while empowering others. Cicognani, *et al.* (2018) argue that where there is an existence of power relations, migrants do not have equal access to citizenship and belonging. For the IS "social group memberships based on race, gender, or ethnicity, afford social identities and differentiate privilege and power within particular socio-historical circumstances" (Sonn & Lewis, 2009, p.117). In essence IS' ability to adapt to a new host culture rests in the power relations between themselves and the host nation. An imbalance of power relations between migrants and socio-political institutions may result in exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups. In the SA context, recent and robust calls for the decolonisation of academic institutions has, to an extent, shed light on how the minds of IS are also colonised. At the heart of the *epistemic violence* are calls to re-examine the powerful influence of colonialism on academic institutions. The *struggle* of SA student should not however, be limited to marginalisation of themselves, but must be as a lens to view how IS are also victims of the *colonised mind*. Consider that African IS students are drawn to a western institution located in Africa - in the main due to affordable fee structures. Student mass action may seek to alienate IS and further emphasise their *otherness*. However, as alluded to previously, it is prudent to note that power affects IS in different ways. White IS students with greater cultural capital may, not be as adversely affected by the effects of

powerful institutions, such as embassies, the DHA and UCT's application process. This section examines the nature and types of power as well as the *coloniality of power, knowledge and being* on student experience.

2.1.2.1 Unpacking the concept of power:

Theorizing and unpacking the discourses of power is described as being problematic and largely contextual - with many theorists developing models to explain the origins and nature of it. Western deliberations of social theory focussing on the academic study of power, have produced a myriad of comprehensive perceptions. Consider for example Foucault's (1980) study of the changing ways in which power manifests itself in society through the social institutions' use of order and discipline or Wartenberg's (1990) examination of the various forms of power and the resources which perpetuate it. For Hindess (1996), the power discourse is the process of social consent, which seeks to legitimise various expressions of power. It is argued that any analysis of power, even in its most basic of form, has exposed visible, hidden and invisible expressions of it (McGee, 2016). In the main, power analysis is an attempt to understand the nature of power and associated power relations.

A call for a better understanding of power hinges on *what* is believed to be the source of the discourse. To explicate further, the discourse of power could have its roots in many disciplines, for example, academics (philosophy) or in a social setting (liberation struggle) or in a combination of both (McGee, 2016). I infer from Karlberg's (2005) assertion of discourse theory that our conceptual and spoken beliefs on a subject determine our actions in relation to that subject. In this regard, power can be conceptualised through the discourse of domination or conflict.

In the main, western theories of power, focus on the conflictual or adversarial nature of power, which ranges from the positive attributes of competition to coercion or domination at worst. This Western view of power is described by Karlberg (2005) as the *power as domination* model. The *power as domination* model can be traced back to the writings of Machiavelli (1961), Weber (1986) and Bourdieu (1994) which form the basis of major beliefs of western social and political theory (as cited in Karlberg, 2005). For example, for Gaventa (2005) the issue of power relations is seen through the veil of donors, trainers and civil society practitioners in war torn, post conflict societies where violence shapes the potential for civil society participation. In this regard, power is held by social actors who do not want

to share their power. This results in conflict, power struggles and powerlessness. However, not all power may be as a result of conflict and domination.

Alternatively, peace researchers may approach power from a *capacity* perspective, where power is not necessarily linked with conflict but may exist in cooperation, empowerment or jointly developed, nurturing power (for example, Boulding, 1990). Practical perspectives promote social change by transforming or analysing conflict situations and finding new ways to neutralise them by shifting the balance of power between role players (McGee, 2016). Giddens (1984, pp.15, 257) for example, conceives of power as having a "transformative capacity" or "the capacity to achieve outcomes," "power is not necessarily linked with conflict… and power is not inherently oppressive." Giddens (1984) further argues that power can exist even where there is consensus amongst individuals or where there is dissent, power does not necessarily have to be oppressive - for example, the power relations between parents and children. In the university setting, consensual power relations may exist between lecturers and students, where students may perceive the lecturer to be the *authority* in his subject field.

In keeping with the university setting, students may exercise their power through resistance. In this instance, visible, hidden or invisible power may be mobilised, whether consciously or unconsciously, as strategies to challenge or transform existing power relations (Foucault, 1980). Consider student mass action on campuses as a case in point. Student resistance to perceived inequalities raises public, institutional and government awareness of student dissatisfaction at the very least. Student uprising relating to the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at UCT in 2015 is a fitting example of empowerment through resistance to the status quo. As far as IS' are concerned, they are described as strong agents, continuously engaging in self-determination through education, defining their needs and values and rights (Marginson, 2014). For the purposes of this research, the works of Lukes (1974), Gaventa (2005) and McGee (2016) have a direct bearing on power.

McGee (2016) succinctly summarizes the debate, positing that the analysis of power:

> *consists of applying a set of overlapping and interacting analytical lenses to help one to understand that power is at play and categorise it – in terms of expressions (over, to, with, within), realms (public, private, intimate), levels (household, local, national, transnational, global), forms or faces (visible, hidden, invisible), as well as dimensions such as agency and structure, intention and consciousness (p.104)*

McGee (2016) aptly covers all aspects of the analysis in terms of the source, levels and nuances of power as well as the various agents involved. Furthermore, the appropriate use of overlapping lenses to view power is relevant. Consider for example, the powerful influence of university rankings in attracting students to the country. This may, be regarded as one lens while the restrictive nature of preconditions for acceptance at institutions may be regarded as an overlapping lens. This analysis is pertinent to the focus of my research in that IS may be subject to power relations in *visible, hidden and invisible* forms (Lukes, 1974), in *public, transnational or global* realms. Let us consider the nature of visible or direct power experienced by IS.

2.1.2.1.1 Visible or direct power

On a macro level, legal entities or *powerful social actors* relate to the gatekeepers who control access into the country through visas and study permits. In this way, access into the country is organized in such a way as to control free movement of people. This issue is directly related to the concepts of *access, participation and belonging* of IS, discussed later in this chapter. Regulating access is congruent with Lukes' (1974) first dimension of power where power is direct and observable in manipulating the behaviour of others.

Reinforcing the issue of access, Femia (1981, p.54) quoting Schattschneider, regards "all forms of political regulation and organization as the mobilisation of bias." In this way, "some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out." Organizing and regulating access, creates a bias, which fashions space to privilege some groups and marginalize others (Trudeau &McMorran, 2011). The regulation of bias towards immigrants is conducted through ports of entry. In the main, visa applications are a political way of controlling access in order to maintain the status quo of inhabitants, economically and socially. Sometimes, borders protect class groups, even within a country. In this way, privilege is maintained and sustained.

Previous research relating to IS *access,* indicates that visas and study permits are seen as exclusionary, rather than a tool to control migration (see for example, Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Church, 1982; Ramphele, 1999; Sookrajh, *et al.,* 2005 & Lee, *et al.,*2018). Other research indicates that students are met with hostilities and delays when renewing their study permits (Marginson, 2012). Student experience related to visa application seems to be contrary to government policy. Consider the following excerpt from the DHA's website:

> *The Immigration Act, 2002 (Act No 13 of 2002), aims at setting in place a system of immigration control which ensures that visas are issued as expeditiously as possible, on the basis of simplified procedures and objective, predictable and reasonable requirements and criteria and without consuming excessive administrative capacity. (South African Home Affairs, 2016).*

While the intent for the expeditious processing of visa application is through "simplified procedures" is recognised, the actual process in reality is reported as being time consuming and traumatic (see for example, Naidoo, 2017; Lee, *et al.*, 2018). However, inefficient government departments are often short staffed and experience difficulty in the servicing of its own burgeoning population. This issue is exacerbated by a lack of physical resources, inherited from the country's apartheid legacy. The apartheid government's policy was that of separation instead of integration. The country then did not have a need to process large volumes of visas, especially for those hailing from the African continent.

McGee (2016, p.114) further summarises the nature of this research in HE, positing that "dominant behaviours, attitudes and norms have become normalised over decades through material and fear-based coercion." The normalisation of power over IS can lead to a process of social consent (Hindess, 1996) whereby academic institutions' expression of power has been, legitimised over time. This relates to the *coloniality* of power, discussed later in this section. Requirements and legislation governing access of IS into HE institutions may have a long historical yet unfounded reason for its implementation. While geopolitical borders promote exclusion on a macro scale, institutions may exclude students on a micro scale through issues of hidden power.

2.1.2.1.2 Hidden / tacit power

HE institutions often throw a welcome mat at the door through marketing activities on their websites, but in reality IS may face subtle forms of exclusion. In many instances, power relations could be described as inadvertent or unconscious. In this regard, Bachrach and Baratz (1970, p.43) definition of power adds value to Lukes' (1974) notion of hidden power.

They define it as:

> *a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures (rules of the game) that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others.*

Of significance to this study are the *rules of the game* dictated by institutional policy, such as upfront fee payments and language proficiency. On a micro level, *institutional procedures* of universities exert power by requesting inflated, upfront fee payments and upfront medical insurance. In this regard, "the bias of a system is sustained by the socially structured and culturally patterned […] practices of institutions" thereby securing "compliance through the threat of sanctions" (Femia, 1981. p.54). Students have to comply with entrance requirements, academic policies and financial obligations or face sanctions in the form of de-registration or non-acceptance. This view is buttressed by Lukes' (1974) belief that power is evident through manipulation and persuasion where in this study institutions may seem welcoming but may be manipulative through their requirements for the acceptance of IS. Mitchell (1990, p.553), quoting Gramsci's writings aptly summarizes this type of hegemony as the "non-violent forms of control exercised through the whole range of dominant cultural institutions and social practice." In this regard, *ivy league* institutions control and maintain their elitism through policies which ultimately benefits their classist demeanour.

Studies relating to student access, suggest that students are generally dissatisfied with the issue of upfront fee payments and inflated fees for non-local students (see for example, Ramphele, 1999 & Naidoo, 2017). However, the issue of inflated fees is not applicable to all IS, as the country of origin plays an important role. In Africa, the SADC has a powerful influence on fee payments. The main objectives of SADC are to achieve economic development, peace, security, and growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa, and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration. The SADC is a Regional Economic Community comprising 16 Member States; Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In promoting cohesion, it is argued that there would be post enrolment support for students. McLellan (2009, p.290) in interrogating these policies, maintains that:

> *Once students have actually moved about the region and found themselves at a university in one of the member states, there would be some sense of feeling at home and/or belonging at the institution. This would include freedom from discrimination and access to the same education and human resources as other students.*

The term "belonging" and "access" resonates with the fundamental tenets of Inclusive Education and the DHA's (2017) policy statements (discussed previously). What transpires in reality however, is that SADC students along with all other IS, face similar challenges and hostilities. In some ways SADC students benefit economically by the 16 nation political accord. Students from SADC countries pay the full course fees plus R3 750 as an admin fee. Non-SACD students pay the course fee plus faculty international term fee (ITF) and a non-refundable administration fee of R3 750. This equates to an undergraduate IS paying R90 000 for the year of study vis-à-vis R45 000 (average fee) for a South African student (UCT, 2019 fees). The exorbitant difference fees for IS may be viewed as a powerful barrier to entry and as a *cash cow* for the institution. In many cases, parents of students from African countries accumulate large amounts of debt in order to secure a better education for their children. However, sacrifices are made in the hope that studies abroad will in the future, have positive economic spinoffs for the family and community. In terms of fees, white IS may not be as harshly impacted as those hailing from the African continent. This is mainly due to the powerful, advantage of favourable monetary exchange rates. Whilst the issue of fees may be overt, other forms of power may be subliminal.

Other examples of Lukes' (1974) third dimension of tacit power are manifest when IS' needs may be *invisible* to the members of the host culture. In this instance students may be subtly marginalized by lecturers code switching from English to local languages unknowingly. Similar studies by Lin & Yi (1997); Osman (2009); Naidoo (2009) and Naidoo (2017) indicate that lecturers use local colloquial terms and examples, which are best understood by host students only. Language barriers are further exacerbated by difficulty to adapt to local colloquial language and accents, leading to feelings of marginalisation (see for example, Robertson, *et al.*, 2000; Wang 2003; Sookrajh, Gopal, and Maharaj 2005; Andrade 2006). In this regard, the dominant local, yet unofficial language of the institution is seen as a soft power against marginalised groups. Lukes' (1974) three conceptualisations of power (visible, hidden & tacit) adds valuable insights into the various power relations that IS are exposed to.

McGee (2016) aptly summarises the relevance of power relations in the issues of access, belonging and participation of IS, stating that:

> *By helping to label visible, hidden and invisible faces or expressions of power, distinguish power over from power to, with and within, and pinpoint the loci and interrelationships of power between the public, private and intimate domains, this body of work helps establish appropriate strategies for reconfiguring interests and positions so as to shift power in a given instance and context (p.111).*

The above quotation presupposes that power often operates incognito and therefore needs to be identified and exposed. In exposing the various forms of power (visible and tacit), universities and authorities are able to establish appropriate action to realign the balance of power and make education more inclusive. In contributing to the body of knowledge relating to IS, this study assists not only in labelling the forms of power but also in establishing appropriate ways to shift the balance of power. To this end, to change the status quo, universities need to acquire the skills and knowledge to inculcate and promote intrinsic power with students, through dialogue with academia and management (Bahou, 2011). It is envisaged that the results from this study will open channels of communication between lectures, administrators, managers and IS. As Bahou (2011) contends, those in power need to engage with students and not only listen to them. Engaging with students requires an element of empathy to the challenges of migrants in a new world. This can only be achieved if there are conducive conditions for dialogue and engagement. One such condition relates to giving students a voice to air their concerns. The value of voice research, is discussed later in this chapter. Concerns could be addressed through dedicated email repositories, student support offices and tutorial sessions. While the effects of colonialism are becoming more diluted, mainly through calls to decolonise education, there remains other tacit forms of power, namely, the *coloniality of power, knowledge and being.*

2.1.2.2 Post colonialism (the coloniality of knowledge, power and being)

As a precursor to this section, it is prudent to examine the economic disparities which exist in what is commonly referred to as, the global north and global south. Historical descriptions of the former region made reference to them as *developed, western or first world* while the latter was known as, the *developing or third world.* In the main, there are four broad indices, which are used to distinguish between north and south, namely, technology, politics, wealth (GDP)

and demography. For the north, they enjoy high levels of income, have small families, developed infrastructure and technology, a highly skilled workforce and world-renown academic institutions (Todaro & Smith, 2006). Countries identified, include the USA, most countries in Europe, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Israel, Japan, Singapore and South Korea. In the majority of these countries, whites form the wealthy majority (see chapter one). Conversely, the global south countries have low GDP's, high population growth rates, low levels of education, technology and infrastructure. Countries include sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, India and China. One common characteristic of global south countries is that, post their political independence, they are heavily in debt and are still reliant on the global north (Todaro & Smith, 2006). In terms of this study, people from the global south aspire to have the lifestyles (promoted by media) to those in the north. There is therefore this predisposition towards northern (western) standard of education. This section argues the aspirations of IS, post colonialism as seen through the lens of subtle power.

The relevance of this section is twofold. Firstly, it provides historical context of UCT as a remnant of the British Colony and implications for power relations over migrant students. Secondly, it provides context for current the *#fallist* movements which host students have been engaging in. The role of colonialism and postcolonialism in the South African context will be discussed in detail in under inclusive education in South Africa in section 2.1.3.2 (page 42).

2.1.2.2.1 The Coloniality of Knowledge and Power

The concept of power is examined against the backdrop of colonialism, decolonisation and coloniality. In order to present some perspective on coloniality, I draw on the work of Fanon (1967); Maldonado-Torres (2007); Grosfoguel (2013); Mbembe (2015) and Seroto (2018). While *colonialism* relates to a political-economic relation of dominance of one nation over another, *coloniality* refers to the enduring patterns of power in the minds of the oppressed, which are a result of colonialism. It provides an understanding of how the *global-political* order has been "constructed, constituted and configured into racially hierarchized, Euro-American-centric, Christian-centric, patriarchal, capitalist… and modern power structure" (Seroto, 2018, p.4). To this end, all other countries are binaries of what is *western, Christian and modern.*

The *coloniality of power* is endorsed through the classification and reclassification of people who fit into the global north and global south; the creation of entities to control and manage people; definition of spaces and boundaries and the use of epistemology to legitimise power (Castro-Klaren, 2008). This unpacking of *coloniality* creates a foundational understanding of why and how people of the global south are always subject to control through subtle power. Classification serves to divide and conquer the world in unseen ways. Consider how the apartheid government of SA classified its people according to colour, type of hair and ethnicity. Of relevance to this study is the notion that migrants from the global south have an innate colonial predisposition to the racial/ ethnic division of labour in global metropolitan cities (Seroto, 2018).

Implications for diverse learning communities stems from the theoretical framework of Hurtado, Carter & Spuler (1999) where a review of the historical background of the campus community is prudent in understanding in/exclusion (as cited in LePeau, 2015). UCT's history has an enormous impact on lived experiences. This point forms a common thread throughout this study. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, p.63) argues... "the worst form of colonisation … on the continent is the epistemological one that is hidden in institutions and discourses that govern the modern globe." Furthermore, western civilisation is entrenched in the discourses of knowledge and work to promote structural dominance (Sadar, 2008). The first part of this section argues the ownership of epistemologies on a global level. I then transpose this thinking to the South African situation.

The coloniality of knowledge relates to the influence of colonisation on the various areas of knowledge. It thus offers exposure of "epistemic silences, conspiracies, and epistemic violence that are hidden within Eurocentric epistemologies" (Seroto, 2018, p.5). Of note are the "conspiracies" which are "hidden" within the body of knowledge within institutions. Addressing these issues is useful in ascertaining *who* generates knowledge; for *what* purpose; its relevance; the role of knowledge in empowering/ disempowering people and the politics of knowledge (Seroto, 2018). In this regard Mbembe (2015) cautions universities against the promotion of *westernised* knowledge which tends to remove the colonised from the mainstream and situate them as *others or things,* while indigenous knowledge is often circumvented. This bold assertion has a bearing on the recognition of global south qualifications vis-à-vis those of the global north. Literature points to difficulties experienced by African students in terms of qualifications obtained back in their home countries (Lee & Rice, 2007; Naidoo, 2017). Hendricks (2018), in interrogating the *rigged* nature of the

decolonisation of institutions clearly demonstrates the extent to which universities are still colonised:

> *The architecture and symbols are European; the notions of civility are European; the medium of instruction is European; the senior academics are predominantly white; the knowledge consumed is predominantly written by white male authors reflecting their experiences, or their interpretations of black experiences; white academics remain the presumed knowledge bearers and remain preoccupied with western puzzles, theories, practices and knowledge systems (p. 31).*

Hendricks (2018) succinctly captures the nature of the debate around the calls to decolonise HE, pointing to the inherent pitfalls prevalent within institutions. In essence, the purveyors of knowledge are still colonialists teaching in European buildings through the medium of English, to a predominantly black student population. In this way power is still maintained by a certain race and gender group.

In this section, I argued the relationship between the colonisation of knowledge against the backdrop of the epistemic violence and calls to decolonise academic institutions in SA. In keeping with the theme of exclusion and marginalisation, the epistemic violence at UCT is best described as "black pain," which relates to the "dehumanisation of black people by a system that privileges whiteness" (#RhodesMustFall mission statement 2015, as quoted in Ndelu 2016, p.63). The *whiteness* alluded to above has implications for IS as well. On the one hand, SA students are calling for the decolonisation of higher learning yet on the other hand, IS are drawn to these very institutions because of the powerful lure of colonial rankings. Herein lies an academic and political conundrum. In summation, universities in Africa are "replicas of European universities and outlines that we need to reconstruct our universities entirely" (Asante, 1990, p.33). White IS are able to fit into comfortable surroundings, similar to campuses back home, while for Africans/ Asians, it could be a major culture shock relating to values and identities. This issue is expanded in the next section.

2.1.2.2.2 The Coloniality of Being

The coloniality of *being* refers to the normalisation of colonialism in the minds of the colonised. As Mignolo (2007, p.242) argues... "the colonial relations of power did not only leave indelible marks in the areas of authority, sexuality, knowledge and the economy, but also on the general understanding of being [which has a direct bearing] in lived experience."

This statement raises an important question surrounding the dichotomy between white IS experiences versus students from Africa/ Asia (global south). If white IS are raised with self-esteem subscribing to superiority, then surely their lived experiences in a developing country will be a less traumatic. For the global south, invisibility, dehumanisation and a lack of recognition formed an integral part of colonialism, which left the colonised feeling inferior. In terms of the acceptance of IS in SA, I infer that "decolonization should aspire at the very minimum to restore or create a reality where racialized subjects could give and receive freely in societies founded on the principle of receptive generosity" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.262). Herein lies the heart of this study in "analyzing the mechanisms that produce such invisibility" and "engage in dialogue and the desire for exchange" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, pp.261,2). Academic institutions must address the intended or unintended ways in which IS, become academically and socially invisible.

As early as 1977, Steve Biko orated: "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko, 2004). In a similar vein, Fanon (1967, p.14) purports that it is imperative, "to liberate the black man from the arsenal of complexes that germinated in the colonial situation." The colonialities of power and being are ultimately infused with the coloniality of knowledge, which may have a bearing on the minds of IS. An important agenda of education then becomes, how to liberate the minds of those who are oppressed.

This section on power leverages a better understanding of student experiences of exclusion, alienation and inclusion. As Berry (1997) demonstrates, where immigration results in a melting pot of cultures, there are power differences which give rise to popular and social science terms such as, *mainstream, ethnic*, *minority*, etc. Labelling of groups often produces negative connotations of social status. In the main, experiences of access, belonging and participation, can be viewed through the various types of power relations (direct, invisible and hidden). Post the colonialist era, I also argued that the coloniality of power, being and knowledge have a bearing on reasons for the student sojourn as well as student experiences. Given the differences in the balance of power, white IS should be better equipped to deal with the acculturation process. I further argued that students are not entirely *powerless*, as they may resist issues of discrimination and marginalisation. A major theme in this study relates to conceptualising theories and experiences through *lenses*.

The central thread in this work deals with overcoming oppression of marginalised individuals. To this end, the concept of power lies at the centre of oppression, working against the evolution of liberation. As Cicognani, *et al*. (2018) argues, where there is an

existence of power relations, migrants do not have equal access to citizenship and belonging. For the IS, social-cultural grouping gives them identity and power (Sonn & Lewis, 2009). Indeed, IS seek a membership with the country, socially and within the academic spheres. This study draws attention to the dynamics of oppression and exclusion which Cicognani, *et al.* (2018) describe as *insufficiently* researched amongst migrant youth. This section on power interrogated the issue of colonial power and its present influence on HE in SA. In doing so, I examined the theory of coloniality of power, knowledge and being.

This section provided an analysis of the nature of power and the types of power relations which may exist between *gatekeepers* or those in power (agencies, staff and students) and IS in a host country. The work of Cicognani, *et al*. (2018) on power relations of migrants in Italy and more locally, the work of Rambe (2009) on the power relations between staff and students at UCT and the work of Moll (2010), examining the role of power on experiences of female IS at UCT, have relevance to this study. Rambe's (2009) research reminds us how the unequal distribution of power operates at societal and interpersonal levels thereby producing knowledge and constructing identities. Building on the work of Rambe (2009), this section on issues of power provides a lens to view in/exclusion and marginalisation - noting that issues of access, belonging and participation are directly or indirectly dependent on power relations. It is for this reason that I would like to discuss the role of inclusive education as it relates to power, access and lived experience.

2.1.3 In/Exclusion & Inclusive Education in Higher Education

Thus far, I have linked the concept of power to migration, arguing how the varying levels and kinds of power have a bearing on access and participation. In this section, I examine the issue of inclusion, marginalisation and inclusive education and its bearing on student experience.

> *The world's three million cross-border international students are located in a 'gray zone' of regulation with incomplete human rights, security and capabilities (Marginson, 2012, p.497)*

Inferring from Marginson (2012) above, I suggest that the *gray zone* of migrants in terms of citizenship, rights and belonging have value in this study. The issue of *incomplete human rights* places IS as devalued and unworthy of attention. Migrants in this zone are in a state of *disconnect*, a concept expanded on by Opotow (1990). In the main, host citizens who view

migrants as unconnected to themselves may trigger discrimination, competition, aggression and behaviour relating to moral exclusion.

This section conceptualizes inclusive education, examining international trends and debates and its bearing on inclusion in SA. Whilst there are calls for inclusion of foreigners into society, there are also mitigating factors relating to unemployment rates of locals and the sharing of scarce resources, notably in developing countries. Cognisance of migrants' feelings towards inclusion are also important, as they may want to self-exclude and remain in their own cultural groups. The following arguments present inclusion as a grey, overlapping area rather than a binary of those on the inside, vis-á-vis those on the outside.

Historically there has been a general misconception that inclusive education relates only to the acceptance of disabled students into mainstream education. Sadly, inclusion of minorities (IS) at higher education institutions is lacking in practice and research. There is therefore a need to explore and interrogate definitions, contradictions and debates surrounding inclusive education. Access to institutions does not necessarily guarantee inclusion as students may still feel marginalized. From a spatial perspective, the geographies of marginalisation need attention as IS leave their home countries and enter into new geographical spaces.

The next section seeks to unpack the literature on inclusive education and argues the problematic nature of definitions and interpretations. Of significance, is the scarcity of studies in HE compared to that of schooling for learners with disabilities. Inclusive Education offers a portal through which to view access, participation and belonging.

2.1.3.1 Conceptualising Inclusive Education

Soderqvist (2002) and Knight (2003, 2004) provide a point of departure in building inclusive academic institutions. For Soderqvist (2002, p.29), internationalisation of education entails "inclusion of an international dimension in all aspects of its holistic management in order to enhance the quality of teaching and learning." However, interpreting and defining inclusive education is described as an *aporia* or philosophical puzzle (Miles & Singal, 2010), further portrayed by Mitchell, (1996, p.92) as a "complex, multi-dimensional and problematic concept." In this vein, inclusive education is largely contextual (Ainscow, Farrel & Tweddle, 2000) and is dependent on the purpose of its intention, which forms a *lens* through which inclusion should be viewed. In this study, a broad lens is used to view inclusion whereby

belonging, equity and membership are embraced through respect for diversity (Ainscow, Booth & Dyson, 2006; Jones, White, Fauske & Carr, 2011), thereby creating "welcoming communities and building an inclusive society" for students (UNESCO, 1994. p.2).

As early as 1960, the document titled, the *United Nations Convention Against Discrimination in Education* was published. Of interest to this study is Article 4, Part (a) which defines inclusion as making "higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of individual capacity" (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1960). In March 1990 the world conference, Education for All (EFA) advocated a move away from focussing on disability, towards access to education by all individuals where issues of adult literacy and quality of education in general were promoted. In 1994, *The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action* was published at the World Congress on Special Needs Education in Salamanca, Spain (UNESCO, 1994). One of the policy's assumptions is that "human differences are normal and that learning must accordingly be adapted to the needs of the child rather than the child [being] fitted to ... the pace and nature of the learning process" (UNESCO, 1994, p.7). Further to these assumptions, *The Salamanca Statement* (UNESCO, 1994) also included "gifted and talented students, those with linguistic differences, and those in poverty," including, "social and emotional disabilities" (Peters, 2008). This broader extension of inclusion shifts the focus away from physical disability to incorporate a broader spectrum of marginalized individuals. However, no specific mention is made of migrants, refugees, asylum seekers or IS who may experience exclusion at host universities. What is needed, is an extension to the definition of inclusive education by EFA and UNESCO. In this regard, this study can add value to policy statements and frameworks surrounding inclusive education.

While the focus on inclusive education was seen primarily through the lens of access of disabled learners (children) to mainstream education at school level (for example), my focus on inclusion is much broader - incorporating adolescent IS into HE institutions. Given the significance of positionality, this study advocates a broad lens to view inclusion, defining it as:

> *a system of policy and practices that embraces diversity as a strength, creates a sense of belonging, equal membership, acceptance, being valued and involves fundamental civil rights (Jones, White, Fauske & Carr, 2011, p.13).*

This definition supports the principles of equity, participation, community, respect for diversity and entitlement (Ainscow, *et al.*, 2006). This research therefore calls for a better understanding of the principles above in understanding the inclusion of IS into the academic and social communities of universities. The definition above also embraces social access of all individuals, fostering a sense of belonging (Walton, 2013), thereby creating "welcoming communities and building an inclusive society" (UNESCO, 1994.p.2). To this end, Corbett and Slee (2000, p.134) add a further dimension of activism stating that "inclusive education is an unabashed announcement, a public and political declaration and celebration of difference." However, an important caveat is that *inclusion* can be reduced to a linguistic, politically or philosophically appropriate term located in policy statements (Slee, 1998; Peters, 2008). For all intents and purposes, welcoming IS must extend beyond banners and posters placed at universities during orientation or policies of inclusion housed senate offices. Inclusive activities should be ongoing, highlighting the need to welcome and support IS on campuses. Slee (1998) proposes a more radical approach to inclusion, calling for the interrogation of structures, policies and practices of education that promote injustices and inequalities. Structures and practices within UCT may overtly or covertly, promote experiences of exclusion and marginalisation, depending on how inclusion is defined and interpreted. In the section on power, I interrogated issues of colonialist hegemonies present at the campus and its potential for tacit ways of marginalisation. Inclusivity may thus be viewed and interpreted through a western lens, without the input of those who are marginalised.

Allan (2007) adds a further introspective dimension to inclusion, conceiving that it is not "something we do to a discrete population of children, but rather ... something we do to ourselves" (p. 293). Campus administrators should sensitize and prepare staff and host students to the challenges faced by IS instead of *throwing a welcome mat at the door of the university*. This multi-layered form of inclusion is, supported by Slee's (2011) notion that inclusion can be a Trojan horse with hidden agendas. In this vein, whilst institutions may seem to be welcoming IS, they may still have exclusionary, discriminatory practices within. Consider how (discussed in the previous section) UCT is cloaked in international inclusion on its website but may not necessarily practice inclusivity.

The broad view of inclusion, described above, is however further complicated by *levels* of inclusivity. Research conducted by Sookrajh, *et al.*, (2005) on refugee learners in SA, further sheds light on the experiences of foreigners. Their findings suggest that inclusion is more than just being *in or out* but is rather a multi-layered concept. While learners felt included in

some aspects of schooling, such as access to classes, they felt excluded and marginalized in other instances such as, being labelled and treated differently. Congruent with Sookrajh *et al.*'s (2005) description of the multi-layered nature of inclusion, is Lewin's (2009) 'Zones of Exclusion' within which there are different degrees and patterns of exclusion. Zone 3 describes *silently excluded* learners based on sporadic attendance, low achievement and socio-cultural factors. IS may become *silently excluded* by being left to fend for themselves. Whilst IS student support offices may be present on campus, the responsibility is left to the student to *reach out* for assistance, instead of the staff actively engaging with IS. My purpose statement relates to zones and patterns of exclusion, in that students may experience varying degrees of exclusion, ranging from "problematic inclusion, self-exclusion or *hard-core* exclusion" (Kabeer, 2000 as cited in Sookrajh *et al.*, 2005.p.4). Hard-core exclusion relates to deliberate or wilful acts where students may be excluded from participation, based on certain inherent characteristics. Recent xenophobic attacks on foreigners in SA bear witness to hard-core exclusion. Research indicates that during this period, fewer black foreign nationals were enrolling at universities (du Plessis, 2017). Self-exclusion could take the form of IS choosing not to interact with locals, rather forming pockets of their own cultural communities.

It is to this end, that Armstrong, Armstrong & Spandagou (2011) recommend that inclusion should cater for fragmented groups of individuals, including migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Their argument is that grouping of individuals makes the inclusion process more manageable, thereby catering for the needs of specific groups. IS at HE institutions may be labelled as a fragmented minority of the entire campus population. An important caution though, is that labelling of groups of individuals may focus on their differences, leading to further stigmatization and marginalisation, hence defeating the aims of inclusion. Grouping of students, also takes away their individual personalities and traits making them *faceless*. While some theorists focus on definitions of inclusion, others see inclusion as a process. In seeking to conceptualize inclusive education, for the purposes of this study, I will discuss Ainscow and Miles' (2009) four elements of inclusive education as well as the narrow and wide views/ zones of exclusion.

The first element relates to inclusion being a process, in that "inclusion has to be seen as a never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity" (Ainscow & Miles, 2009, p.2). Responding to diversity is referred to by Dandy (2009) as the strategy of integration in the acculturation process. In this vein, IS need to feel integrated into the culture of host countries. Furthermore, host countries have much to gain from learning about the cultures

and traditions of IS (Zhao, *et al.*, 2005). Insofar as inclusion being a process goes, every situation is unique, set within a specific timeframe and hence produces its own unique type of exclusion. However, the *process* of inclusion could be viewed as unending, used as an excuse by education institutions to delay inclusion. In critiquing the concept of inclusion being a process, Walton and Lloyd (2011) view this as one of the many metaphors used for inclusive education in SA. This *process/journey* metaphor was found to be used "to justify exclusion while ostensibly showing a commitment to inclusion" and it could thus result in a "broad, diluted and very elastic notion of what inclusion is in practice" (Walton & Lloyd, 2011, pp.15,16). If inclusion is thus an unending process, then actual inclusion will always be something to aspire to in the future and not an immediate reality.

The second key element that Ainscow and Miles (2009, p.3) highlight is that "inclusion is concerned with the identification and removal of barriers." A barrier refers to "any condition that makes it difficult to make progress or to achieve an object" (Schoepp, 2005, p.2) and is often categorised as intrinsic or extrinsic. IS often view the process of obtaining study permits, delays in receiving permits and the paying of fees upfront as being punitive and act as barriers to inclusion (Ramphele, 1999; Naidoo, 2017).

The efforts of HE institutions in providing the means for registration of all IS, can be perceived as an initiative towards inclusion. However, access to an educational institution does not necessarily equate to inclusion. Access itself is a complex concept. Morrow (2007) suggests a distinction between formal access (that is, admission to an educational institution) and epistemological access (that is, access to the institutional *goods*, which, in the case of education, is knowledge). An expanded definition of educational access is also necessary in that "access should extend beyond higher enrolment rates to include attendance, achievement and progression and completion..." (Lewin, 2009, p.151). While Lewin's (2009) definition relates to schooling, the idea can be extrapolated to improving support to students in HE. However, this poses a contentious area in HE as institutions place the responsibility of success, on the shoulders of the student.

This debate has since been taken up by academics such as Professor Jansen (Rector of the University of Free State) who debates that in the access discourse, there should be a focus on access for whom, for what, through which means (curricula) and most importantly, if this translates into success or not (Menon, 2014). In this regard, translation of access into success is a vital component of inclusion. Consider for example that at UCT the differences in completion rates between white and black South African students, for undergraduates

remains high - with white at 83% and black students at 57% (UCT, 2016). Consider the following table indicating success rates of students at UCT.

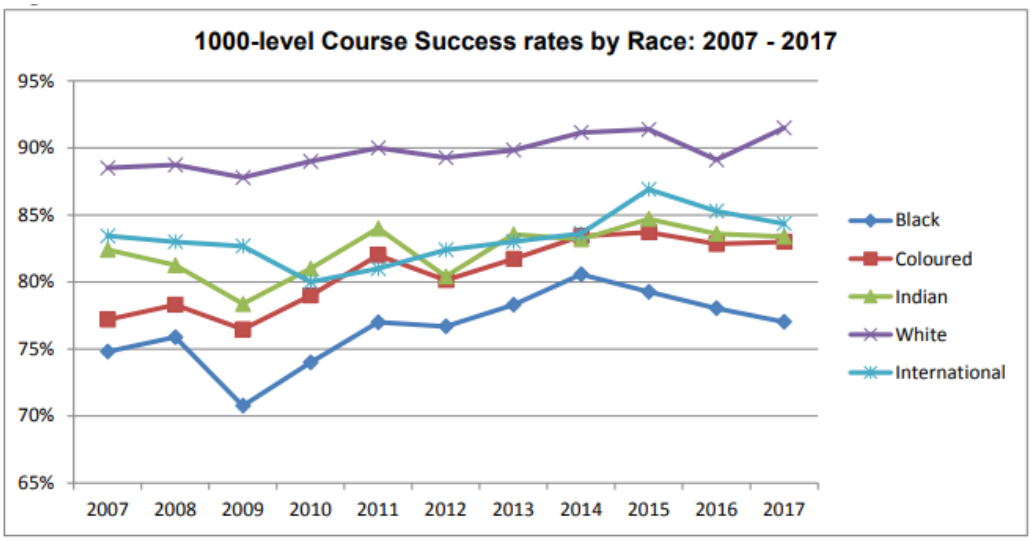

Figure (i) student success rates (Source: UCT Teaching and Learning Report-2017)

It is evident that the success rates of IS as compared to white students, is significantly lower (up to 8%). This evidence points to the need for academic support for IS. What the report does not show however, is the distinction between white IS students and African/ Asian IS.

Formal access for IS begins with granting of visas and study permits. In a sense, application for visas and permits with associated costs, can be viewed as exclusionary. Associated costs can also draw a distinction from a socio-economic viewpoint in that economically underprivileged students may not afford access to HE in SA.

Studies conducted by Ojo (2009) indicate that IS viewed the paperwork and expenses surrounding study permits to be a barrier. Similarly, other studies indicate that IS have to overcome several hurdles and obstacles to succeed in post-secondary education (Haveman & Smeeding, 2006; Naidoo, 2017).

For an IS entering a foreign educational institution can be regarded as a strange and sometimes a hostile experience. In this regard, inclusion:

> *is not about the movement of people from their tenancy in the social margins into unchanging institutions. Integration requires the objects of policy to forget their former status as outsiders and fit comfortably into what remain deeply hostile institutional arrangements. There is an expectation that they will assume an invisible presence as they accept the dominant cultural order (Slee, 2011, p.107).*

Institutions need to re-examine archaic and colonialist views on change, so that outsiders can fit comfortably into the campus society. The physical appearance of UCT is rather solemn and serious, consisting of rather sombre dull buildings. For a new student, the atmosphere does not seem welcoming and at times appears to be hostile. Studies quoted previously, indicate that IS face culture shock, homesickness and barriers to academic success. If the institutional arrangements of the campus does not support IS, then they become invisible and left to fend for themselves. There is a need for recognition of these students as independent socio-cultural groups, who are accepted for their diversity (Bhugra, 2004a).

The third key element used in attempting to define inclusive education describes inclusion as being "about presence, participation and achievement for all students" (Ainscow & Miles, 2009). This view is aligned with Jones (2013), who posits that inclusion is an experience which can be achieved through active participation. However, participation requires that students be punctual, reliable and that they be physically present in the academic setting. In terms of IS, their presence and punctuality on campus may be delayed due to constraints in obtaining documentation from regulating bodies. Attention must be given to students' participation, guided by adequate support on campus. Through successful participation, the quality of students' experiences may improve, resulting in satisfactory achievement. Achievement refers to "outcomes of learning across the curriculum, not merely tests or exam results" (Ainscow & Miles, 2009, p.3). However, in the case of IS their lack of communication skills in English can impede participation in the learning environment. To explicate further, students may have a basic understanding of English but may not be *au fait* with colloquial, South African language used by lecturers to explain concepts.

The final element that Ainscow & Miles (2009) use in defining inclusive education is that "inclusion involving particular emphasis on those groups of learners who may be at risk of marginalisation, exclusion or underachievement." This element entails the monitoring of these groups. This process is supported by the argument that inclusion must be continuously revitalized with new knowledge (Walton, Nel, Hugo & Muller, 2009). Herein lies the value of this study, as the findings can add to the existing knowledge of inclusive education. Inclusion should be experienced as a journey, rather than a destination or end-point (Evans & Lunt, 2002). To this end, Ainscow & Miles (2009) advocate careful monitoring of students in the inclusion process but caution against the sole use of statistical data, which can be damaging, inappropriate or misleading. This final element by Ainscow & Miles (2009) is relevant to this research study, in that it refers to IS who do not have a specific barrier to

learning, yet are potentially marginalised or excluded due to factors not related to their physical or intellectual abilities. IS support offices at universities can play a huge role in monitoring and evaluation of students' experiences. In exploring the various definitions of inclusion, it is prudent to examine relevant trends and debates surrounding inclusive education in SA.

2.1.3.2 In/exclusion in South African Higher Education

Although the thinking may be global, in terms of what inclusion means, in Africa actions have to be addressed in terms of local circumstances (Hoehne, 2012). Such circumstances include low adult literacy, gender inequality, early school dropout, refugees and internally displaced people, working children, ethnic minorities, those affected by HIV/AIDS, conflict and other emergencies which have spawned an increasing number of orphans and the overcrowding of schools (UNESCO, 2007). In addition to the above, the legacy of apartheid further endorsed exclusion and marginalisation.

The South African Schools Act 1997 supports the admission of refugee children with proper documentation into schools (DoE, 1997). Similarly, the Education White Paper 6: Special Needs Education (DoE, 2001) and the Guidelines for Inclusive Teaching and Learning (DoE, 2010) supports "celebrating diversity amongst learners and encourages the creation of welcoming cultures in schools" (DoE, 2010, p.8). What is evident from the above policy statements is that inclusive education is bias towards schooling with little emphasis on HE - especially inclusion of IS into universities. Furthermore, the implementation of inclusion has met with many challenges.

While this paper is not directly related to the historical exploration of HE in SA, I believe that it is prudent to recognize the previously exclusionary nature of education in SA. The policy framework for education and training of the ANC (1994, p.2) describes education as:

> *… fragmented, unequal and undemocratic nature of the education and training system has had profound effects on the development of the economy and society. It has resulted in the destruction, distortion or neglect of the human potential of our country, with devastating consequences for social and economic development.*

This excerpt speaks to the exclusionary, unequal nature of education in SA, enforced by issues of power. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the inherited evils of apartheid have resulted in current calls to decolonise HE, by granting access to previously disadvantaged individuals.

The Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953 demarcated the educational opportunities for African people and constrained their participation by establishing a Black Education Department housed in the Department of Native Affairs. The Extension of University Education Act (No 45) of 1959 restricted access to white HE institutions for Africans, Coloureds and Indians and made provision for the establishment of separate universities. The liberation struggle, in opposition to separatist, unequal education called for the doors of learning and culture to be, opened to all.

In the HE space the CHE (2000) recommends that IS be specially catered for, in order to ensure that their social and educational experiences are rewarding. This was in line with the country's commitment to African development and the African Renaissance. More recently, the DHA's (2017) Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa, sets guidelines for the state and institutions to be more inclusive of IS by providing appropriate support services, including "study visas applications, on-campus administrative support and advice regarding registration, housing, academic support, counselling, social and cultural activities" (DHA, 2017, p.16). Whilst this policy is a step in the right direction, implementation at grassroots level may not materialise. This is in light of the many challenges facing HE in SA. It is to this end that this research could add value and guidance to authorities in compiling legislation regarding inclusion in HE.

A further point of consideration is that in/exclusion may be regarded as a westernised concept, having its roots in western definitions and experiences of *who* is to be included into *what* and *how*. For a migrant student studying in a developing country such as SA, their perspective and expectation of what exactly in/exclusion entails, is worthy of study. To explicate further, literature often uses western concepts and theories to view and explain a global south problem. To this end, I am mindful that an African student's interpretation of in/exclusion may differ markedly from that of a white IS. Consider for example, that an African student may feel privileged and grateful to be one of the few who is able to travel internationally and may therefore describe his student life at UCT as a wonderful and fulfilling experience. There may be an unfair comparison of their experience at UCT to a rural school in a poorly developed country. What also deserves attention are the standards of acceptance and inclusion that students would use as a benchmark when describing their experiences. For an IS student from a developing country in Africa, their inclusion could mean physical acceptance (study permits) into the country and into the institution. It is for this reason that inclusion may be rather complex and multi-directional. Given that IS are

exposed to power which renders them partially or fully in/excluded, the next section examines how students are able to negotiate their experiences of exclusion through the process of acculturation.

2.1.4 ACCULTURATION

The previous section on in/exclusion of students was seen through the imbalances of power relations. The work of Sonn & Lewis (2009) and Cicongani (2018) who propose that power dynamics are negotiated through transactional relationships of culture and acculturation, shed value to this section. Cicognani, *et al's*. (2018) work reminds us that migrants' response to in/exclusion is a complex issue in the acculturation process. Furthermore, migrants elicit cultural resources to fathom their experiences of in/exclusion based on power dynamics and thereby create their own social identities within the new social order. (Cicognani, *et al.*, 2018). This process relates to how migrants engage with the forms of power and privilege in society and how this affects the acculturation process. Linked to this notion, are instances where students are able to use their own social capital to self-include (discussed later in this chapter).

The aim of this section is to gain a better understanding of how students experience in/exclusion or marginalisation (access, belonging and participation) through the lens of cultural adjustment. The concept of cultural competence is foregrounded against Berry's (1980) acculturation strategies and the work of other theorists in the field.

2.1.4.1 Theorising Cultural Competence

For the purposes of this study, I use LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton's (1993) behaviourally focussed definition whereby culture is a continuous interplay between individual cognitive and affective processes and the social environment. The behavioural model, according to LaFromboise, *et al.* (1993) proposes that in order for an individual to be culturally competent, the individual must have a strong personal identity with knowledge of the host culture, be able to communicate, be appreciative of the cultural processes and display socially acceptable behaviour. For migrant students to be culturally competent in the host society there has to be a combination of some or all of the above competencies. The process through which the individual develops these competencies or part thereof, leads to cultural learning.

Cultural learning, which has origins in social psychology, has implications for social skills and interpersonal behaviour. The cultural learning approach proposes that people in cultural transitions may lack the necessary skills needed to engage the new culture and may result in difficulties managing the everyday social encounters (Berry, 2006). Individuals need to obtain the necessary skills (for example, language) which are specific to the new culture. However, such skills may not only be overtly identifiable but could also consist of concealed rules, conventions and norms of the host society. The process of finding a place in society evolves gradually through the process termed by Dandy (2009) as *acculturation*.

As early as 1936, Redfield, *et al.* (1936, p.149) defined acculturation as:

> *those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.*

In simple terms, acculturation is used to describe the cultural change that results when two or more groups come into continuous personal contact (Dandy, 2009). Acculturation may also be described as the "social interaction and communication response styles (both competency and ease/comfort in communicating) that an individual adapts when interacting with individuals and groups from other cultures" (Barry, 2001, p.193). As early as 1950's, Oberg (1960) developed the *Four-Phase Theory* of the *honeymoon phase, culture shock, recovery and adapatation/ assimilation* to theorise acculturation. Later, Lysgaard (1955) developed the *U-Curve* to graphically, represent Oberg's (1960) four stages. The *U* describes *feelings of satisfaction* on the curve graph. For the purposes of this study, I embrace Berry's (1980) model of acculturation.

The work of Berry (1980) on the influence of cultural factors on individual behaviour has highlighted questions around how individuals, who have developed in one cultural context, respond to a new cultural context as a result of migration. Studies on student migration (highlighted previously in this chapter), indicate stress as one of the salient factors in student experience. Berry (1995, p.479) apportions this stress to a "lowered mental health status (especially confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptoms, and identity confusion."

Inferring from Berry (1995) above, migration-induced stress may result in a lowered mental health status, which could lead to *self-marginalisation* of the IS. The intensity of symptoms of stress is however, dependent on the nationality of the student (Atkins, 2002). Consistent

with this finding, Church (1982) adds that students from a western country are better culturally adapted to life in a developed country than students from a non-western country. In addition to the difficulties IS experience with cultural change, several researchers have also explored how academic demands and perfectionism are also associated with elevated levels of acculturative stress (Sullivan & Kashubeck-West, 2015). Insofar as perfectionism is concerned, there may be pressure on migrant students to succeed academically, especially where middle class families back home have made expensive investments in their child's education abroad. To this end, it is prudent to examine the different types of student sojourners.

In conceptualising acculturation, Berry (2006) classifies four types of migrants, namely, voluntary immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and sojourners. Voluntary immigrants leave their home countries by choice - in search of employment, marriage, or to be with other family members. By contrast, refugees are displaced by war, persecution or natural disasters and are forced to resettle in a new country, which accepts refugees. Asylum seekers by choice, seek sanctuary for fear of violence or persecution in their home country. Sojourners, such as students, seasonal workers and professional workers tend to relocate for a predetermined period with the intention of returning home after the completion of their studies or employment projects. For the purposes of this study, all four groups of migrants may have relevance, by virtue of the fact that all groups may include sub-sets of students. In addition to the type of migrant, there exists dimensions of adaptation to the host culture.

Berry (1997) identified three interrelated aspects of adaptation, namely, psychological, sociocultural and economic. As indicated previously in this study, many students hail from African countries and their experiences of cultural adaptation in a *westernised*, *developing* country is of importance. Whilst most of the work in the field of acculturation applies to North America, Australia and Europe, I believe that it is prudent to apply these aspects to lived experiences of IS in SA. As Berry (1995, p.11) purports... "integration strategies can only be pursued in societies that are explicitly multi-cultural." Insofar as the South African situation goes, the democracy is very young - established only in 1994. To this end, although there is an element of cultural diversity, the remnants of apartheid and social-economic injustices still prevail. In many ways, the South African society is largely fragmented economically, spatially and culturally. Chapter one of this writing, argues the importance of IS in contributing to the economic development and cultural diversity of the host country. To this end, learning institutions have a responsibility to foster cultural adaptation and hence

academic success. According to Berry (1980) acculturation is determined by the retention of immigrants' values, customs and norms on the one hand and the extent to which they desire interaction with other cultural groups of the host country. Berry (1980) further distinguishes between four strategies in the process of acculturation, namely, integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. The following figure, adapted from Berry (1980) indicates the relationship and process flows between the four forms of acculturation.

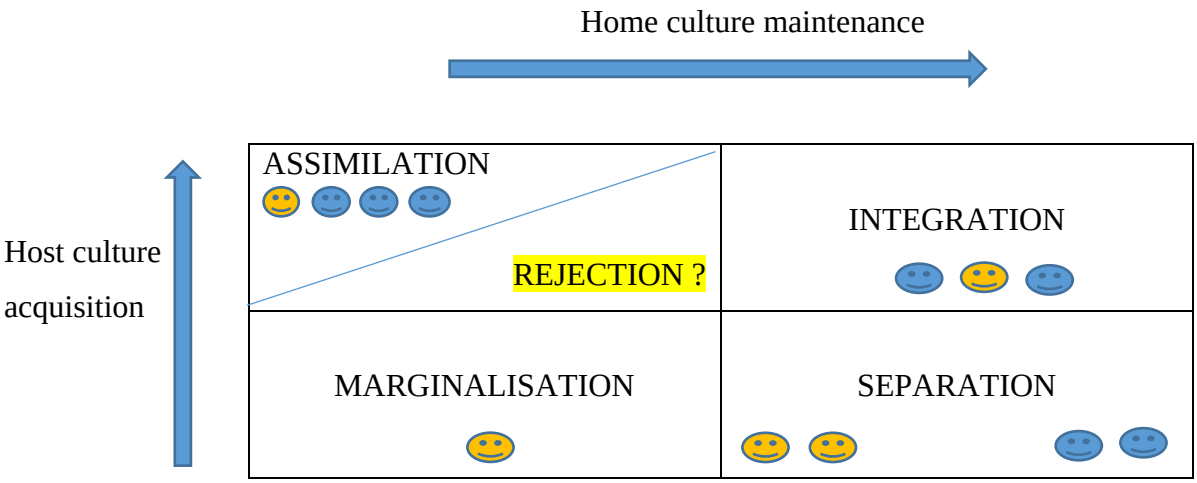

Figure (ii) Adapted from Berry's (1980) Acculturation Model

The acculturation model, as developed by Berry (1980) consists of four blocks, namely, Assimilation, Integration, Marginalisation and Separation. The vertical arrow indicates the levels of acceptance of the culture of the host nation by migrants. The horizontal arrow indicates the levels of home culture maintenance or retention. As the migrant begins to accept more of the host nation's culture, they move from being marginalised/ separated to becoming more assimilated/ integrated into the host culture. Conversely, the more the migrant maintains his own cultural heritage, the more he will move from assimilation/ marginalisation towards either being integrated, or completely separated from the culture of the host nation.

i. Integration

This first strategy in the acculturation process is integration. Berry (1980) defines integration as a process whereby both cultures are accepted by both the migrant and the host country. However, Berry's (1980) definition of integration may be described as over simplistic as

there is no agreed universal definition of integration of migrants into host countries (Hoehne, 2012). In addition, Ager & Strang (2010) posit that integration is contextual, largely dependent on the characteristics of the migrant and the host nation, described by as multi-dimensional. One such dimension may be attributed to the level of economic development of a country. Consider, for example, the nuances existing in integration strategies promulgated in western societies, vis-à-vis African countries. Western strategies of integration tend towards the *westernisation* of the migrant rather than trying to understand and appreciate the culture of origin. In the South African context, integration strategies have been aggravated by the country's previous legacy of apartheid, which works against integration.

Integration strategies, as argued by Bakewell (2009) have traditionally been applicable to western societies while the majority of African states have little or no policies relating to immigration and integration. Despite South Africa's Refugee Act 130 of 1998 (RSA, 1998) and the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 (RSA, 2002), it is argued that the country does not have any targeted "projects that ensure social integration of refugees and migrants in SA" (Motha & Ramadiro, 2005, p.26). Furthermore, while from a legal perspective, asylum seekers have right of access to social services, including education, they are unable to "convert these legal entitlements into effective protection," (Landau, 2006, p.308). Local integration is defined as "a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing some resources both economic and social with no greater mutual difference than that which exists within the host community" (Motha & Ramadario, 2005, p.27). Xenophobic violence against immigrants (highlighted in chapter one), bears testimony to the absence of integration strategies in SA, hence supporting the need for research in the field of immigrant experiences. Whilst integration of migrants is crucial, SA with its scarce resources and high rates of unemployment are also important points to consider from the host nation perspective. After migrants have successfully integrated into the host society, they move to a position of assimilation.

ii. Assimilation

The second strategy according to Berry (1980) is assimilation, whereby individuals blend in with the host community through acceptance of values and norms, thereby developing a new cultural identity. The basic underlying assumption of assimilation is that the individual suffers a sense of alienation, isolation, anxiety and may succumb to substance abuse or failure until he or she accepts the new culture (LaFromboise, *et al.*, 1993). The process is further, exacerbated by the gradual loss of support from the original culture while there is an initial

inability to utilize the assets of the new culture. Conversely, other studies indicate that African-American students rejected the assimilation of the values of the host culture and were subsequently successful in school (Fordham, 1988 as cited in LaFromboise, *et al.,* 1993). The country of origin may have a direct bearing on the process of assimilation, as it is linked to social-cultural capital (discussed in the next section). Migrants from western civilizations are less likely to be assimilated into cultures in developing countries, for example, exchange students from first world countries at global south universities. Studies by Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik (2010) indicate that when ethnicity is held constant, migrants who are otherwise proficient in English (from global north countries), are less likely to experience stress and resistance in the USA than migrants who are second language English speakers. In essence, white IS students have a different experience in host countries, as compared to Africans. Whilst assimilation could be a process, which is positive for student experience, there could be converse negative consequences to the process of assimilation.

In this regard, LaFromboise, *et al.* (1993) cautions against the dangers of assimilation whereby the process could lead to the rejection of the migrant by the dominant culture or by the members of the culture of origin or finally migrants may be unable to shed the behaviour of the culture of origin. Other studies indicate that when migrants are unable to influence social situations, due to their inability to meet highly valued standards, principles or values, they display elements of depression, anxiety and low self-esteem (David, Okazaki & Saw, 2009). Where integration and assimilation are not successful, students may choose to separate themselves from the host culture.

iii. Separation

The third approach is termed separation, whereby each group of individuals maintain their own unique culture and interaction is kept to a minimum. Separation may be self-directed, in that IS may choose to group together for cultural and social support. In this regard, their feelings of alienation from their home countries may be minimised by familiar culinary, linguistic and cultural practices. In some instances, (see for example, Sookrajh, *et al.,* 2005) IS may be intentionally separated by the host institution, to better provide for their unique needs. While IS support offices at universities intend to provide additional support to students, there is an element of separation from host students. To this end, as discussed in section 2.1.2 of this chapter, separation may unintentionally lead to exclusion and marginalisation in that IS may, be viewed as *minority groups*, thereby accentuating their *otherness*.

iv. Marginalisation

The last approach, which is of particular interest to this study involves marginalisation whereby there is distancing from other groups. It is important to note that in the acculturation process, the marginalisation may be self-determined, whereas marginalisation seen through the lens of inclusive education, is directed by the exclusion of the *other* by the host society. Furthermore, the marginalisation approach may be descriptive of small groups of migrants who refuse to be part of the heritage and culture of the host nation (Berry, 2006). Schwartz, *et al.* (2010) further questions the validity of marginalisation as an approach to acculturation, maintaining that an individual is less like to acquire a cultural sense of self, without drawing on the heritage and culture of the host nation.

The success or failure of acculturation is largely dependent on many variables, including but not limited to, the policies and practices of the host country. This relates to rejection and discrimination (Dandy, 2009) or the provision of a welcoming culture towards immigrants. Due to the influence of the many variables (for example, ethnicity, race, gender, language, etc) on the process of acculturation, it is argued that the *one size fits all* approach is overly simplistic (Schwartz, *et al.*, 2010). Whilst Berry's (1980) model is criticized for its simplicity and its focus on Western nations, it provides a foundation for research on acculturation (Dandy, 2009). It would be prudent to add the perceptions of immigrants towards the host country as a factor in the process of acculturation. For example, migrants who see western culture as an aspiration may easily assimilate the culture of the host country and try to *fit in* with locals. In juxtaposition, migrants from western civilizations may be reluctant to adopt the culture (food, clothing, etc) of less developed host nations.

A common factor affecting the acculturation process is the social capital the migrant takes to the host country. The process of acculturation is therefore largely contextual, with factors either promoting or retarding the process. Berry's (1980) framework of acculturation provides a valuable understanding of migration as opposed to the early unidimensional perspectives. The model encompasses issues of behaviours and identities that are relevant to this study. Upon careful interrogation of the model, I have included ***Rejection*** as a possible addition to Berry's (1980) acculturation model. This fifth dimension makes provision for the rejection of either one or both of the socio-cultural descriptors. In essence, migrants may wish to reject host culture based on historical-political reasons. Consider for example, a student

from Saudi Arabia, Iran or Iraq, with strong Muslim values studying in the USA. For the IS, the sojourn could then be purely for academic reasons, choosing to reject host culture and return home post their academic tenure. In the South African scenario, the presence of a diversity of cultures could easily be confusing for migrants, who may then reject all or parts of the culture.

In a critique of the model, Bhatia & Ram (2001) maintain that it does not give sufficient attention to issues of power or histories of colonialism and resistance. In addressing this shortcoming, this study includes issues of power and colonialism to better understand IS experiences. Furthermore, the model may be simplistic as *culture shedding* or *behavioural* changes suggest that migrants can *float in and out of cultures.* Given the diversity of cultures in SA, acculturation may be regarded as problematic as the model assumes the existence of a single host culture, which forms a binary to that of the migrants' (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). There is thus scope for an integration of cultures into the model together with ecological theories of youth development (Kennedy & McNeela, 2014). In support of this assertion, Bhatia & Ram (2001) maintain that researchers need to be sensitive to issues of race, gender and power status of immigrants. Furthermore, the experiences of women are ignored while immigrants are treated as male participants. While Moll's (2010) contribution on female migrant experiences have made some inroads in this regard, there is room for further interrogation. In addressing these shortcomings, this study seeks to gain a multi-directional view of the assimilation of the many cultures found in SA. It also includes participation from both genders as well as students from a diverse cohort of host nations. In keeping with Kennedy & McNeela's (2014) call for an integration of theories in understanding acculturation, I will examine how social capital acts as an enabler to acculturation.

2.1.4.2 Socio-cultural capital as enablers to acculturation

This section debates the theory of social/ cultural capital from the perspective of how actors are able to acculturate into the host social and academic arena. In doing so, it examines the influence *field and habitus* in the acculturation process of IS. In summary, I examine the prevalent socio-cultural capital of UCT.

The theory of social capital has its roots in a diversity of disciplines and consequently has a wide range of definitions attached to it (Hoehne, 2012). It is for this reason however, that it is

criticized for a lack of consensus and ambiguity in its definition (Tzanakis, 2013). Another controversy is regarding whether social capital is an individual resource or a collective, community owned resource (Hoehne, 2012). However, most authors tend to concede that "social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks and other social structures" (Portes, 1998, p.26). The word *membership* implies uniqueness of a particular group of people as well as the aspiration of *belonging* to that group. Of note is the similarity between Inclusive Education and *membership.* While Inclusive Education seeks equal *membership* for all, Ivy League education is based on exclusivity. The section on the coloniality of power, debates how citizens from the global south are mentally predisposed to seek membership in elitist academic organisations. Those with inherited social capital find easy access to exclusive institutions while for those who are less fortunate, there may be multiple barriers to entry.

As a sociological concept, social capital has its origins in the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) but over the last decade has become most associated with the work of Putnam (2000). While social capital is commonly associated with migration, Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) focus largely on local associations, communities and neighbourhoods. For Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital relates to symbolic elements, for example, skills, mannerisms and credentials that individuals acquire by belonging to a particular class. In sharing forms of capital, for example, an *Ivy League* education leads to collective identity and group position. In keeping with the nature of this study, I amalgamate all of the above theories to offer a foundation to understand the nature of IS sojourn.

Bourdieu (1986) distinguished between four types of capital, three of which are pertinent to this study, namely: cultural (information, knowledge, education, skills, mannerisms), social (social connections, group memberships, networks) and symbolic (honour, prestige, recognition). People with access to capital, develop a shared world-view with others and hence unconsciously classify themselves based on common preferences and expectations. However, this process may also marginalise others who do not have access to varying amounts of capital. This can be seen in the work of Bourdieu (1986), which relates to how social inequality (exclusion and marginalisation) is effected and sustained through the use of capital. In analysing student mobility in Australia, Tran (2015) drew on Bourdieu's theory of social practice (field, capital and habitus) to describe the process of IS' *becoming* in the realm of academic, social, personal and professional development.

In an academic setting, a social *field* relates to the socio-academic relations centred around knowledge, rules and regulations which, "mediate the relationship between social structure and cultural practice" (Swartz, 1997, p.9). IS mediate this *field* using their own socio-cultural and learned experiences referred to as *habitus*. *Habitus* is described as "those internalised structures, dispositions, tendencies, habits, ways of acting, that are both individualistic and yet typical of one's social groups" (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010, p.114). *Habitus* therefore shapes the ways individuals think and act and is generally, influenced by family (culture and history) and education. Socio-cultural capital which IS bring to the new setting, assists them in engaging over the stakes, rewards and rules of the game with the hope of achieving *the good life* (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010). Social reality then exists within the students' habitus and in the *field* of the institution. If there is a correlation between *habitus and field*, then students are able to acculturate. Consider the following analogy of a *fish in water*:

> *... when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a 'fish in water': it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.127)*

Bourdieu's *fish in water* theory helps to explain how IS are able to acculturate into the new environment based on the *habitus* or capital they bring with them. The "weight of the water" or demands and unfamiliarity of a new academic and social environment have a bearing on IS's experiences. Students with a *habitus* which resonates with the host institution, are able to acculturate easier. Conversely, students lacking in habitus struggle to adapt to the new culture. As (Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009, p.1105) argue:

> *...when habitus encounters a field with which it is not familiar, the resulting disjunctures can generate not only change and transformation, but also disquiet, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty.*

Habitus is hence shaped by access to capital, which determines students' choices and advancement of their own interests. Consider how the power of language is an important part of student habitus. According to Bourdieu (1986), language is a means of exchange or a commodity and not just a means to communicate. Language is therefore a type of symbolic capital benefiting those who possess the legitimate language. IS may not possess the legitimate language, which in this study is English. Students may therefore be at a disadvantage in achieving academic success as the language of teaching and learning in SA is

English. A study conducted by Naidoo (2009) indicates that migrant students have difficulties in comprehending lessons due to the language barrier and want to learn English in order to succeed academically. In some instances, the failure of some migrants to have a command of the dominant language may have connotations of disrespect or insult by members of the host nation, for example, the E*nglish Only* movement in the United States (Barker *et al.*, 2001 as cited in Schwartz, *et al.*, 2010). This is consistent with Tran's (2015) research which shows how, as a social practice, IS mobility is shaped by social field, habitus and capital of the various social actors in an academic setting. Students from low-income families lacked the necessary habitus to be successful in a new academic setting as they lacked *the rules of the game.*

This is consistent with Deuchar's (2011) assertion that in communities characterized by rich social capital, members feel supported and integrated with social networks that are deep and diverse. Insofar as migrants are concerned, a process of bonding in social circles lends support to members of the same ethnic group. The building of bonds can lead to feelings of emotional support and confidence (Ager & Strang, 2010). Social networks, which can be formal or informal, are considered to be critical to social capital and may be comprised of, "personal relationships, which are accumulated when people interact with each other in families, workplaces, schools, local associations" (Harper & Kelly, 2003, p.3). In this light, the experience of a sojourner is transformative in nature - becoming more inter-culturally competent out of necessity to survive and to relieve stress and anxiety. This process involves viewing the world from a different perspective and re-aligning or assimilating new experiences into one's original culture. It is further argued that cross-cultural contact enables sojourners to be global citizens, enhancing their employability and equipping them to be part of the international employment environment (Brown, 2009).

Institutionalized socio-cultural capital includes formal education, however it consists also of informal education transmitted through the family, political parties, cultural groups, friends, religious affiliations, etc. Migrants create mechanisms for validating their cultural capital through dominant institutions and by engaging with migrants' networks (Erel, 2010). A cohort of migrants may not retain homogeneous cultural capital but instead, cultural capital may be the combination of differentiations of gender, ethnicity and class within the migrant group. Knowledge of local language, accent, variation in skin colour, gender and prior education may be used to legitimize belonging. Social capital is also significant for

understanding the ways in which individuals in society are, positioned in the field (Erel, 2010).

However, it may be simplistic to assume that formal and informal networks can equate to social capital. Social networking is often conceptualized too loosely, without critical attention given to exactly *how* migrants are able to gain access into networks (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). What is also important is the "qualitative dimension of networks, like the type of relations within a network, strong and loose ties and relations based on trust" (Eutin, 2007, p.45). In terms of student life, a large amount of time is spent at education institutions where social interaction with other students and staff can build strong ties and dense networks (Hoehne, 2012). Portes (1998) further argues that such networks are important in the theory of social capital in that the benefits, gained from such interactions, form the core of social capital. Hoehne (2012) adds that the quality of the individual's interactions is also pivotal in determining the strength of the ties, which adds to the accumulation of social capital. Building bridges between bonded groups requires opportunities for members to meet and exchange resources that are mutually beneficial, hence developing inter-cultural trust (Ager & Strang, 2010). Conversely, the absence of such opportunities for exchange of resources may lead to greater hostility between migrants and hosts, with minorities grouping together (Morrice, 2007). In this regard, weak interactions and marginalisation leads to a low accumulation of capital. Whilst there is a sense of acceptance, belonging, understanding and appreciation of socially integrated migrants, those who experience a deficit of social integration experience social loneliness (Koelet & De Valk, 2016). There are also symptoms of ill health, increased stress levels, a negative outlook, depression and anxiety (Vancluysen, Van Craen & Ackaert, 2011). A study of migrants in Johannesburg, indicate that they were disadvantaged with regard to access and linking social capital (Landau & Duponchel, 2011 as cited in Hoehne, 2012). In another Australian study, Naidoo (2009) uses the theory of social capital as a platform to explain the educational exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups.

In the main, this section argued that social capital and habitus have a direct bearing on the experiences students have in an academic setting, also described as a *field.* Literature indicates that IS with rich capital and habitus, are better able to acculturate into the social field of the university setting. While the theory of social capital is criticized for its ambiguity of meaning and its reductionist approach to social networking (Tzanakis, 2013), studies indicate that it can be useful in creating greater levels of synergy in that individuals can be

integrated into collective projects hence acting as a facilitator to cooperative networking (Adam & Roncevic, 2003 as cited in Tzanakis, 2013). In this regard, the theory of social capital can assist in understanding the integration of IS into host communities by enabling the process of acculturation.

From an economic perspective, Bourdieu (1986) argues that a foreign qualification is a marker of distinction in the labour market and is hence a sought-after commodity. For Becher (1989), in academia the reputation of the academic community is greatly valued and weighs over political power or wealth. Reputation then becomes a form of symbolic capital which is converted to other forms of cultural and economic capital. However, what is also significant in determining this choice is the identity of the education provider nation. It is argued that political identity determines the legal and policy regime, which has a bearing on IS' lives (Marginson, 2012). This view is supported by Lee & Sehoole's (2015) findings, which point to African students seeking international qualifications in order to gain competitive employment. In this regard, they found that SA is equated to being the *America* of Africa due to its internationally recognised qualifications. To explicate further, groups of students who come from more-privileged backgrounds in their home country, are able to draw on the family's assets to pay for travel, accommodation and fees in order to secure a premium education. Research indicates that students from middle class families in developing countries, such as China, India and Vietnam migrate to world-class universities seeking higher standards of education (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Their *ivy league* education then secures them an advantage in the domestic and international markets. In this way, middle-classes are able to use western-based qualifications as an institutional form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). However, this argument is biased in favour of purely economic reasons. It assumes that education increases one's economic capital and hence social acceptance. Consider how white IS may acquire capital through travel.

Mobility serves to (re)produce social class advantage and hence social inequality (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Subsequently, geographic mobility is potentially a form of capital which is immediately transferable to economic capital. Evidence indicates that the aspiration of travelling and spending time abroad may be considered as providing opportunities to create new identities and experiences through self-discovery (Atkins, 2002; Bagnoli, 2009; Brooks & Waters, 2011).

The section on social capital and its impact on acculturation was seen through various theories. I argued that students with a rich social capital are able to acculturate easier than

students who are deficient. Economic, cultural and social conditions, in the home country of the migrant, play a significant role in contributing to the habitus of the student. This habitus plays a determining role in the student's well-being in the new environment. In conclusion, I discussed students' acquisition of Bourdieu's (1986) symbolic capital in terms of acquiring a foreign qualification as a marker of distinction. Central to this study are the theories of power, in/exclusion and use of social capital in acculturation. These have set the foundation for the review of literature. As this research is qualitative in nature, it is imperative to examine how voice research will assist in reaching the aims of this study.

2.1.5 Voice Research

In interrogating the lived experiences of IS at UCT, I use critical grounded theory to generate a theoretical framework. As discussed in chapter three, grounded theory is interactive in trying to understand a social phenomenon. Earlier in this chapter, I alluded to the issue of using westernised views of inclusion to address marginalisation in global south contexts. There is therefore a need to get to grass-roots level to obtain first-hand information to make informed decisions. This can be achieved by listening to the voices of IS through dialogue. The value of this study lies in giving the IS a voice.

The voice of the student is complex, influenced by issues such as socio-cultural and economic origin. For example, white IS may speak from a position of privilege and power whilst African students, in aspiring for a better education, may not be as vociferous about their experiences. In the main, due to scarcity of seats as the institution, African students may endure their difficulties and not be as outspoken about their issues. In a manner, white IS may feel *at home*, sharing the voice of a westernised campus. African students, conversely, may see the voice of white IS as something to aspire to, sometimes questioning their own articulations of their experiences. This is often visible in focus group studies where the culture and opinions of the dominant group may lead to silence of the less dominant group. Whilst there are complexities in listening to voices, there is tremendous value in voice research in qualitative research.

The value of listening to voices in the qualitative approach is that:

> *Humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. Thus the study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways in*

> *which humans experience the world. This general notion translates into the view that education is the construction and reconstruction of personal and social stories: teachers and learners are storytellers and characters in their own and other's stories* (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

Drawing on Connelly & Clandinin's (1990) quote above, voice reveals meaning that is intrinsic to the individual and a means used to communicate meaning to others. In the education environment, experiences are constructed from interaction between the various role players. This process of verbal communication involves "finding the word, speaking for oneself and feeling heard by others" (p.487). Connelly and Clandinin's (1990) explanation highlights three key aspects of voice. Firstly, using voice is individualistic, in that what is said is specific to and based on a specific person's thoughts and experiences. Secondly, voice is used as a means of communication, or message giving, where a person has the opportunity not only to share their thoughts and experiences, but thirdly, to feel that they have been heard. Zion (2009) refers to this process of using voice in research as conversations about educationally related issues, where one not only talks about issues, but is immersed in dialogue (Pickering, 2008), where one indicates that one has been heard and understood. In using grounded theory for this study, it must be stressed that the individual voice although important, is not the focus of this study. Rather, the focus of this study is a collection of many individual voices (Entwistle, 2006), which make up the group experience of IS.

Voice is often likened to participation, where Barber (2009) describes a person's voice as their right to citizenship, where an active role is taken in order to support assertions (Barber, 2009). Hadfield and Haw (2007) link participation to empowerment, where the process of letting one's voice be heard, is empowering. Participation is also described as an "element of strong involvement and consultation on the part of the subjects of the research" (Pratt & Loizos, 1992, cited in Bennet & Roberts, 1994, p. 5). A necessary part of participation is listening, which is an active process that incorporates both verbal and non-verbal ways that people communicate (Clark, 2005). As the interviewer in this study, I therefore observed non-verbal cues, such as facial expressions, hand gestures, tone of voice, etc. Voice in research is a tool that elicits what people think and feel, often leading to positive outcomes such as a sense of belonging, empowerment, as well as the need to feel heard and understood. Although this is true, voice research has often been questioned by researchers. This relates to the validity of the data produced, as experiential knowledge is seen as biased and subjective,

in that it is concerned with what a person thinks and feels. It is for this reason that listening to voices is surrounded by contestations.

Listening to the voices of students is presently a highly debated issue despite there being a greater emphasis by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 12 which "recognizes children's right to express opinions freely and have these taken into account in matters that affect them" (Powell & Smith, 2009). The concept of voice, however, according to Britzman (1989 as cited in Brooker & MacDonald, 1999) has various meanings including literal (speech), metaphorical (manner and quality of words) and political (viewpoint or opinion on issues).

On the one hand, there are ethical implications, dangers and difficulties regarding the rights of students. It is also argued that listening can be tokenistic because adults can listen and choose to ignore what is being said (Kellet, 2010). It is not easy for students to exercise their right to participate in research, leaving academics to make decisions. Furthermore, students may not be approached directly and participation is controlled by gatekeepers, including ethics committees, caregivers, teachers and parents (Butler & Williamson, 1994 as cited Powell & Smith, 2009). Researchers tend to feel powerless, as they are dependent on the goodwill of agencies to access participants. Likewise, students may also feel powerless and dependent on adults to decide on their level of participation (Powell & Smith, 2009).

Voice research is said to "privilege the mundane" as "experience replaces theory as the author of knowledge" (Moore & Muller, 1999, p. 202). Supporting these claims are the foundations of epistemology and what constitutes knowledge. One such argument is that for anything to be regarded as knowledge, it needs to be valued, it needs to be true and there needs to be some sort of justification or evidence to support the particular knowledge claim. In this regard, it could then be argued that voice research provides little epistemological value. However, it is through voice research we are claiming that context dependent, individual experiences are regarded as knowledge (Moore & Muller, 1999).

To explicate further, "voice discourse operates primarily as a debunking strategy" in that there is no scientific proof to support it and it does not satisfy the above-mentioned criteria of what constitutes knowledge (Moore & Muller, 1999, p. 202). To this end, experience is very subjective and can never be exactly repeated to provide other individuals with that exact same experience. Therefore, according to this argument, experience cannot count as knowledge or provide much value. This begs the question of scientific validity in what cannot be proven

and what cannot be passed on to others as *knowledge*. The argument that is sustained therefore, is that voice research which is devoid of validity through replication, cannot provide much epistemological value. Furthermore, Arnot & Reay (2007, p. 313) argue that "coherent, explicit, systematically principled and hierarchically organized knowledge is replaced with the oral, context dependent and segmentally organized knowledge." In this study the voice of IS, which is at one location within the socio-cultural context of SA, adds a further dimension to the existing body of knowledge in the field of inclusion in HE. I also acknowledge that the study cannot be replicated with the expectation of finding the same data. It is therefore appropriate to acknowledge the contested nature of voice research and fully explore the contestations in such research.

Conversely, there are associated benefits to listening to the voices of youth to gain an insider perspective whilst empowering students through deeper participation (Messiou, 2011). This is especially important in light of the plethora of student unrest in the country. Lynch and O' Neill (1994) caution however, that while oppressed and exploited groups become the subjects of theory and data analysis, they are generally excluded from dialogue about themselves. In their argument, Lynch and O'Neill (1994) question the *positionality of the theorist,* maintaining that the researcher is the expert who conducts studies on relatively powerless subjects. In other words, research is conducted *from the outside in,* about the *other, from above, outside and beyond,* for the benefit of the researcher albeit with the best of intentions. Research on marginalized groups is also criticized as it involves the *oppressor* writing about the *oppressed* from a distance (Lynch & O' Neill, 1994). In this vein, my own positionality is dual in nature. On the one hand, I have had to endure the ravages of apartheid in SA and therefore have experienced exclusion and marginalisation. On the other hand, I am viewed by IS as a member of the host nation and therefore enjoy a more privileged status. Marginalised groups can also be given a platform to name their own world, fight their own struggles with their own voice rather than that of the experts speaking *at them, for them or about them* (Lynch & O' Neill, 1994). I am mindful, however, that conducting research with marginalized students may prove to be a philosophical irony.

The irony is that "inclusion invariably produces its own exclusion," (Sayed & Soudien, 2005, p.116). Listening to the voices of IS (and not local students), would entail labelling them as different, accentuating their *otherness* (Allan, 2007), hence contradicting the concept of inclusive education (Walton, 2011). In purposefully sampling my participants, I am therefore aware that I focussed on an exclusive group of students based on citizenship, which labels

them as different or special. In debating the possibilities and limitations surrounding children's participation in research, Walton (2011, p.89) further cautions that research should be "empowering and emancipatory." Whilst my research focusses on HE students who are not as vulnerable as children, their susceptibility may lie in the fact that they are in a *foreign* country and may feel alienated, as described by Simmel's essay on The Stranger (Wolff, 1950) which is discussed in section 2.2.4.

Furthermore, "inclusive education is about responding to diversity; it is about listening to unfamiliar voices, being open, empowering all members and about celebrating *difference* in dignified ways" (Barton, 1997. p.233 as cited in Messiou, 2006). Fielding (2001, as quoted in Messiou, 2006) posits that academic settings can become more inclusive by gathering the views of young people. Similarly, Walton (2011, p.89) argues that research with "young people in the context of inclusive education should be thus constructed in such a way that the findings can lead to meaningful change or practical outcomes for all learners and especially those vulnerable to exclusion and marginalisation." It is hoped that UCT will consider the results and recommendations of this study in order to improve student experience.

In this section, I debated the use of voice research within the context of critical grounded theory (discussed in chapter three) by listening to the voices of those who are powerless and marginalised. I also pointed to my dual role as the researcher in terms of identifying with marginalised individuals on the one hand but conversely, being in a position as an adult member of the host nation. In listening to voices, I also acknowledge that IS' voice is influenced by their socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds. For example, white IS are socialised to be expressive while African students may tend to be more respectful and *hold back* on their utterances. Furthermore, it is critical that once voices are listened to, feedback is given to institutions and authorities to examine exclusionary policies and behaviours.

2.1.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine student migration through the lens of available literature, theories and previous studies on the topic. It began with a description of the magnitude and significance of global and local student migration. In the main, there is tremendous economic, cultural, political and academic value in accepting and supporting IS. The importance of contexualising this study in the unique South African context is crucial in

trying to fathom student experiences. As a foreground to this study, I described the *fallist* (#feesmust fall, #rhodesmustfall) movements in SA through the lens of post colonialism and the coloniality of knowledge, power and being. I also juxtaposed the current *fallist* movements and the call to decolonise SA academic institutions, to the seductive power of colonial universities on IS. In the main, in/exclusion of students in HE, must be seen through the veil of power relations. To this end, I unpacked the concept of power and debated the factors influencing student mobility from a seductive power perspective. I argued that the deeply rooted colonial knowledge prevalent at UCT, is a seductive form of power - drawing students from around the globe. I also examined the different forms of power (visible, hidden and tacit). Places of learning can be hostile environments and those in power need to identify and remove barriers to inclusion.

In summary, inclusive education is a process of identifying and removing barriers to access, presence, participation and achievement for groups of students at risk of marginalisation. More recently, the DHA's (2017) Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa, sets guidelines for the state and institutions to be more inclusive of IS by providing appropriate support services, including, assistance with applications, academic and administrative support, socio-cultural adjustment and psychological support (DHA, 2017). However, the policy is still in its draft stage of development. Furthermore, in contextualising this research in the field of inclusive education, I argued the importance of this study generating valuable knowledge in the internationalization of education in the South African context. In this regard, the research focusses on experiences in a developing world, which is, juxtaposed to large volumes of research emanating in westernized, global north countries.

Using the theories of power and acculturation, I unpacked how issues of access, belonging, participation and marginalisation are inextricably linked to visible, hidden and invisible forms of power. Berry's (1980) acculturation model was also used to view migrant experience through assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation through the lens of Inclusive Education. In conclusion, I argued that the theory of social capital has a valid bearing on the process of acculturation. From the exterior, the capital of UCT is westernized and bourgeois in its image. This is evident from the fee structure, buildings, location and the class of students who are attracted to it. In the main, migrants with rich economic and social capital (including social networking) are better able to acculturate into the host society. Central to Bourdieu's (1986) work is the question of what motivates human action. In analysing the

experiences of IS, it was prudent to examine the reasons for students choosing to leave their home countries in search of education. The importance of this issue is its embeddedness in the concept of *social capital* and *latent power.* Students generally leave developing regions to study in western countries for an *ivy-league* education (including language skills), which they can take back home and ultimately gain employment. The expectation of them is to *give back* to their families and societies. SA is a popular student destination for African students as it is seen as the *America* of Africa. To this end, African students, *wear the pain* of marginalisation to reach their goal. White IS on the other hand, want to experience the South African culture through mingling with locals and as a holiday experience. They see SA institutions as a replica of those at home and fit comfortably into the westernised epistemology. To gain a better understanding of student experience, we need to listen to the voices of those who, may be marginalised. I therefore examined the value of voice research in the process of inclusion and argued the merits and shortcomings.

The chapter provides a firm foundation of the literature in the field of migrant student experience and adaptation. The next section develops a conceptual framework using the data obtained from the research.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The previous section reviewed the literature on in/exclusion, colonization, types of power relations, theories of acculturation and social capital, in order to gain a better understanding of migrant experiences. In this section, I delve into the conceptual framework. As the methodology of the study lends itself to grounded theory, the framework was built around the synthesis and findings, in order to generate new theory. By way of introduction, I would like to highlight the epistemological stance of this study as a lens to view the conceptual framework as it relates to the methodology.

2.2.1 Epistemological stance

"Positionality in research is vital as it forces you to acknowledge our own power, privilege and biases just as we are denouncing the power structures that surround our subjects" (Madison, 2005, p.7). In a HE institution, positionality is critical in exposing aspects of power in domination and the role of prejudices in relationships between students, students

and administrators and students and academics. It is to this end that the epistemological stance of this work is Critical, the purpose of which is to overcome oppression and domination. Indeed, one of the cornerstones of inclusive education is the removal of barriers to entry and to free students from oppression and domination.

As Habermas (1972, p.53) reminds us:

> *… emancipation from the compulsion of internal nature succeeds to the degree that institutions based on force are replaced by an organization of social relations that are bound only to communication free from domination.*

Drawing from the work of Habermas (1972), I posit that academia and all associated controlling bodies exert force, based on direct or tacit power. In addressing the needs of IS, this study seeks to make recommendations for the improvement of social relations between IS and the host nation. As discussed earlier in this chapter, university rankings are a form of tacit force, which in a way coerces students to enroll at the best-ranked universities of the world. The coercion is based on aspiring to the best possible jobs while those who do not subscribe are excluded from the *ivy league.* In keeping with critical theory, social relations between host institutions and IS need to be free from domination. All forms of domination may result in the exclusion and marginalisation of IS.

The stance of this study defines the conceptual framework as a network of interlinked concepts, which in unison contribute to a comprehensive perception of a phenomenon or phenomena, thereby *setting the stage* for the research question. Furthermore, the concepts which form the "main elements of the study," "support one another, articulate their respective phenomena, and establish a framework-specific philosophy," which includes, "ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions," providing an epistemological role (Jabereen, 2009, p.51). The ontological assumptions of this research relates to "how things really are," and, "how things really work" in an assumed reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.108). In keeping with this assumption, the methodological stance supports the conceptual framework in describing reality.

In defining a conceptual framework, Jabareen (2009) argues that present usage of terms such as conceptual framework and theoretical framework are ambiguous and elusive. It is therefore prudent to define the conceptual framework of this study in a meaningful and unambiguous manner. For this study, it encompasses a synthesis of literature and the findings in order to explain a social phenomenon. Furthermore, it "identifies research variables,

clarifies relationships among variables … which 'sets the stage' for the research question" being answered (McGaghie, Bordage & Shea, 2001, p.923).

Jabereen (2009) further describes the features of a conceptual framework as follows:

- Examines the relationships between the key variables
- Provides an interpretative slant to social reality instead of a causal relationship
- Provides understanding rather than a theoretical explanation without predicating an outcome (due to freedom, human actions can be explained rather than predicted)
- Constructed through a process of qualitative analysis
- Seeks to generate a new understanding within a particular field

Drawing from Jabereen's (2009) assertions, the data was analysed by examining the key variables, their relationships with each other and the causes and consequences. The aim was to contribute and understanding the field of inclusive education and student migration. I identify the key variables in this study, to be:

i. Overt and tacit exclusion
ii. Foreignness and marginalisation
iii. The geographies of marginalisation
iv. Seductive power
v. Latent power
vi. Social Capital, Acculturation and Self in/exclusion

The following figure depicts the lenses through which student experiences are viewed.

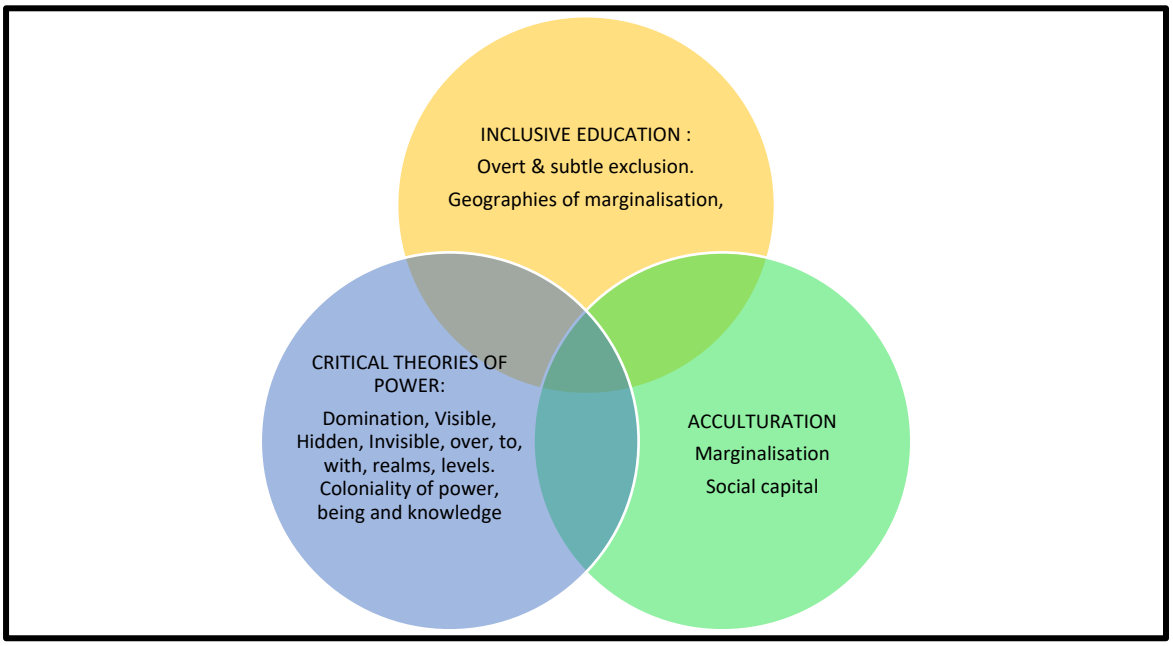

Figure (iii) Overlapping lenses of inclusion, power and acculturation

At the center of the overlapping circles, lies the understanding of student experience as it pertains to this study. Also of importance, the circles represent degrees of participation. Students may participate in the academic and social activities of the institution from the outside, some from the periphery while others still may participate from within. The degree of participation resonates strongly with the socio-cultural capital they possess. Furthermore, the overlapping parts of the circles represent degrees of acceptance, participation and belonging. The overlapping zones could also represent periods of transition in the acculturation process. That is to say, students become more participative and included as they progress through the acculturation stages. Finally, the overlapping zones represent the degree to which the issues of institutional power have a bearing, on in/exclusion or marginalisation.

In determining the enabling factors in acculturation, I argued that social capital has a bearing on the student experience in adapting to the culture of the host nation. Insofar as power goes, I argued that physical and academic access are determined by issues of overt as well as tacit power. Issues of access, belonging and participation of students are worthy of study, as power and knowledge are intricately linked - both being socially constructed phenomena.

Indeed, as Foucalt (1977, p.27) asserts that:

> *We should admit rather that power produces knowledge […] that power and knowledge directly imply one another, that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.*

To this end, knowledge and power presuppose one another and are regarded as mutually dependent. In the HE setting, those who control the access to knowledge (government departments, accrediting bodies and university gatekeepers) are able to grant or deny access to migrants. However not all power is overt, as academic staff and students of the host nation exercise control over migrants in subtle ways, for example, through use of language. The entire scenario is rather complex as there as nuances in student socio-economic background. I hence examine the concept of social capital, which has a direct bearing on student acculturation. Literature, discussed earlier in this chapter, indicate that students migrating from western countries are better able to adapt to the host nation culture.

Issues of student mobility are a complex social and political conundrum, requiring exploration from multiple social theories and concepts relating to education. In trying to understand contemporary social issues, research in education has become increasingly complex, linked to interdisciplinary societies of knowledge. Given this dilemma, research in the field of social sciences requires a multidisciplinary approach for which qualitative methods serve as tools for investigation (Jabareen, 2009). In the preceding sections of this chapter, I identified relevant themes and theories associated with the access, participation and belonging of IS in HE. The themes, theories and findings of this study and of other researchers in the field of liberation and inclusion, form a backdrop for the conceptual framework. In the main, while some researchers and theories postulated concepts of inclusive education, others used the theories of power to explain issues in/exclusion. Further studies point to explaining in/exclusion through the theory of acculturation. This study encompasses a multidisciplinary approach using inclusive education, marginalisation, power, acculturation and social capital to shed light on an important social issue of mobile student experience. This previous enquiry on the available literature provided a starting point for observations, interview questions and analysis of findings (Jabereen, 2009). In keeping with grounded theory, the findings of this study guided and refined the literature review.

2.2.2 In/exclusion and Marginalisation:

The section on inclusive education and marginalisation, discussed earlier in this chapter, highlighted the tenuous nature of defining and contextualising inclusion. While policies guiding inclusion education have been developed globally, SA is lagging behind, especially with regard to HE. Furthermore, there is a slant towards exclusion of disabled individuals. I further argued the need to unpack issues of inclusion and marginalisation to have a more direct bearing on local conditions. Bearing in mind the bias of inclusive education to schooling in SA, I highlighted the expedient value of this research on possible further legislative intervention in inclusion in HE. Drawing from the literature review and the findings of this study, I posit that fitting concepts, applicable to this study are subtle exclusion, *foreignness* and marginalisation as well as the spatial aspect of marginalisation.

2.2.2.1 Subtle or tacit exclusion

In terms of conceptual convenience, inclusion is often described in a dichotomous, binary manner of being either on the inside or outside. However, as Opotow (1990) argues, the scope of justice varies, dependent on social values, ethical beliefs and notions of fairness. In SA, this is compounded by the diversity of cultures, traditions and beliefs of the host nation. While blatant prejudice is associated with aversive or hostile attitudes, research in recent times have focussed on more subtle, covert forms of prejudice, which are difficult to detect, are socially acceptable and are institutionalised (Passini & Morselli, 2016). One form of subtle exclusion relates to moral exclusion, where outsiders are treated as nonentities or undeserving. "Moral exclusion occurs when individuals or groups are perceived as outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply" (Opotow, 1990, p.1). In this regard, IS bring with them their own cultural norms, attitudes and values which may be in conflict with those of the local SA students and between IS students themselves. Previously in this chapter, I alluded to the uniqueness of IS as subgroups where, for example, white IS may differ markedly from African IS students.

Of interest to this study is the notion of parties being exposed to fair processes, especially in terms of conditions of acceptance and cost of study. This view is supported by Passini & Moreselli's (2016) notion that subtle exclusion, is often institutionalised and may be undetected by the migrant. Consider Slee's (2011) view of inclusion being a *Trojan horse* where there are underlying, tacit forms of domination. While UCT seeks to recruit and welcome IS into the institution, there are possible tacit forms of exclusion. Pre-conditions of

enrollment, such as, purchase of medical aid, faculty international term fees, admin fees, inflated academic fees and upfront fee payment, may be viewed as tacit exclusion. The concept of subtle exclusion is directly related to the tacit forms of power, which the institution may exert on the IS. Other forms of tacit exclusion could relate to the university's language policy. In this regard, communication to students (via email, posters, etc.) is only in English, thereby excluding IS whose home language may be French or Portuguese. While it is, argued that English is the international business language and the institution's language of teaching and learning, it could be counter argued, that it is the language of the coloniser, associated with the history of oppression and domination. Once again, this concept is linked to the latent aspect of power and marginalisation (discussed later in this section).

While tacit **ex**clusion is associated with unfairness based on the dilemma of difference, tacit **in**clusion entails "belonging to the same community, perceiving another as a worthwhile being, or discerning any thread of connectedness creates bonds, even with strangers" (Opotow, 1990, p.7). To this end, inclusion exists where relationships between groups are "approximately equal, the potential for reciprocity exists, and both parties are entitled to fair processes" (Opotow, 1990, p.2). If IS are seen to be taking the scarce seats at SA universities, this places them at immediate disadvantage. It may be perceived that IS students are consuming rather than producing knowledge, hence the lack of reciprocity and unfairness in the academic and social arenas. This highlights the common theme of this study, which relates to the belonging and participation of strangers. The university as a community in its own right has to create a sense of belonging and fairness, which is visible and transparent. The fact that IS have to overcome so many hurdles just to be enrolled, speaks to *unfairness* rather than equal opportunities. The value of this study in terms of inclusive policies of institutions, is underscored by Opotow's (1990) view that experimental work in the field of *moral* inclusion and exclusion is lacking. Akin to the issue of tacit exclusion is the issue of marginalisation.

2.2.2.2 'Foreignness' and marginalisation

The purpose of this section is to interrogate the concept of *foreignness* and examine issues of migration into SA from a regulatory standpoint. In discussing the binary logic of imperialism, Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2007) purport that the western world, views the world in terms of a binary opposition. Terms such as *civilized* versus *primitive, good* versus *evil* and *black* versus *white,* were used in very succinct ways to foster domination. The white settler was

described as the *colonizer, civilized, teacher and doctor* versus the *colonized, primitive, pupil and patient*. Similarly, the term *foreign* is the binary of *citizen,* prefixed by the words *South African.* IS were previously given the title of *foreign students* and in many circles this title is still used as a descriptor. One possible reason for the withdrawal of the term *foreign* is the negative connotation associated with it. This is one important dynamic that we must explore in light of IS experiences. As Saunders (2003) expounds:

> *The word 'foreign' designates a quality or entity conceived relatively: The foreign is always relative to the inside, the domestic, the familiar, a boundary. No entity is inherently foreign; s/he who is a foreigner in one place is at home in another; as the familiar is altered or boundary redrawn, so too is the character of the foreign…"* (Saunders, 2003, p.3)

Saunder's (2003) work reminds us that mobile students are perceived as the *outsider, the intruder, the unfamiliar*. Note also the reference to boundaries as marker in all that is foreign and not familiar. In this regard, humans often react with trepidation when interacting with the unfamiliar. The work of Marginson (2012) on the human rights issue of mobile students in Australia has great relevance in defining and examining how foreignness is constructed. The temporary nature of their sojourn leaves IS in limbo, uncertain, vulnerable, de-powered, sub-ordinated and incomplete Marginson (2012). A current development in the UK, as reported in the University World News, supports the notion of students being in limbo. Thousands of IS have been implicated in an English testing scandal and have received letters revoking their visas and threatening deportation. Having invested all of their savings in education, students are faced with an uncertain future (Sharma, 2019).

As outsiders, mobile students have an abstruse meaning for host nations who grapple to manage migratory issues they can never fully control. There is further grappling of benefits, vis-à-vis, the dangers of allowing IS into the country. As discussed in chapter one, IS students in the USA may be seen as an imminent terrorist threat. Imposed by force in the past, challenged by globalization in the present, borders must be continually remade. Some of those who attacked New York and Washington in September 2001 had entered the USA as students. After 9/11 the Bush government established the SEVIS surveillance system, which positioned all IS as potentially dangerous aliens, infringed their liberties and imposed a regulatory burden on universities (Rosser, Mamiscishvili & Wood, 2007). Meanwhile,

Australia cancelled the visas of thousands of IS for minor breaches of the rules governing student work, placing many in prisonlike detention (Marginson, 2012).

In SA, unemployment rates necessitate the control of the flow of people who also create an additional burden on the country's health care, welfare and housing. In the HE space, universities cannot absorb the thousands of SA matriculants every year, due to capacity constraints. In this regard (as shown in chapter one), IS students are welcomed as post-graduate candidates. However, for a white undergraduate student hailing from a ranked western university, it is fairly easy to gain entrance into UCT, a similar westernised institution. Conversely, a student hailing from an African country may face many barriers in terms of recognition of major subjects within the undergraduate degree or recognition of the foreign institution itself. In terms of post-graduate studies, benefits for the host country include copious amounts of income as well as skilled labour and research output. IS are often viewed within conflicting normative constructions - being valued and welcomed, vis-à-vis, being seen as a threat and overstaying their welcome. Economic benefits for host institutions include paying post-graduate IS lowered salaries as compared to local counterparts. Migrants around the world are viewed with dual lenses, dependent on whether they are an investment to the country or whether they are a burden. This leads to marginalisation on many other fronts and systems.

In the main, IS cannot fully access the host country's legal, welfare and political systems. The main point of formal contact is the embassy or consulate, itself a guest and unable to replicate all home government functions. Yet as aliens in the foreign country, IS have a different and inferior status to local citizens. What this means can vary. IS are affected by laws concerning aliens, and some nations with large numbers of IS also have specific laws, regulations and/or programs for them. Statuses can also vary according to nation of origin. For example, EU countries grant other EU citizens favoured treatment and they pay lower tuition than non-EU foreigners. Australia offers quasi-citizen status to New Zealanders. Some nations discriminate against particular categories of foreigners.

Whether welcome or unwelcome, IS are legally defined as aliens or as *others*. They are culturally *othered* as well. Thus foreigners are often seen as culturally exotic outsiders. There is no obligation to engage with the exotic or include it in a common humanist regime. This is a short step from *fascinating and mysterious* to *dangerous* and *threatening.* Cross-border students are seen to bear no rights other than those donated by the host nation. Rights, which are solely dependent on socio-cultural and political roots.

There are no minimum benchmarks in relation to service quality, either for local or for IS. This omission creates larger problems for IS because, although they pay more for their education than do local students, they are less familiar with local conventions of service delivery and more vulnerable to under-provision. The act appears to assume that IS, as consumers, will regulate standards by making market choices. However, as the code itself notes, migrant students usually cannot evaluate the quality of a course before purchase and once enrolled, it is usually extremely difficult to de-register and return home. This is in light of the huge capital investment needed for their sojourn.

This section on marginalisation depicts IS in limbo, neither as citizens of the host nation nor of their home country for the period of their sojourn. As such, they do not enjoy the benefits of either country but live on the margins of society, deficit of power. As with inclusion, marginalisation may not be overt or observable at all times. One of Messiou's (2006) four conceptualisations of marginalisation is when migrants' needs are invisible to the host nation. In this regard needs may be invisible to host if the oppressed are not seen as worthy of citizenship. It is for this purpose that the findings of this study will shed light on the needs of migrants. In conclusion, I examined the role *foreignness* on the issue of marginalisation, noting how, words are juxtaposed to form binaries of black versus white or foreign versus local. It also pointed to the fact that SA blacks are in many ways also *foreigners* at HE institutions, given SA's history of separate, unequal development. The descriptors discussed above point also to the power of language in the arena of inclusive education. Another concept worthy of note is the spatial aspect of marginalisation.

2.2.2.3 The geographies of marginalisation

> *International students are affected by two different national regulatory regimes, in the nations of citizenship and of education. But they are fully covered by neither. Their position is vulnerable and uncertain…* (Marginson, 2012, p.497)

Marginson's (2012) assertion above, suggests that IS are confined to the borders of space and time, which leaves them with a deficit, marginal and vulnerable status. From a spatial viewpoint, "marginalisation entails material and discursive relationships between society and space" (Trudeau & McMorran, 2011, p.438). International boundaries serve to delineate

place and space as the transnational flow of people may threaten to unsettle communities as "identities are performed through landscapes" (Duncan & Duncan, 2004, p.7).

In this regard, geopolitical borders serve to protect the identities of its communities by the production and regulation of space (Solem, Klein, Muniz-Solari & Ray, 2010). By their very existence, borders produce landscapes of exclusion through physical separation of groups thereby pointing out their differences (Trudeau & McMorran, 2011). Borders therefore act as a policed control mechanism for inclusion in and exclusion from national identity (Solem, *et al.*, 2010). It is further argued, that bulk migratory policies are directed at curbing rather than controlling migratory inflows (Balbo, 2011; DHA, 2017).

This view resonates with Simmel's conception of *The Stranger* in a geographic space where "spatial relations are the only condition, on the one hand, and the symbol, on the other, of human relations" (Wolff, 1950, p.1). The Stranger's position in the group is "determined essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning" due to socio-spatial boundaries (Wolff, 1950, p.1). Landscapes, through geographical boundaries are thus manipulated to produce exclusion and marginalisation by the use of access control, visas and study permits. On a micro level at campuses, spaces may be delineated to the benefit of some and the expense of others. Consider for example where priority sites are reserved for senate or medicine, versus humanities or support offices for migrants. In this sense, the concept of marginalisation, which is a term derived directly from the word *margin,* is spatial metaphor that draws attention to the geographical aspects of exclusion (Trudeau & McMorran, 2011). Landscapes are therefore conceptualized "as an uneasy truce between the needs and desires of people who live in it, and the desire of powerful social actors to represent the world as they assume it should be" (Mitchell, 1996, p.34-35). For the purpose of this study, the "needs and desires," as mentioned in the above quote, refers to control of space by those in control. For IS, it is the aspiration to gain access into SA for the purpose of education.

On a macro level, the *powerful social actors* relate to the gatekeepers/ legal entities who issue visas and study permits while on a micro level, the education institution may decide on who's in and who's out. From a macro perspective, international boundaries serve to delineate place and space as the transnational flow of people may threaten to unsettle communities, as people tend to conform to their environment (Duncan & Duncan, 2004, p.7). Borders create *artificial or produced* spaces which have their own economic, administrative, military and cultural systems which make space meaningful. Borders therefore act as a policed control mechanism for inclusion in and exclusion from national identity (Solem, *et al.*, 2010). It is

further argued that bulk migratory policies are directed at restraining rather than controlling migratory inflows (Balbo, 2011; Lee, 2016).

The drawing of HE into global markets, through internationalization of its services, has also facilitated the continuous re-structuring (and de-structuring) of students' perceptions, conceptions and lived experiences. *Where* university students pursue their academic endeavours, is influenced by their journeys through and in space. It can be argued that the process of migration, sense of dislocation and alienation must contribute to the stress on the individuals (Bhugra, 2004b). While geopolitical borders promote exclusion on a macro scale, institutions may inadvertently exclude people on a micro scale.

On a micro level, the spatial aspect of the campus is, regarded as a social production that offer experiences of multiple localities (Singh, Rizvi & Shresth, 2007). To elaborate further, the various spaces on the campus are lived, felt and experienced. Space and spatiality are therefore active elements as they act as conduits to the various social networks of motion and action. To this end, places and spaces, are therefore not neutral but are permeated with ideological, cultural and political content. Students therefore have to negotiate their academic and social lives in the context of their aspirations (Singh, *et al.*, 2007). A sense of belonging in the campus environment is thus dependent on the lived experiences of the places and spaces and the resiliency of students to adapt to change. The ability to root oneself to the environment produces a sense of settling down and acculturation. Conversely, students may experience a sense of dislocation, isolation and marginalisation relating to being in an unfamiliar physical landscape (Singh, *et al.*, 2007). "Students who have regular contact with other student - whether foreign, host, or from same region - are less alienated from the college environment than those who have less contact with others" (Klomegah, 2006, p. 314). In this sense, separated IS support offices may further alienate students by mere fact of their isolation. Regular contact requires more integration, rather than separation.

Environments that are already highly ordered and purified of other objects, facilitate forms of social control that construct differences as out of place, deviant and potentially abject. Educational institutions can be regarded as highly ordered environments which are access controlled and heavily regulated by administrative policies. Marginalisation can take the form of strong spatial divisions meant to separate people and places. However, spatial knowledge can increase a sense of belonging and reduce marginalisation. The sense of belonging to a group or a place is influenced by the ability to acquire spatial knowledge, which can be enhanced by increasing the *imageability* of the environment. In travelling from one point to

another, a person employs different types of knowledge, defined as spatial knowledge which facilitates the ability of wayfinding (Ahmed, Tilanka & Chen, 2011).

Orientation to the campus environment, as part of a formal academic programme, may assist in creating a sense of wayfinding and belonging. However, a simple task of navigating from one point to another involves a series of complex functions. In this sense, the environmental characteristic is linked to behavioural aspects of psychology as well as social and physical wellbeing. It is argued that an astute sense of knowledge and belonging to an academic environment, augers well for achieving better academic results, closer relationships with peers and self-confidence (Ahmed, *et al.*, 2011). In dealing with aspects of foreignness and spatial boundaries, I explored how IS may be marginalised due their *otherness*. Another relationship worth exploring, in seeking student experiences of access, belonging and participation is that of power and inclusion.

2.2.3 Power and inclusion:

Gaventa (2005, p.6) purports that the essence of any debate on power, hinges on how "spaces for engagement are created," the outcome of the discourse and hence the lens we use to view it. Drawing on the works of Gaventa (2005), I infer that IS engage with authoritative figures and institutions on many levels. Firstly, their engagement is spatial in that they cross a boundary and enter into a foreign space. Secondly, they engage with regulatory bodies such as the Department of Education and SAQA in terms of meeting entrance requirements. Thirdly, they engage authoritative figures within the university in terms of fees, faculty requirements and language proficiency. As explained earlier, all IS may not experience issues of power in the same manner - dependant on their origin. In a way, the spaces of engagement are may be viewed as lenses through which power can be interrogated.

2.2.3.1 Seductive power

The importance of HE institutions in shaping values, identities and epistemologies cannot be undervalued. It here where "authoritative knowledge, certified knowledge" is qualified and sanctioned. It is where "legitimate knowledge is cultivated, preserved and protected" and wherein lies the "heart of epistemic violence" (Pillay, 2015). Drawing on Pillay's (2015) address about the source and nature of HE, I further propose that universities have a powerful influence on drawing IS to this very source of knowledge. The historical points of origin of institutional epistemologies have a direct bearing on, not only the content, but on the medium

and structures through which knowledge is, transmitted. Consider university rankings as a point in a case.

Among the top 30 universities in the world in 2017, 22 are from America and the UK (Karabel, 2005). The top universities are, referred to the 'Big Three or Elite and Prestige Colleges' (Harvard, Yale and Princeton) in the USA and Oxbridge (a portmanteau of Oxford and Cambridge) in the UK. These colleges represent a powerful image and function as *global models* to emulate. In attracting IS, Yale is described as *manufacturing prestige* which does not relate to academic rigour (Karabel, 2005). This process is described by Swartz (1997, p.6) as the manner in which "institutions hold individuals and groups in competitive and self-perpetuating hierarchies of domination." The primary purpose of this social power is to create an *identity power*, which is also manifest through *identity prejudices* of the *other* (Fricker, 2007). The reputation and prestige of publications of institutions is best described by Bourdieu (1986) as scientific capital. The intellectual capital is the ability to influence public opinion - in this case migrant students. This is consistent with the assertion that the possession of foreign credentials plays a pivotal role in student mobility and is an investment in human capital (Marginson, 2014; Tran, 2015).

In questioning the nature and source of the epistemologies in current academia, Grosfoguel (2007) interrogates why the canon of thought in disciplines of Social Sciences and Humanities stem from only five countries in the western world. In this regard, there exists a monopolisation of knowledge relating to social, historical, philosophical and critical theory, based on the world-views of academia from five countries (Italy, France, England, Germany and the USA). To this end, all other epistemologies from the global south (non-European) may be regarded, as inferior, folklore, fundamentalist and sub-alternate knowledge (Mignolio, 2007; Grosfoguel, 2007). To these views, Quijano (2000) adds that the *colonial power mix* involves exploitation and domination of people in many aspects of their lives, including academic institutions. This domination is still presently viewed in *global coloniality*, which is produced in the modern/ colonial/ patriarchal administrations. It defines knowledge production through books, criteria for academic performance and the self-image of people (Mignolo, 2003, cited in Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Global coloniality is thus "a socially situated capacity to control others' actions" and "create or preserve a given social order" (Fricker, 2007, p.13). Ranking of universities preserves this coloniality while decolonisation is a "resistance to the forces of colonialism that perpetuate the subjugation and/or exploitation of our minds, bodies and lands'' (Wilson & Yellow Bird, 2005, p.2).

Similarly, Battiste (2000) emphasises the manner in which education exists as a location for colonial power in "our cognitive prisons" (p. xvi). To this end, students are mentally predisposed towards the western standards of education. This resonates with Bourdieu's (1986) symbolic capital (honour, prestige, recognition). The above argument gave a global view of knowledge, which has implications for Euro-centric institutions in SA.

The colonial history of SA cannot be separated from the HE landscape as universities were built to serve the interests of the *elitists*. To this end, UCT as a colonial university has maintained the epistemologies of dominance and elitism. The western, colonialist matrix of university rankings support the elitist ownership of UCT. As a learning institution, UCT may thus be seen as a colonialist, western university located in a black, developing country. In this regard, UCT is described by Max Price as "the culture of what's held up to be excellent universities and excellent science, and what we emulate as aspire to be, are the Ivy League universities and European universities" (as cited in Hendricks, 2018, p.30). The implication of this view is pertinent to this study as it foregrounds the reasons behind students leaving a black country in Africa to sojourn to another black country in Africa. As Pietsch (2013) maintains, South African *settler* universities presume to have a superior *western* culture who "establish themselves as the local representatives of *universal* knowledge, proudly proclaiming this position in the neo-gothic buildings erected and the Latin mottos they adopted."

Highly ranked universities are often associated with colonialist businessmen or public figures, after whom buildings are named. For example, the Jameson Hall and steps at UCT was named after Leander Starr Jameson, a colonialist businessman and medical professional. Similarly, the Wernher & Beit Complex was, named after Sir Julius Charles Wernher, a German-born art collector. Alfred Beit was born in Hamburg and immigrated to the Cape Colony in 1875 during the diamond rush at Kimberley. He became one of a group of financiers who gained control of the diamond-mining claims in the Central, Du Toitspan, and De Beers mines. It is therefore not surprising that the "language of instruction is English" (Max Price, vice chancellor of UCT, as quoted in Hendricks, 2018, p.30). "Languages are not something human beings have but rather something of what humans beings are, coloniality of power and of knowledge engendered the coloniality of being" (Mignolo, 2003, p.269, cited in Maldonado- Torres, p.242). Consider, as a case in point the language of UCT's website.

> *Among its more than 100 000 alumni are the late Professor Christiaan Barnard, the world-renowned heart surgeon, and 3 Nobel laureates, Sir Aaron Klug, the late Professor Alan MacLeod Cormack and JM Coetzee. UCT also has more than 80 specialist research units that provide supervision for postgraduate work and is home to more than a third of South Africa's A-rated researchers – academics who are considered world leaders in their fields. (http://www.uct.ac.za/main/about/history)*

While this arguably a slice of UCT's history, the subliminal message speaks to university rankings which culminates from the hard work of various academia who studied at the institution. The unspoken message is that the successes of the academia are a result of the functioning of the institution rather than their own rigour. In terms of UCT producing "world leaders" speaks to a cloak of inclusion and diversity which it wears. However, this inclusivity may not be present in its internal practices. In addition to the advertising on the website, the architecture of UCT also speaks volumes about its colonist roots. An important caveat to consider is how UCT is positioned to support white IS through its replication of western epistemological and physical structures.

Power in this study is dependent on how political, physical, cultural and academic spaces are created and realised (Gaventa, 2006). The migration of IS into the country must be seen through the veil of the historical underpinnings of immigration policies in the country. In many ways the relatively young democratic history in South Africa, makes this study unique compared to other international research. Writing about colonialism and oppression provides a backdrop to view cultural domination and social identity (Sonn & Lewis, 2009). In this regard, post-colonialism relates strongly to how colonial practices are deeply entrenched in current migratory experiences and therefore needs to be constantly resisted and reconstructed (Ashcroft, *et al*., 2007). Buttressing this view, the DHA (2017) report on the international migration assert that immigration in SA is entrenched in colonialism and apartheid. While European migrants were given preferential citizenship, *native* immigrants were confined to the migrant, cross border labour system. The rationale of the state was to recruit *desirable* whites while excluding migrants from Asia and India.

In SA, the term *decolonisation of education* has recently taken center stage. In interrogating colonialism, Bhatia & Ram (2001) highlight that there was no distinct separation between colonial and *post colonial* eras based on the exchange of flags on the flag pole. They further emphasize that postcolonial societies still bear the brunt of neocolonial domination and

power. Some of the uprisings were around the language policy issue at the University of Stellenbosch, the anti-poor accommodation policy at Rhodes University and the issue of financial exclusion highlighted by the national *#feesmustfall* campaign. Of relevance to national uprisings, the UCT *#Rhodesmustfall* campaign drew the attention of the world to the perception of UCT being a Western colonialist university located within Africa. In essence student mass action drew attention to the need for reform in the belief that, "South Africa in 2015 is a white supremacist state or that white privilege explains the racial inequities in access to and success at universities" (Molefe, 2016, p.36).

Decolonisation of education at UCT has translated to the renaming of buildings, which is described as "a multifaceted transformation project committed to overcoming the legacy of apartheid and colonialism in the university system - and to make UCT a home to all" (Pijoos citing a UCT spokesperson, 2018). Making UCT a "home to all" however, requires more than just renaming of buildings. While there is an acknowledgement of the steps to rename buildings associated with colonialists (for example, renaming The Jameson Memorial Hall as The Sarah Baartman Memorial Hall), there remain tacit questions about UCT's commitment. In making UCT a home to, "all" may have implications that this refers to "all" SA citizens only. In defining and describing a "home" in an epistemological setting, perhaps UCT should consider the language of foreign groups who represent a large percentage of migrant students. Whilst English is the language of instruction, perhaps notices and posters should be more inclusive of other common languages, such as Portuguese and French (many students from Africa speak French). This issue relates to tacit exclusion discussed earlier in the conceptual framework.

IS face power struggles on many levels. This study examines the role of power, social capital and acculturation in facilitating access, participation and belonging. However, IS experience cannot be viewed in isolation but must be interrogated through the veil of the decolonisation of HE in SA. Access to HE in SA has been a moot point for decades. Colonialist, apartheid policies have been overt about excluding people of colour from well-resourced HE institutions. Post 1994, there has been a call to decolonise SA universities, however there has been little traction in terms of translating policies to action on the ground.

Evidence of such assertions are supported by the DoE's (2008) report, which records that:

> *while all universities have had new policies and frameworks that speak about equality, equity, transformation and change, institutional cultures and epistemological traditions have not considerably changed. Policies might be there but the willingness to implement them is lacking (p.41).*

Comments made by the DoE (2008) above, speak to the slow pace of transformation of HE in SA. Underscoring comments and recommendations made by the DoE (2008), Sadar (2008, p. xix) asserts that while "direct colonial rule may have disappeared… colonialism, in its many disguises as cultural, economic, political and knowledge-based oppression, lives on." Furthermore, Heleta (2016, p.1) purports that while oppression and racism may have ended in 1994, the underlying epistemologies and knowledge "remain rooted in colonial, apartheid and Western worldviews and epistemological traditions."

Decolonisation of universities in SA has many merits in deconstructing apartheid education and opening the doors of learning to all. From a global standpoint, decolonisation would result in a seamless transition for IS hailing from developing countries. However, there remains value in the plethora of knowledge gained from colonialism, especially in research in the scientific field. South African universities may also lose valuable links with institutions abroad in terms of recognition of qualifications, especially for students who may want to further their studies or careers in western countries. Highly qualified, experienced academics may also seek to migrate back to their home countries, thereby creating a shortage of much needed skills and expertise.

The preceding section interrogated issues of power and in/exclusion, showing that, while the effects of the tacit power of colonialism attract IS, deeply entrenched practices may cause marginalisation. Furthermore, while white IS students may feel at home in a Eurocentric UCT, African and Asian students may feel marginalized. The levels of acculturation, participation and belonging of IS, is largely dependent on the social capital they possess.

2.2.4 Social Capital, Acculturation and Self In/exclusion

Literature earlier in this chapter identified four processes or phases in the acculturation process namely, integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Berry's (1980) acculturation model however, lacks the aspects of power, colonialism and resistance (Bhatia

& Ram, 2001). Of importance is the concept of *resistance* in the acculturation process. To this end, resisting social exclusion empowers migrants to become part of the social and academic aspects of the host society. Challenging and compromising issues include highly valued standards, which contrasts with that of the migrant and difficulties of socialising with other cultures due to language barriers, discrimination and socio-cultural barriers (David, *et al.*, 2009). In order to survive, students therefore need to be adequately equipped with the necessary capital. In this section, I argue that migrants with adequate social capital are able to better acculturate and engage in self-inclusion. In this regard, consider the work of LaFromboise, *et al.* (1993) on the six dimensions of bicultural competence. Of relevance are the following five:

- **i.** Knowledge of cultural beliefs and values and history of the host nation,
- **ii.** The ability to function effectively within two groups without losing one's own identity,
- **iii.** Ability to effectively communicate verbally and nonverbally in both cultural groups,
- **iv.** Ability to possess or willing to learn culturally appropriate behaviour, and
- **v.** Establishing social networks in both cultural groups.

Drawing on the work of LaFromboise, *et al.* (1993), I posit that the above five factors are a product of the social and cultural capital a migrant possesses before sojourning to the host country. In this regard, student self-efficacy relating to academic and social tasks is of vital importance to mental health and psychological well-being for those living in diverse cultures (David, *et al.*, 2009).

While there may be instances where government officials and university representatives may have *power over* IS, there may be instances where students have the *power to* reduce experiences of exclusion and marginalisation. Literature on empowerment is rooted in what the relatively powerless and marginalized *can* do, assisted by what others can do on their behalf (McGee, 2016). Drawing from McGee (2016), I contend that empowerment is possible through enhancing agency of individual students and organised groups thereby creating a more inclusive student experience for themselves. Empowerment is closely related to the *power to* theory.

The *power to* theory is linked to Bourdieu's (1986) forms of social capital, discussed earlier in this section. In essence, acquisition of social capital by foreign students empowers them in

situations where they may feel excluded or marginalized. It is well documented that students from western countries are able to empower themselves in local languages, knowledge of local culture, food, people, accommodation, etc, before they left their home countries (see for example, Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Church, 1982; Catalano, Fox & Vandeyar, 2016). Brown (2009), on studies with post graduate students, notes that students felt empowered in host countries due to them being free from their own cultural and familial expectations while improving their inter-cultural competence. Cicognania, *et al.*'s (2018) studies on the experiences of Morrocan youth in Italy, noted that they are able to resist "oppression by protecting cultural values and practices and developing an 'identity of resistance'" (p. 109).

McGee (2016, p.111), aptly summarises empowerment, rendering that by "enhancing people's appreciation of their agency and diminishing their fears of the negative consequences of taking action, acts of resistance prepare the terrain for shifting the boundaries of what is possible." Aligned with this trend of thought, it is argued that students with a high self-concept or self-esteem are able to derive positive attitudes, which correlates with psychological well-being and relationship building. Conversely, low self-esteem results in uncertainty and poor relationship building (Lewandowski & Raines, 2010). In addition to social capital in the inclusion process, there is tremendous value to listen to the voice of IS.

2.2.5 Inclusion, power and voices

In seeking to attain the objectives of this study, it is imperative to justify the use of voice research in seeking the input of those who are deemed to be marginalised. As Bahou (2011) contends, the negotiation of power through the intersections of ethnicity and race is at the very centre of voice research. Furthermore, the application of *voice* or *silence* provides a backdrop regarding who are excluded and who are authorised to speak and about what. It is argued that constructs of power in the realm of student voice has been inadequately researched (Bahou, 2011). Furthermore, participation intensifies when youth and adults work together to address concerns. In a university setting powers at play (discussed earlier in this chapter) creates the illusion that students are actually at the mercy of the institution and that academic integrity, should not be questioned. Migrant student voice is further silenced due to their *outsider* perception, which results in complacency in the face of hostile experiences.

The argument presented above assumes that students want to be included - to have access, to belong and to participate in their experience. However, it is interesting to consider that

inclusion can be a multi-directional concept. One the one hand, SA and the education institution should support notions of including IS. Conversely, IS students should be open to including the culture of the institution. What this study also hopes to uncover is whether IS really *want* to be included into social groups, customs and cultures or do they wish to adopt a self-exclusion policy. In this regard, they may want to gravitate towards other students from similar backgrounds (language, culture, etc). Furthermore, it hopes to identify tacit forms of power in the inclusion process and where relevant, issues of self-inclusion. It is therefore critical to seek the voices of those who we view as excluded to gain a better understanding of what inclusion means for those who are directly affected. As Sonn & Lewis (2009) contend, the voices and experiences of those who are marginalised assists in producing knowledge for the purposes of disrupting oppression.

In relating the issue of power and voice to the aims and objectives of this study, I infer from Bahou (2011) that it will:

i. address issues of importance to the migrant student
ii. create new knowledge for critical evaluation and action
iii. establish and agenda for institutions to make a difference
iv. draw attention to the fact that student voices are taken seriously
v. enhance institutions' processes of teaching and learning relating to migrant students

To be truly inclusive is to empower those who are marginalised. However, we need to listen to the views of the marginalised to ascertain their willingness to be integrated and the extent to which they want to be included. Voice is therefore a source of power in the process of inclusion. In listening to the voices of IS, what emerged is that students want to be listened to. Their willingness to participate in the research and their use of emotive language, expressions and gestures indicated that their issues are noteworthy. The data also indicated that white IS had fewer negative experiences and felt more like Bourdieu & Wacquant's (1992) *fish in water,* as UCT resonates with their institutions back home. Africa/ Asian students however, had more serious issues relating to acceptance and belonging. As discussed previously, listening to voices is only effective when there is remedial action. It is therefore hoped that the publication of this study, will assist those in power to make positive changes in realising a truly inclusive education system.

2.2.6 Conclusion

Using the work of Jabereen (2009), this section began with defining the scope of work relating to a conceptual framework and its application to this research. In addressing a social justice issue, I contend that the epistemological stance of this work is *critical*, the purpose of which is to overcome the oppression and domination relating to migrant students. In examining the related literature to this study, I identified gaps relating to how inclusion is viewed and its bias towards disability and schooling. I therefore discussed the variable of subtle exclusion in HE. Related to exclusion is the concept of marginalisation, which has two dimensions. I discussed the concept of *foreignness* and the *spatial* aspect of marginalisation, noting how labels attached to migrant students have an implicit bearing on how, they are perceived. In conceiving the role of power on student experience, I addressed the issue of elitist, university rankings and how, they exert a seductive power on students. Latent power, which is related to colonialism, has a bearing on the epistemological power of institutions. In this vein, historical underpinnings have a bearing on naming of buildings, language policy and policies related to access by migrant students. It is argued that the colonialist past of the institution favours white staff and students. In terms of student acculturation, I posit that student social capital has a direct bearing on their adjustment process, which can lead to self-inclusion. In the main, students who are rich in capital are able to adjust easier to the challenges of studying abroad. Capital includes knowledge of the host nations culture, language and traditions. I concluded this section by explaining the relationship between power, student voice and inclusion. The concept of power forms a dominant, common thread in all of the variables presented in this section. Seductive power of the institution draws students from abroad, however they are exposed to spatial marginalisation due to their *otherness*. The institution further exerts latent historical power, which leads to subtle exclusion. However, the student's point of origin and cultural capital has a bearing on their ability to acculturate and self-include (white versus African IS). The aim of this research, as an enabler to the liberation of migrant students from oppression, is to give students voice to enable them to be heard.

Drawing on the review of literature in this chapter, this study seeks to examine the experiences of IS in the South African context, noting the uniqueness of the country's political and academic history. While theories of power and acculturation have been studied and addressed in other countries, I believe that the uniqueness of the South African political and academic history will add value to existing literature. Furthermore, as discussed in this

chapter, inclusive education has a bias towards disability, especially relating to schools. Access, participation and belonging, within the ambits of inclusive education, can be transposed to addressing the needs of IS in higher education. In addressing the issue of latent and seductive power, foreignness, geographies of marginalisation as well as the role of social capital on acculturation, the following research questions were developed. These questions aimed to answer the main question of this study, namely:

> **What are the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international students at the University of Cape Town?**

The following sub questions were then developed:

i. **What factors motivated students to migrate to South Africa?**
ii. **How did IS experience and negotiate their experiences during the application process?**
iii. **What were their experiences during registration and orientation?**
iv. **What were their experiences academically and socially?**
v. **How did they negotiate their transition from their home countries to South Africa?**
vi. **What are the differences in experience between IS from varying socio-economic, cultural and geographic backgrounds?**

To this end, the next chapter discusses the methodological approach used to gather my data.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction, research aims and objectives

3.1.1 Introduction

The previous chapter on the literature review highlighted the issues surrounding IS at universities through debates around theories of power, coloniality, in/exclusion, inclusive education, marginalisation, acculturation, social capital as well as the value of listening to voices. Drawing on the available literature in this field of study and the data collected in this study, I constructed a conceptual framework using the overlapping concepts of in/exclusion, acculturation, social capital and power to gain a better understanding of IS' experiences. In seeking to answer the study's central question of how IS experience their social, academic and administrative lives at UCT, this chapter will present the research methodology used to lead me from the unknown to the known.

Methodology is described as ways of obtaining, organising and analysing data that would reflect the overall research design and strategy (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). In keeping with the theme of decolonisation of universities (discussed in chapter 2), a decolonising methodology offers a lens to critically analyse oppressive research processes. As Smith (2012, p.101) argues that "even when (the colonizers) have left formally, the institutions and legacy of colonialism remains." In constructing this study, I write from the viewpoint of the colonised seeking responses from a mixed cohort of IS who hail either, from a coloniser or colonised background. For those previously colonised, I am cautioned by Smith (2012) that the term *research* has negative connotations, due mainly through the manner in which data on colonised peoples were collected, measured and classified. My positionality, discussed at length in this chapter, had a significant influence on the literature review and methodology. In seeking to discover the meanings individuals construct from their experiences at UCT, I used critical theory as a research paradigm, the qualitative approach and grounded theory methodology for analysis of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). The overarching view was the social justice theoretical perspective of inclusive education (Charmaz, 2005).

This chapter begins with the research aims and questions followed by a detailed discussion justifying the research paradigm, design and methodology used. The context of the research, a description of the participants, as well as my role as the researcher is further highlighted. A detailed description and justification for the data collection process and the instruments employed are then discussed. To indicate the trustworthiness of the findings, the data analysis approach is explored. In conclusion, the ethical considerations applied throughout the research process are outlined. As a point of departure, I examine what this research hopes to achieve.

3.1.2 Research aims and objectives

The importance of IS in significantly contributing to a host country's economic, cultural, professional and academic spheres, cannot be under estimated. In order for HE institutions and government agencies to be more responsive to the challenges and needs of IS, we need to seek the voices of those who are perceived to be ostracised (see section 2.1.5). Messiou (2011, p.12) in relating to the issues of exclusion, reminds us that dialogue with marginalised individuals "opens up opportunities for engagement" which can help to alleviate social problems. This qualitative study aimed to explore the experiences of IS student, who find themselves in a strange environment, devoid of citizenship rights (as shown by research in previous chapters). The findings of this study will be used to make recommendations to regulatory bodies, such as, The South African Department of Home Affairs, CHE, SAQA, South African Embassies and HE institutions in order for them to be more accepting, understanding and supportive of IS. In addressing the gap in knowledge, this study aimed to explore how IS experienced their transition from their home countries to SA during their application and registration as well as their lived academic and social experiences. It also attempts to highlight the similarities and differences of experiences between IS hailing from varying socio-cultural-political and geographic backgrounds.

This chapter provides an overview of how the research was conducted in its logical sequence. The various issues discussed in this chapter will include:

- **i.** the research paradigm and design;
- **ii.** data collection methods;
- **iii.** the research process
- **iv.** standards of adequacy

v. data analysis and

vi. reflections on the research methodology

3.2 Research Paradigm, Context and Design

3.2.1 Research Paradigm:

In order to make sense of *what* is being studied, the research paradigm provides a frame of reference to organise the research questions and observations as well as guide the thought process of the researcher (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2005). This is achieved by drawing on a set of assumptions and beliefs which shape and guide the manner in which information is gathered about a social phenomenon (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). An important consideration about the research paradigm is that it is also influenced by my own values, beliefs and assumptions about the realities of life. According to Lincoln, *et.al.* (2011), there are five main paradigms, which frame research, namely, positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, constructivism and participatory-postmodernism.

The nature of the study lies within the transformative paradigm wherein critical theory is most appropriate. In arguing the nature and purpose of critical theory, Fuchs (2016) maintains that it is used to highlight how society is shaped by contradictions between those in power and those who are subservient. In keeping with the theme of power relations in this study, critical theory addresses oppressive structures and the relationship between social inequities and socio-political action (Mertens, 2009; Redman-MacLaren, 2015). Earlier in this chapter, I pointed to studies which suggest that host nations and institutions exert a powerful influence on the lives of IS. Consider how migration policies are constructed to curb rather than regulate the flow of IS (Balbo, 2011; Lee, 2016). To this end, critical theory examines the interaction between exploitation, domination and social struggle. As Marx (1997, p.257) expounds, the purpose of critical theory, is to "overthrow all conditions in which man is degraded." Similarly, Mertens (2009) argues that critical theory exposes oppression and dominance by examining the lived experiences of diverse marginalised groups. In this vein, critical theory is situated in areas where marginalised groups can be given a voice to raise issues of power and class (Redman-MacLaren, 2015).

In deconstructing marginalisation, critical theory is useful building a society, which is self-determined, participatory and just (Fuchs, 2016). The relevance of choice in using this theory

is evident from the constant thread of the theme of access, participation and belonging of all students. Furthermore, whilst critical theory addresses domination in general, it can be used to expose ideology in academia as a social movement struggle (Fuchs, 2016). It is not surprising that critical theory was useful as an approach in social sciences in 1968 to study student protests relating to the war in Vietnam (Fuchs, 2016). In chapter two, I argued the relevance of voice research and its relevance to this study. One of the fundamental tenets of critical theory is in seeking the views and experiences of those who feel marginalised (Slee, 2011).

The use of critical theory is in keeping with Mertens' (2009) description of the nature of transformative research, where the axiology (nature of ethical behaviour) relates to human rights, social justice and mutual respect of cultures. The ontology (nature of reality) acknowledges that versions of reality are based on social positioning. Earlier, I argued how IS are positioned as the *other*. It also addresses the hierarchies prevalent in an academic institution. The epistemology (nature of knowledge) is situated socially and historically with the aim of addressing issues of power and trust. Finally, the methodology is mainly qualitative and relates to oppression of minority groups where the agency for change rests with the members of the *community* working with the researcher (Fuchs, 2016).

In analysing the data I employed grounded theory. It is best described as a systematic method of analysing and conceptualising data through sensitising concepts, with the aim of constructing theory (Bowen, 2006). Grounded theory is further described as a comparative, iterative and interactive method of data collection (Charmaz, 2012). Creswell (2008) identifies three types of grounded theory, namely, systematic, emerging and constructivist. The systematic approach is a popular design used in education. The data determines the categories, themes and theories in a structured way.

Insofar as, grounded theory goes, theory does not precede the research, but is grounded in the data collected. Furthermore, as alluded to earlier in this thesis, in/exclusion and marginalisation are aligned with the social justice theoretical perspective and pays attention to hierarchies, equity, fairness, privilege and power (Charmaz, 2005, Redman-MacLaren, 2015). Therefore, in this study the critical grounded theory is pertinent as it examines the role of power between the various role payers (authorities, academics, host students) and IS. Power relations between the researcher and the participants is also an important

consideration. In constructing knowledge, the researcher is urged to critically examine the relationship between himself/ herself and the participants (Redman-MacLaren, 2015). In building a trust relationship with the participants, the focus group interviews were in the form of open discussion, guided by participants with me as observer. During these interviews, I allowed the participants to lead the discussion. Participants were allowed to ask me probing questions, such as, "are you also a foreign student?" and "what do you hope to achieve through this research?" For purposes of clarity and to elicit more information, they also questioned each other in discussions. In this sense, I tried to remove myself as the authoritative figure, thereby lessening the power relations between participants and myself. Furthermore, at the start of the interviews, I explained in detail the purpose of the research. This is in line with phenomena being explicitly stated in transformative research (Redman-MacLaren, 2015).

While grounded theory gained popularity in nursing research, it has gained recognition in education where it is used to increase understanding of complex interactions between students and college environments (Bowen, 2006). In a social justice study in Jamaica, Bowen (2006) used grounded theory as a research approach to collect and sensitise data. Similarly, in addressing the hierarchies and relationships in HE, LePeau (2015) used the social justice, grounded theory approach to examine how students constructed meanings between student affairs and academic affairs. Grounded theory is discussed further in the section on "analysis of data."

Dealing with the human interaction between IS and the host culture can best be understood through interpretation which is stimulated by active engagement in the social context. It is acknowledged, that within this social context realities are subjective - presenting a multitude of interpretations and explanations when engaging is such contexts. The participants' subjective lived experiences, how they understood and interpreted the changes in which they operate, their challenges and suggestions, were central to this study. In this regard, the knowledge generated can add value to existing literature on inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups of individuals. It is through human interactions that multiple realities are presented against the context that there is no absolute and objective reality. At times realities can exist in parallel, with one reality being more important than the other. Hence, all realities are regarded as having value. To this end, the transformative paradigm illuminates one reality but also provides an explanation for the various realities

experienced by all the participants. As Duffy & Jonassen (1992) contend, understanding can only be achieved when facts are interpreted and understood within a specific context within which they emerge. In this regard, understanding that the participants originate from various cultural, socio-economic, political and geographical regions around the globe was important to understand how IS experience their studies in a foreign country. It is therefore imperative to situate the research in the broader epistemological field.

3.2.2 Research Context

The broader research context of this study lies within the ambits of inclusive education, which speaks to access, belonging and participation of learners, primarily in schooling. In chapter two, I debated issues of inclusive education, inclusion, marginalisation and exclusion, which forms the foundation of this study. In the main, inclusion relates to access, belonging and participation of minority groups. Closely aligned with inclusive education, is the issue of the power relations amongst the role players in education. The primary focus of this study, pertains to lived experiences of IS at UCT, a South African university located in Cape Town (described in detail later in this section). The participants hail from various parts of the globe, including countries located within Africa, Europe and the USA. Participants who responded to the research invitation were from all years of study, including first year, second year, third year as well as post-graduate studies. In seeking to address the research context of inclusion, it is necessary to discuss the research design of this study.

3.2.3 Research Design:

The research design is considered as the plan used to generate the empirical evidence in answering the research question in this study (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). The design integrates the research question, the purpose and the significance of the study. It further identifies what information is relevant in answering the research questions and the methods to be used to collect relevant information. An important function of the design is that it directs and locates the researcher in accessing specific places, people and institutions to the focus of the study. It determines how data should be analysed by highlighting limitations and cautions in interpreting the results (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). I will begin by discussing the value of qualitative research in this study.

3.2.3.1 Justifications for the qualitative approach:

In keeping with the critical/social justice paradigm of this study, the qualitative approach is most appropriate. This is in light of the plethora of evidence (discussed in chapter 2) suggesting that IS feel excluded and marginalised. In this section, I examine the justifications for the use of this approach as well as the limitations.

Mertens points to the valuable contribution of qualitative research to this study, stating that it is applicable to groups of "people who experience discrimination and oppression, including race, ethnicity, disability, immigrant status, political conflicts, sexual orientation, poverty, gender, age…" (2009, p.4). The relevance of qualitative research in answering the questions of this study is that through qualitative research, the texture and weave of daily life, understandings, imaginations and experiences of participants provide a broad view of the social world (Mason, 2002). Qualitative research is described as a narrative and richly descriptive account of naturally occurring phenomena through, the use of words rather than numbers (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). As Mertens (2009) explains, qualitative research allows for the collection of *rich data*, which explores the *why* and the *how* of the problem, not just the *what*. Qualitative research therefore "recognizes that the issues being studied have many dimensions and layers" instead of being a quantifiable correlation between variables as in the case of quantitative research (Leedy & Ormrod, 2008, p.133). In dealing with experiences of students, the qualitative approach has sought "insights, rather than statistical perceptions of the world" (Bell, 2005, p.1), providing an illumination, understanding and extrapolation of the situation (Hoepfl, 1997). Qualitative research relies on the use of comprehensive, coherent, interdependent and dynamic processes throughout the research process. In gathering of data, I included research tools such as, conversations, interviews and recordings to make sense of what is being studied (Mertens, 2009).

Furthermore, qualitative research explores the meanings produced by the relationships between participants and social institutions. In this study, the social institutions refer to the regulatory bodies, such as DHA, SAQA, South African Embassies as well as UCT, as an academic institution. As Mason (2002) purports, qualitative research draws attention to and celebrates the nuances, depth, multidimensionality and complexity of relationships which exist in society, instead of being embarrassed by them. These issues are then, factored into the analyses and interpretations of the study, thus providing "compelling arguments about how things work in particular contexts" (Mason, 2002, p.1). Qualitative writing entails an unfolding of a story, which the researcher makes sense of in the data as well as in the total

experience of the research. In this regard, the research carries its meaning in the entire text with the voice of the writer being a major ingredient in the writing (Mason, 2012). It was the debates of Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge (2007) however, that provided a solid argument and informs my choice of the qualitative approach. Hancock, *et al.*'s (2007) summary of qualitative research, resonates with the nature of inclusion and listening to voices in that it highlights social issues, such as marginalisation. According to Hancock, *et al.* (2007, p.6):

Qualitative research

i. "focuses on how people or groups of people can have different ways of looking at reality…"
ii. "is conducted in natural settings."
iii. "relates to description and interpretation."
iv. "is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena."
v. "is concerned with how opinions and attitudes are formed."
vi. "is concerned with how people are affected by the events that go on around them."

In addressing Hancock, et. al's (2007) description of qualitative research, this study addresses the social problems relating to acceptance, belonging and participation of minority groups conducted in a *natural setting* which is that of a public HE institution in Cape Town. The setting is *natural* in that participants were not removed from the campus, to be interviewed in an unfamiliar environment like a research laboratory setting. In many ways the university contains elements of a society in its own right. Students and staff interact with each other through the lens of values, attitudes and cultures. During the various types of engagement between students and authorities such as, SAQA, Embassies, the DHA, campus administration and academics, issues and levels of power exist. In this regard, this study sought to unravel IS experiences relating to power relations, inclusion, exclusion, marginalisation and acculturation, thereby creating a deep understanding of the phenomenon (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In seeking in-depth descriptions, the participants were allowed to interpret their own experiences through the lens of their historical and cultural backgrounds. Leading questions, such as, "tell me more; please explain further; how did this make you feel; what changes would you recommend?" etc, were used to elicit in-depth conversations with participants.

Apart from the theoretical backing for the use of qualitative research, I examined examples of other similar research topics relating to migrant learners / students in an educational setting:

i. Sookrajh, *et al.*'s. (2005) study of the experiences of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation of refugee learners at a primary school in KZN,
ii. Ojo's (2009) study of students' perceptions of the Internationalization of Higher Education which was conducted at a public university in Johannesburg,
iii. Moll's (2010) study of the role of power and feminism at UCT.
iv. Hoehne's (2012) case study of informal networking of migrant learners at a school in Johannesburg and
v. Beech's (2015) study involving IS at 3 universities in the UK.
vi. Tran's (2015) study of the factors shaping international student's mobility in Australia.

However, I am also aware that the locations and the participants for the above studies are not the same as in this study and that the findings may vary. Insofar as theory goes, "a common criticism levelled at qualitative research has been that the results of a study may not be generalisable to a larger population because the sample group was small and the participants were not chosen randomly," (Hancock, *et al.*, 2007, p.7). However, the original research question sought insight into a specific subgroup of the total student population of UCT, because the subgroup was *special*, in that all participants were IS. Furthermore, "generalisation of the findings to a wider, more diverse, population is not an aim" of qualitative research (Hancock, *et al.*, 2007, p.7).
In addition to the interviews, I considered myself an instrument of the research, as discussed below.

3.2.4 The Researcher as an Instrument

As the researcher I am also considered to be an active participant in the research process, making connections between the existing theory and findings (presented in chapter two) and emerging research findings (Charmaz, 2006).
In qualitative research, the researcher is an instrument for the sampling of participants, collection of data, administration and analysis of data. In this study, I determined what guiding questions were asked, what observations were made, what was recorded and what was given preference (Mertens, 2009). In this vein, it is important to acknowledge that my values, beliefs, assumptions, opinions and experiences had a bearing on the research. As Mackinlay & Barney (2014, p.55) advise, "sometimes as a point of departure, and the social–cultural–historical–political–pedagogical–personal *locatedness* of the researcher and research

itself" determines the framework of the research. This is also consistent with the view of critical grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), discussed previously in this chapter.

In section 2.1.5, I discussed the issue of *positionality* and my complex role in this study. In many ways, I have conducted this research as a student of UCT, studying alongside other IS. My role as researcher is thus also participatory in sharing in the lived experiences of IS. Furthermore, I consider myself an *indigenous researcher,* described by Smith (2012) as one who has lived under colonialism and has a critical, historical perspective and experience in the field of in/exclusion (Redman-MacLaren, 2015). As a third generation, indentured labourer, brought from India to work on the sugar plantations of SA, I can also consider myself a migrant. To this end, I had to remind myself of my positionality in the interview process – not being overly empathetic to African/Asian students and not being too critical of white IS. Furthermore, I recognise that IS hailing from African/ Asian countries, may have viewed me as part of the more privileged academic and social host society. Responses from white IS could have, been masked by how western cultures perceive African researchers in terms of the canon of epistemology (see also chapter 2 on coloniality). Although I am a fellow colleague studying at UCT, I am also part of the host nation, associated with discrimination and xenophobia. Decolonising methodology is said to reduce the power relationship between the participants and the researcher, resulting in a more accurate inquiry. This is further enabled by providing a historical background of power relations in the area under study (Redman-MacLaren, 2015).

As mentioned in chapter one, I commenced and completed my tertiary education at the University of Durban-Westville, a campus built for the Indian community during the apartheid era. The era was synonymous with exclusion and marginalisation of people based on skin colour and cultural heritage. This period coincided with student mass action against the apartheid government. As an activist, I was exposed to the teachings of Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and other prominent freedom fighters. My tertiary education was therefore underpinned by issues of social justice. From the year 2000 to the present, I served as a Campus Principal, General Manager and Campus Director of several private HE institutions, where I started engaging with migrant students. During this period, spanning 20 years, I was exposed to the issues and challenges facing these students. Some of their issues related to, arriving for classes long after the semester had started, due to delays in issuing of study permits and visas. Other issues related to non-recognition of qualifications from their home

country, inflated fees, delays in obtaining police clearance and housing issues. However, it was my exposure to Inclusive Education, in my Masters programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, in 2014/15 that drew my attention to issues of access, participation and belonging of IS. In 2015, I co-presented a paper on Inclusive Education at the 8th Inclusive and Supportive Education Congress (ISEC) in Lisbon, Portugal. This exposed me to global issues in inclusion and diversity in education. I am presently the Campus Director of the Pearson Institute of Higher Education at the Claremont Campus in Cape Town. I have discovered that the campus has a high percentage of IS who are drawn to SA, especially to Cape Town. I enrolled for the PhD at UCT, in the main, for its international recognition and for the fact that the campus draws a significant number of IS from all over the globe. The factors above influenced my research interest, choice of research topic and research questions. Given my experiences of social injustice during the apartheid era, I was drawn to critical theory (Mertens, 2009), the grounded theory research paradigm (Charmaz, 2006) and the associated qualitative approach to this study. Being a follower of the writings of Maldonado-Torres, Slee, Biko, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Mignolo and Mbembe, I am therefore drawn to issues of social justice for minority groups. In chapter two, I discussed at length, the issue of coloniality and the decolonisation of the mind. In essence, I argued that UCT is a colonial university located in Africa and as such subscribes to western academic standards. In determining the style, academic writing requirements and structure of this thesis, I am in fact subscribing to this very Western, canonised, colonialist view of writing. Given my personal and professional background, it was essential to continuously reflect on my bias which is based on the struggle for liberation in SA. Qualitative research recognises that the researcher and the research participants have a bearing on each other, in making sense of what is being studied. As Lincoln, *et al.* (2011) purport, researchers bring their own beliefs and assumptions into their research, guiding their thinking during the research process. I was therefore mindful not to allow my life experiences to influence the interview process nor the analysis of data. Periodic meetings with my supervisor, Associate Professor Alan Cliff, assisted me in reflecting on my stance and personal biases. Based on the recommendations of Higgs & Cherry (2009) I kept a journal of notes, which I discussed with my peers and supervisor to ensure objectivity and limit the influence on my research design, methodology, data collection, analysis and findings. In reflecting with my supervisor and peers, also enabled me to strive towards credibility, confirmability, dependability and transformability for the trustworthiness of this study (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The next section highlights how the data for this study was collected.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The data collection methods in this study included individual semi-structured interviews as well as a focus group interview. The following sections expands the significance of individual interviews, focus group interviews, the interview schedule and limitations to the interviews as a research tool.

3.3.1 Individual semi-structured interviews

Qualitative interviews are defined as "attempts to understand the world from the participant's point of view, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences, and to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations" (De Vos, *et al.*, 2005, p.287). Interviews yield a vast amount of information that is useful to a study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2008) in that knowledge is often, generated between humans through conversations (Kvale, 1996). Through conversations, participants are free to "discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p.267). This is relevant because "inclusive education is about responding to diversity; it is about listening to unfamiliar voices, being open, empowering all members and about celebrating *difference* in dignified ways" (Barton, 1997. p.233 as cited in Messiou, 2006). Collective voices thus create awareness and opportunities for deliberation in society (Skrtic, 2005). In qualitative research, the researcher is the most important instrument for data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007), as he is able to lead and adapt the interview process.

One of the advantages of the interview is its adaptability in allowing the researcher to quickly obtain large amounts of data. Unlike questionnaires, interviews allow for immediate follow up and clarification of the participants' responses. Clarification of questions and responses were very relevant to my study as some participants lacked the expertise of the local language (South African English). Two of the participants informed me that they had to attend an English proficiency course at a language school a year prior to enrolling for their chosen field of study. I therefore had to use questions that were clear and concise (as per appendix E), obviating any room for dual meaning, uncertainty, misconceptions or biased responses. Open-ended questions were pertinent to this study as "participants [could] best voice their

experiences unconstrained by any perspectives of the researcher or past research findings" (Creswell, 2008, p.225).

In-depth interviewing is a data collection method that is used extensively in qualitative research. For example, Osman (2009); Hoehne (2012) and Kimani, (2014) used in-depth semi-structured interviews to obtain data from their participants. Data was, thus mediated through the human element, rather than through questionnaires and inventories. The data for this research was collected using semi-structured interviews.

During a preliminary meeting with participants, I introduced myself and informed them that the purpose and nature of the study was to understand the experiences of access, belonging and participation of IS registered at the University of Cape Town. The specific objectives of the study (as highlighted earlier) were:

i. To ascertain the motivation behind their sojourn to SA
ii. to ascertain the students' experiences during application, registration and orientation,
iii. to listen to the students' academic and social experiences and
iv. to understand how students negotiated their experiences of exclusion or marginalisation

Data for this research was collected between March 2018 and March 2019 and was my sole responsibility. All interviews were conducted by me in person through the medium of English. I used a private venue inside IAPO, UCT to ensure that participants felt free to speak to me in confidence. Interviews lasted between 60 to 80 minutes each. Questions were formulated to ensure that they were not leading or suggestive, using simple language to facilitate communication. The interviews took on a "semi-structured" format using questions, which allowed the participants to accurately, express their views, thoughts, experiences and other relevant information relating to the topic. To ensure accuracy of information interviews were audio recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy of information thereby providing material for reliability checks by my supervisor (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In addition to the interviews, I conducted one focus group interview to add value to the student responses.

3.3.2 Focus Group Interviews

While individual interviews encompass a one-on-one discussion with a participant, focus group interviews are collective conversations or group interviews which may vary in size. In instances where there are shared experiences, as in the case of IS, focus group interviews are useful as they stimulate discussions around shared experiences and are able to generate a huge amount of data in a short space of time (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In the main, this made possible by the interaction between the members of the group who elicited thought provoking responses from each other and the researcher. Participants were also able to respond and build on each other's contributions by listening to how others are thinking and feeling about an issue, making adjustments for themselves (Greef, 2005).

As Mertens (2009) purports, focus groups provide rich and complex situations in which to collect common knowledge practices. As this study focussed on lived experiences of IS and how they formed opinions through engagement with the host community, the focus groups interview added value to this study (Mertens, 2009). This is in keeping with critical grounded theory, where participation encourages ownership and promotes open discussion to solve a social problem. Sharing and comparing experiences, assist in creating rich data through the group dynamics assisted by the researcher who guides the discussion, ensuring that there is no domination by any one of the participants. As the researcher, I also acts as a prompter, in asking participants to explicate on any unclear articulations. Prompting also indicates to participants an interest by the researcher but more importantly serves to encourage those participants who may be withdrawn (Greef, 2005). For this study, five participants indicated an interest in participating in the focus group interview. Greef (2005) suggests a maximum group size of four to six participants in the focus group for maximum returns. A further strength of focus group interviews is that they provide immediate feedback to the participants with the researcher having a variety of perspectives on a topic (Greef, 2005). The value of focus group interviews is that they also provide a relatively economical manner in which to collect data, in terms of time and effort (Greef, 2005). Students' participation in the focus group interviews were voluntary with provision for them to exit the interview process at any time. Participants were also, assured of confidentiality and were encouraged to use pseudonyms. Refreshments were served to participants, during the introductory "meet and greet" session as well as during the actual interview.

Focus group interviews are however, not without limitations. As Creswell (2014) cautions, a researcher may spend too much time trying to elicit responses from individuals in the group. Furthermore, some participants may dominate the discussion. This domination could be, further exacerbated by the fact that the level of spoken English by all members of the group was not the same. Furthermore, there could be peer pressure by respondents to agree with others, in order to *fit in*. This view is underpinned by McMillan & Schumacher (2010) who posit that noticeable differences in education, income, authority or command of language may lead to poor group dynamics. During the interview, one student who hailed from a very highly educated family and who lived in SA for many years, seem to dominate the discussion. To this end, I was mindful that participants reflected a wide diversity of cultures and backgrounds and encouraged participants to articulate in simple English for better understanding by all. This called for me to be vigilant, yet realistic in eliciting responses from participants - often asking the quieter students for responses. Controlling and eliciting responses from a group could cause anxiety in the researcher, which may disrupt the interview process due to participants' observation during the interview. I therefore had to remain calm and relaxed. My training and experience as a lecturer, exposed me to ways of controlling classroom dynamics. This was valuable in assisting me to respond to the group dynamics. One of the major challenges in conducting a focus group interview is transcribing multiple responses from one event (Creswell, 2014). To assist in this process, I encouraged participants to call out their names before contributing to the discussion or responding to another participant. The recording of the interview was valuable in that I could replay the audio for purposes of clarity. All interviews were guided by a written interview schedule.

3.3.3 The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (as per appendix E) was used as a guideline in eliciting participants' responses. Thought behind the structure of the semi-structured interview schedule and the formulation of the questions are deemed to be critical to the data collection process. Limiting the number of questions was in keeping with Ashworth and Lucas' (1998) caution against having too many pre-planned questions, as they should be prompted from what the participants say. The rationale behind this point is to explore different aspects of the experience jointly and to a greater extent. Broad guidelines for the interview questions were informed by the literature review which encompassed inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation, power, acculturation and social capital. In keeping with the grounded theory approach, the process of the literature review/ conceptual framework and the content of the

interview schedule was an iterative process. The conceptual framework emanated from the themes and concepts which presented themselves in the data. Furthermore, other studies relating to my topic were, also examined.

In formulating the questions for all the interviews, questions needed to be clear and concise, obviating uncertainty or misconceptions. The research questions needed to be clear, preventing participants from answering questions to appease the researcher, thus resulting in biased responses. This is especially important as the participants had varying commands of English. In order to prompt factual data, closed-ended questions were included. However, to encourage dialogue on opinions, feelings and experiences of students, open-ended questions were crucial in the interview schedule. To this end, Creswell (2014) encourages participants to elaborate on their responses, using exploratory questioning. Although the interview schedule comprised of an ordered set of questions, probing in semi-structured interview schedules seek to *discover* rather than to *check* (Creswell, 2014). In the process of discovering, questions need to be flexible, enabling the participants to engage openly, honestly and in depth. Despite the questions being ordered, the semi-structured interview schedule allows room for the interviewer to move backwards and forwards through the questions, while still keeping the interview in focus. Furthermore as Giorgi (1997) advises, research questions should be broad and open ended to give the participant sufficient opportunity to express themselves adequately. Open-ended questions should "elicit elaboration of detail [and] further explanations and clarification of responses" (Leedy and Ormrod, 2008, p.147, 358). In doing so, the participants were able to provide a concrete, detailed description of experiences and actions. Open-ended questions ensured that "participants could best voice their experiences unconstrained by any perspectives of the researcher or past research findings" (Creswell, 2008, p. 225).

An example of an open-ended question in this study was as follows: "What were your experiences during registration at this campus?" In answering this question, participants could voice their subjective experiences, opinions and feelings. Participants were encouraged to express their ways of understanding of the phenomenon through follow-up questions such as: "Could you explain further?"; "What does that mean to you?" (Bowden, 2000, p.10). This enabled the participants to express how they conceived of phenomena, providing the second order perspective of relationship and not the first order perspective that focuses on what the phenomenon looks like (Yates, Patridge, & Bruce, 2012). This enabled participants to explain

how *they* experienced the phenomenon. While interviews are extremely useful, I was mindful of their limitations.

3.3.4 The limitations of interviews as a research tool

Interviews have their advantages and disadvantages, as in all data collection methods. On the one hand, individual interviews may yield useful information and allow participants to describe detailed personal information. On the other hand, interviews are criticized in that interviewees may respond with answers they feel the researcher may want to hear (Clark, 2005; Creswell, 2008). This disadvantage was alleviated by use of indirect or hypothetical questions which put the participants at ease. Furthermore, I refrained from showing any emotions, such as disapproval or surprise at participants' responses. However, I do concede that displaying of emotions is a human trait which was not always avoidable. To obtain maximum participation, I constantly reminded participants that I was also a fellow student of the institution. In this way, the power relations between the participants and I was mitigated.

Interviews are also criticized for having an element of subjectivity and bias from the interviewer as responses may be interpreted based on personal, preconceived notions (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). In this way, the responses of the participants are open to misinterpretation. It is for this reason the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Audio recording also enabled me to focus on the responses of the participants instead of being distracted by taking down notes.

Another disadvantage of qualitative interviews relates to the participant being reluctant or uncomfortable in sharing what the researcher hopes to explore (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). To preclude this disadvantage, I assured participants that all their names and details would be kept anonymous and that their pseudonyms would be used in the research. I also ensured that the interviews were conducted in a private venue within UCT.

3.4 RESEARCH PROCESS

In this section I will describe in detail the elements of the literature review, the choice of the research site, securing of permission from the head of the institution, the preliminary site visit, sampling of participants and the ethical considerations.

3.4.1 Literature review

My interest in this study was prompted by my experience as a Campus Director/ General Manager / Principal of seven private HE institutions spanning a period of twenty years. I discussed this in detail in the section on "the researcher as an instrument." During that period, I was exposed to the concerns of various HE students, including IS. In conducting my literature review I researched the conceptual underpinnings surrounding IS; trends in HE globally and in SA; debates around inclusion abroad and locally; the theories of power, acculturation, social capital and voice research. The literature review was done through consultation of relevant books, articles, journals and dissertations, which highlighted key debates. The purpose and value of my literature review in relation to my methodology is as follows:

i. to familiarize myself with the main trends and debates, perspectives and methodological approaches,
ii. to examine relevant secondary data,
iii. to refine the conceptual framework of my study,
iv. to provide guidelines for the questions used in the interviews and
v. to find themes relating to inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation to inform my data analysis

After conducting an in-depth literature review on aspects relating to the topic I considered a site where information-rich data could be gathered. This then guided my reasons for choosing the research site.

3.4.2 Choice of research site

In choosing the research site, it is argued that qualitative researchers seek out the individuals and settings where the phenomenon being studied, most likely exists (de Vos, *et al.,* 2005). The researcher's objective therefore, is to find participants who will enhance the study by making a unique contribution that will yield information rich data to the research study (de Vos, *et al.,* 2005). Furthermore, the selection of the site is mostly dependent on the "researcher's good judgement, timing, persistence and tact in gathering information informally" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p.351). This is based on the assumption that the meaning of reality is constructed through interactive human engagement within a specific

social setting (Mertens, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) where, behaviours and contextual factors need to be considered (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2019). In this study, the setting is the university campus of UCT where multiple subjective realities of knowledge and understandings were observed, constructed and interpreted during the research process (Mertens, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Using my own judgement and knowledge of this site I chose this site based on a few pertinent reasons.

UCT is considered a highly ranked and sought after university globally and more so on the African continent. As previously alluded to, the institution is seen as the *Harvard* of Africa in terms of education. It attracts large numbers of students from the western world, including the popular "semester away" student as well as students from Africa and Asia. The campus therefore provides a natural, information rich setting, involving direct collection of data and is sensitive to the students under study (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Further to the factors above I also considered my personal interests as a student and resident of Cape Town and sought permission from the head of the university.

3.4.3 Securing permission from head of institution

Formal written permission, in keeping with the requirements of the Human Research Ethics committee of UCT, was sought from the head of the institution and IAPO. Written consent (seen in appendix F) was sought from the relevant authority at UCT. Following this consent, I conducted a preliminary site visit.

3.4.4 Preliminary site visit

After securing permission from the management of IAPO I undertook a preliminary study at the site prior to the research process. I also had an opportunity to select a venue on the site, which was private and conducive to interviews in terms of lighting and external noise levels. I then proceeded with the sampling of participants with the assistance of the management of IAPO. The following section highlights the data collection process.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS:

The following flow chart summarizes the data collection process.

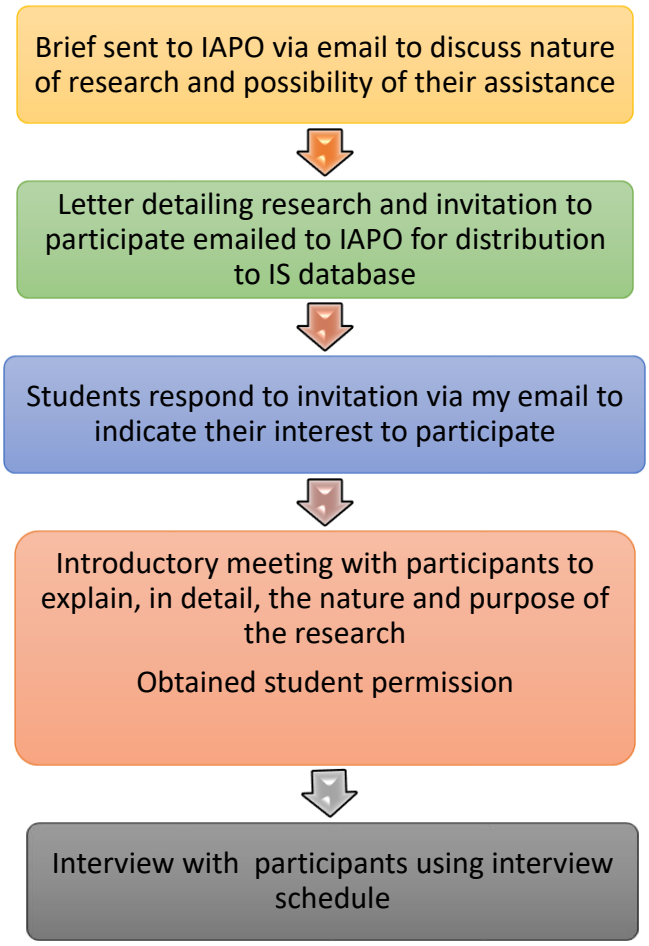

Figure (iv): Data collection process

After obtaining necessary clearance for the study from UCT, a meeting with the management of IAPO was scheduled to highlight the nature of the research and to seek their assistance. I emailed a letter highlighting my research and request for student participation to IAPO, which was then forwarded to all IS registered at UCT. Students who were interested in the study, emailed me their intention to participate in the study. An introductory one-on-one session was held with participants to inform them about the study and to obtain their written consent. Participants were assured of anonymity by use of pseudonyms for themselves. One-on-one interviews were then scheduled with willing participants at the offices of IAPO. When necessary follow-up interviews were scheduled. Students were also invited to a focus group

interview. Five participants agreed to be part of the focus group interview, which was also held at the offices of IAPO. I conducted individual interviews with participants, using pre-determined prompting questions as a guide to elicit responses on their experiences as IS at UCT in Cape Town, SA. To create a more holistic, multi-dimensional view, staff were also interviewed regarding their experiences with IS. The length of interviews were determined by each of the participants and lasted between 60 to 80 minutes. Responses regarding lived experiences were audio recorded (with participants' permission) and transcribed verbatim. The written responses were emailed to them for verification and/ or additions or amendments.

3.5.1 Sampling of participants

The qualitative design of this study included 25 multiple individual interviews and one focus group interview with 5 participants from various home countries. Three staff members from the International Academic Programmes Office of UCT (IAPO) were also interviewed. Although the findings cannot be universally generalised, given the sample size, they provide a meaningful insight into the lived experiences of IS at UCT, SA. A critical point of departure in a qualitative study is the purposeful selection of participants who will yield fruitful, information rich data (Strydom & Delport, 2005; McMillan & Schumacher, 2010).

In purposeful sampling, "a particular case is chosen because it illustrates some feature or process that is of interest for a particular study" (Strydom & Delport, 2005, p.329). A sample size of 25 participants was deemed sufficient for this study. Although the invitation to participate in the study was extended to **all** IS at UCT, only 70 students responded and 25 students attended interviews. Similar qualitative studies on migrant students, support the use of 20 to 30 respondents, for example, Sookrajh, et.al. (2005) interviewed 22 refugee students in SA; Lee & Rice (2007) interviewed 24 IS in the USA; Moll (2010) interviewed 23 IS at UCT; LePeau (2015) interviewed 18 students in the USA and Catalano, et.al. (2016) interviewed 20 students in the USA. In a study of sample sizes of PhD's, Mason (2010), reports that of the 560 studies analysed, the average sample size was 31. In critical and emancipatory research, the lowest sample size was 21 participants while the highest recorded was 41(Mason, 2010). Of all of the qualitative studies conducted, two thirds fell within Creswell's (2014) range of 5 to 25. The most common sample sizes were 20 and 30. I am therefore confident that the sample of 25 in my study is adequate. In support of this claim, Green and Thorogood (2009, p.120) assert that "the experience of most qualitative researchers is that in interview studies little that is new comes out of transcripts after you

have interviewed 20 or so people." I am however, cautioned that the concept of saturation is not easily proven without any overt description or how it was achieved.

Charmaz (2003) cautions that saturation will occur when any new data fails to shed light on the topic being investigated and advises that the aims of the study ultimately determine the sample size. Studies with modest claims may reach saturation sooner than studies which overlap over several disciplines and groups of participants. To this end, this study with modest claims, relates to a particular group of participants (students) who are temporary sojourners in SA. Furthermore, as Mason (2010) suggests, expertise in the chosen topic can significantly reduce the number of participations. To this end, I have been involved with IS for the last 20 years in the capacity of a campus manager at various private HE institutions. As such, I have had numerous formal and casual discussions relating to academic and social experiences with IS. In focussing on this specific group of students, the non-probability sampling method was chosen.

The non-probability sampling method "deliberately avoids representing the wider population; it seeks only to represent a particular group... eg. a group of students" (Cohen, *et al.*, 2000, p.99). In this study the *group* refers to the cohort of IS chosen from the total population of students from the campus. With the assistance of the management of IAPO I was able to purposefully sample only IS for the study. Purposeful sampling was preferred as it allowed me to, "handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality" (Cohen, *et al.*, 2000). Purposeful sampling ensures that "the best information to address the purpose of the research" is obtained, thereby providing information rich data (McMillan and Schumacher, 2009, p.138). In order to include a wide representation of students, namely, asylum seekers, refugees and migrant students, I sampled at least one participant from each group.

Another form of non-probability sampling, used for this research is *convenience or available* sampling, which is described by McMillan and Schumacher (2010) as selection of participants on, the basis of being available or accessible. Due to the nature of the research, only participants with valid study permits who are migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers) were chosen for the sample. I also acknowledged that some participants may not have been available for long periods of time during campus holidays due to home visits constrained by visa delays. The following table depicts the origin and year of study of the participants:

	PSYDONEUM	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	GENDER	YEAR OF STUDY IN SA
1	Shah	Mauritius	F	6th
2	Glory	Kenya	F	4th
3	Ash	Mauritius	M	1st
4	Gee	USA	F	1st
5	Neville	Ireland	M	2nd
6	Nyash	Zimbabwe	F	3rd
7	Rags	Norway	F	1st
8	Mirri	Kenya	F	5th
9	Bern	Cameroon	M	3rd
10	Jerry	Seychelles	M	3rd
11	Muri	Mauritius	F	1st
12	Gaulty	DRC	M	3rd
13	Ian	UK	M	2nd
14	Lutfe	Bangladesh	F	1st
15	Micky	USA	F	3rd
16	Nadi	Switzerland	F	3rd
17	Nyash	Zimbabwe	F	2nd
18	Jen	Cameroon	F	1st
19	Bob	DRC	M	2nd
20	Chris	DRC	M	1st
21	CL	Namibia	F	1st
22	Steve	Amsterdam	M	4th

23	Vicky	Tanzania	F	6th
24	Shazi	Botswana	F	4th
25	Zuzi	Slovakia	F	1st
	IAPO STAFF			
1	TW	Front office support		
2	JL	Study abroad office		
3	INS	Student recruitment		

Figure: (v) Table of participants by origin, gender and year of study.

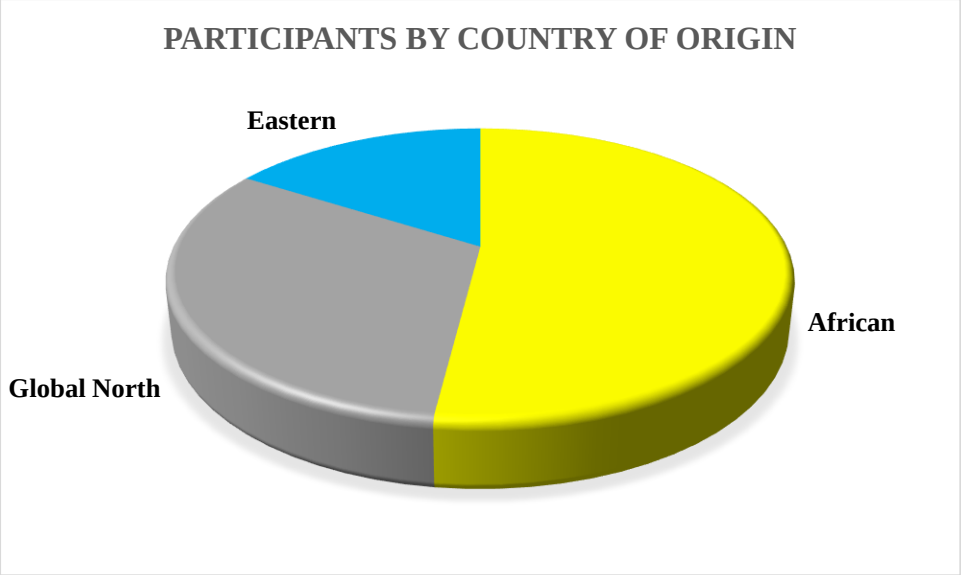

Figure (vi) Participants by country of origin

52% of the participants hail from African countries while 32% hail from countries in the global north and 16% are from Eastern countries. Of interest is that there is an equal number of participants from global northern countries versus other, developing (Eastern) countries.

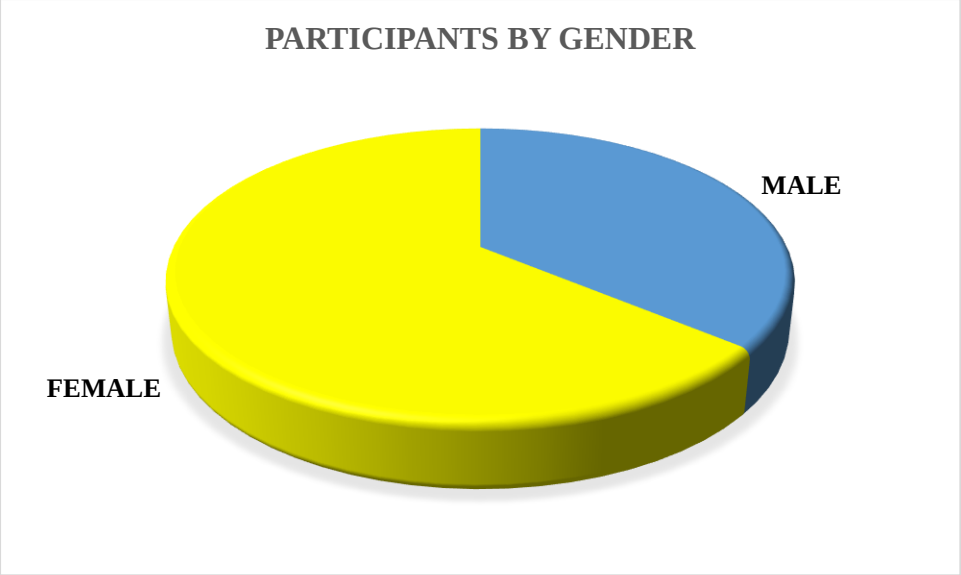

Figure (vii): Participants by gender

64% of the respondents were female (compared to the total, of 53% females at UCT in 2018). In contrast, 36 % of the respondents were male (compared to the 47% of total males in 2018). One possible reason for the substantially higher number of female participants may be due to their feelings of vulnerability and therefore their need to express their attitudes and feelings.

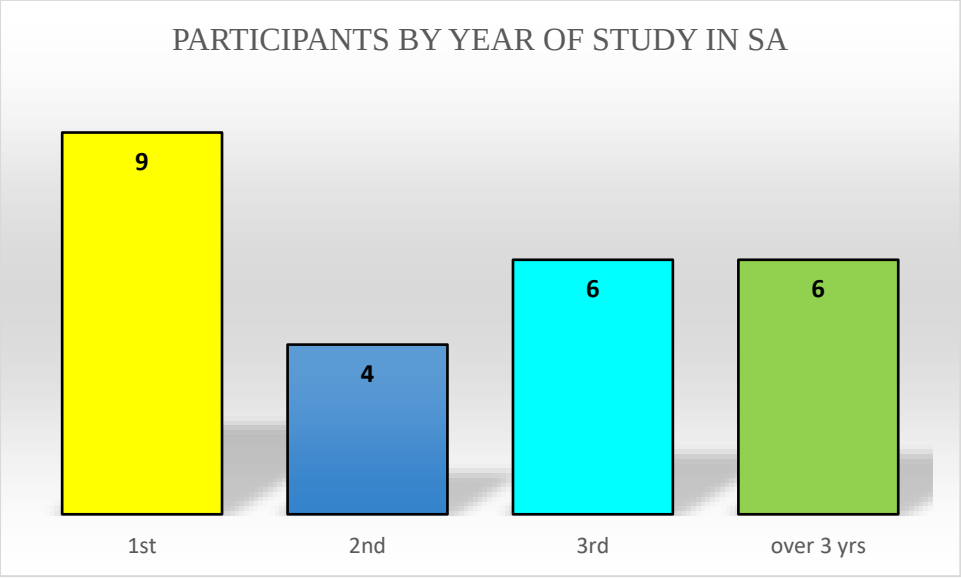

Figure (viii) Participants by year of study

An equal number of *junior* students (1st and 2nd year) and *senior* students (3rd year and over) participated in the study. This is significant as a comparison could be drawn between

relatively new students entering the country versus students who have been in the country for a longer period and were thus able to acculturate.

3.5.2. Limitations of the non-probability sampling method.

Despite the many advantages of using the purposeful sampling method, I have taken cognisance of McMillan and Schumacher's (2010) caution against generalizing of the findings to any type of population. I am therefore mindful that my findings may not represent the views of all IS at all HE institutions in SA or globally. This is in keeping with the aim of this research which focusses on the lived experiences of IS at UCT, Cape Town.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Analysing data brings structure, meaning and order to the mass of collected data (Patton, 2002, in de Vos, et.al, 2005). The analytical process "does not proceed tidily or in a linear fashion but is more of a spiral process (de Vos, *et al.*, 2005, p.333). The continuous engagement with data is hence iterative, comparative and interactive, beginning with inductive data and constructing theoretical interpretations (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz & Belgrave, 2019).

Analysis in grounded theory is summarised in the following way:

> *"Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis"* Bowen (2006, citing Patton, 1980, p.306)

In analysing data, I also looked for processes, actions and variations in meanings to identify connections between the data (Åkerlind, 2005; Charmaz, 2012). Thought provoking questions such as, "what do the data suggest? Pronounce? Assume?" and "from whose point of view?" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47). These questions promoted analysing rather than describing the data.

Initially I had a high degree of openness to possibilities but then focussed more on aspects or criteria. This was done by sorting and resorting data (Marton, 1986). There were ongoing comparisons between the data and developing categories of description. Transcripts and selected quotes were grouped and regrouped according to perceived similarities and differences (Åkerlind, 2005).

In emerging grounded theory the coding and categorisation is more flexible. It also addresses how participants change their perspectives over a period of time (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In this regard, the critical grounded theory approach addresses the acculturation *process* of IS. Categories were not predetermined but emerged from the collected data. In analysing data I had to maintain an open mind, making no quick predetermined assumptions but had to adjust my thinking in light of reflection and perspectives (Åkerlind, 2005). The focus on transcripts as a whole was essential for collective experience and in identifying similarities and differences.

Data analysis was done "during data collection as well as after all the data has been gathered" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2009, p.367). Data analysis during the study included listening to responses and asking probing questions to elicit clearer responses from the participants. During the interview process, I used Charmaz's (2012) suggestion of writing memos relating to the participants' emotional state, tone of voice, etc. Memo-writing facilitates analysis by giving the researcher an edge on the information by questioning and clarifying themes in the data (Charmaz, 2012). This process assists in legitimizing findings in grounded theory. For the purpose of this study I assumed three roles, that of the researcher, the transcriber and the data analyst.

The primary step in data analysis would be the organization of data as the large volume of data may seem overwhelming (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). To avoid being overwhelmed by the large amount of data, I adapted a data analysis process suggested by McMillan and Schumacher (2010, p.369). I also added a sixth step as suggested by Charmaz (2006).

i. Transcribe the data verbatim
ii. Check for reliability and accuracy
iii. Sensitize concepts
iv. Code transcribed data
v. Develop themes and patterns
vi. Describe, analyse and question data (Charmaz, 2006)

The first step after completing the interviews was to transcribe the audio-recorded interviews verbatim. Once the process of transcribing was complete I checked for reliability by listening

to the recordings for a second time while reading the transcribed material (Brooker & Macdonald, 1999; Terre Blanche & Kelly, 2004). After completing the process of transcribing data, the transcriptions were emailed to the participants to confirm accuracy. The next step was to sensitize the data.

Sensitizing of concepts is used in grounded theory and has been adapted in other fields of research, for example, in education where it may assist in "understanding the complex interactions between students and college environments" (Bowen, 2006, p.2). Furthermore, from a social interaction point of view, sensitizing of concepts provides a guideline for data analysis (Bowen, 2006; Van den Hoonaard, 2008). The process offers a method of viewing, organizing and understanding experience and provides a point of departure for building the analysis of the data (Charmaz, 2003). Sensitized concepts are constructs that are derived from the responses of the participants using their language that sensitize the researcher to possible lines of inquiry (Van den Hoonaard, 2008). The concepts were useful in providing the "background ideas that inform the overall research problem" (Charmaz, 2003, p.259). During the data analysis process, I did bear in mind that sensitizing of concepts provided starting points and was not used as an end in itself (Charmaz, 2003). Following the procedures that align with critical grounded theory, I used line-by-line coding and arrived at focussed codes. I then recorded memos around the codes, which included "university ranking, visas, permits, academic fees, outsider status, etc." I then reconstructed the codes into dimensions and categories in the data to align to emerging theoretical constructions (Charmaz, 2006). This helped to ascertain how these categories pertain to the research question. I also asked questions relating to how these sub-categories related to theories of power, acculturation, social capital, inclusion, access, participation and belonging. Abstracting rich quotations from participants, I developed a coherent storyline (Charmaz, 2006) in the chapter on findings.

A commonly used method in qualitative research is thematic analysis of data. Thematic analysis involves the researcher identifying a limited number of themes, which adequately reflect the data and is not dependent on specialized theory (Howitt & Cramer, 2007). Creswell (2008, p.256) further maintain that the use of themes "is another way to analyse qualitative data and is therefore a form of pattern recognition within the data." The advantage of the thematic content analysis is that the coding system could be easily developed and the categories could be induced from the data or deduced from a theoretical perspective (Hays,

2010). From a variation of codes, themes were derived and grouped according to their similarities and differences.

Analysis of the themes in this study generated the conceptual framework, which was used to view the subjective viewpoints of the participants and uncovering narratives of participants. As I was transcribing the audio-recorded data, I found myself identifying patterns of participants' views and experiences, which led me to be aware of similar or contradictory themes as the data unfolded. However, "data analysis does not in itself provide answers to research questions as these are found by way of interpretation of the analyzed data" (Kruger, de Vos, Fouché & Venter, 2005, p.218). The ongoing process of interpretation and analysis were closely intertwined with me as I spontaneously interpreted and analysed (Kruger, et. al., 2005). The combined process of data collection and analysis developed into a "plausible and coherent" interpretation of data (de Vos, *et al.,* 2005, p.335). In trying to gain an overall understanding of the interviews, I read the transcripts carefully in order to "immerse self in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it up into parts" (Agar, 1980 as cited in de Vos, *et al.,* 2005, p.337). I was mindful though, of representing each participant's experience whilst deriving broader meanings and interpretations in the form of themes common to all participants (Falmagne, 2006). In essence, the findings of this study cannot be "merely a collection of particularized case histories" as may be present in themes or participant characteristics (Falmagne, 2006, p. 171). Alternatively, as Falmagne (2006, p. 172) advocates "a notion of generalization that preserves the richly particularized, socially constituted nature of concrete individuals while enabling social interpretations that transcend the particular case." In the process of generating themes, I found that the experiences of one participant assisted me in understanding and making sense of what came from the following participants. Indeed, as Falmagne (2006, p.181) advises, the goal of analytics is to "produce meaningful condensations that make it possible to gain from one participant an understanding that can enhance one's understands of another participant as well." I do acknowledge that while true objectivity could not be achieved, I was as objective and transparent as possible with the interpretation of the data (Hays, 2010).

In looking for the causality of meanings, I also employed Critical Realism:

> *"Critical realism acknowledges that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful, and hence that meaning is not only externally descriptive of them but constitutive of them (though of course there are usually material constituents too). Meaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretative or hermeneutic element in social science" (Sayer, 2000, p.17).*

In keeping with qualitative research, which is characterised by descriptions and meanings, critical realism points to an explanation or understanding of the issues behind the data. In this way the data is given a context in which it can be interpreted and understood.

According to Sayer (1992), there are eight key assumptions of critical realism – two of which are pertinent to this study. The first relates to social actors or entities having particular powers which affect reality. The second defines the world with differentiated and stratified social structures which are capable of generating events. In this study, as described in chapter two, regulatory bodies and academic institutions enjoy a vantage point of power which affects the lived experiences of IS. Entities, such as the DHA and academic institutions, have causal powers which have a direct bearing on lived experiences. To this end, Sayer (1992, p.4) describes causality as:

> *To ask for the cause of something is to ask' what makes it happen', what 'produces' , 'generates', 'creates' or 'determines' it, or, more weakly, what 'enables' or 'leads to' it.*

In keeping with critical grounded theory, which is emancipatory in nature, critical realism seeks to examine the causes of events or injustices – what factors are behind the lived experiences. For example, in the power relations between the DHA and IS can be explained through the theory of borders, spatiality and marginalisation (discussed in chapter 2). In dealing with human participants, it is necessary to reflect on the ethical considerations, which is discussed in the next section.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Taking cognisance of ethical issues in research is of paramount importance. Leedy and Ormrod (2008, p.101) define four categories of ethics which were realized in my research:

i."protection from harm"

As the study was conducted within the campus where the students normally attend lectures, there was no foreseeable danger to them. The interviews were conducted during the day, between 09h00 and 16h00 - at times which were convenient to participants. Furthermore, the campus is access-controlled by security guards, making it a safe environment. Their participation also did not entail any activity which could have endangered their lives.

ii."informed consent"

Prior to the commencement of data collection, a "Research Ethics Joint Statement" was signed by my supervisor Professor Alan Cliff and I. The statement entailed my acknowledgement of the Humanities Guide for Research Ethics and a description of the group of participants I wished to interview.

Insofar as *informed consent* for participants goes, each participant received an invitation to participate in the research study. The invitation (see appendix B) described the nature and purpose of the study in detail, the duration of the study as well as the duration of the interviews. Furthermore, the letter emphasized that participation was voluntary and that there would be no negative consequences whatsoever, for non participation. In addition to this, participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any given time. Included with an information sheet were individual consent forms (see appendix C). As the participants were over the age of 18 years, no parental consent was necessary. The students signed consent forms, which included:

- consent to participate in individual interviews.
- consent for interviews to be audio recorded and transcribed.
- An information sheet was handed to each participant, bearing the name and contact details of my supervisor and I, should they have any queries during the study.
- Participants were also informed that the findings of the research would be used for academic writings (including books, journals and conferences). All information issued to participants was of a level that was understandable, written in simple English to

accommodate second language English speaking students. However, this could have been compromised, by students not having sufficient comprehension in English and in agreeing, to participate without fully understanding the information sheet. Furthermore, they could have assumed that their participation was, legitimized by the fact that the research was, conducted on the premises of the institution. Finally, students could have been afraid to abstain from participating in the research in the belief that the research was sanctioned by the institution. It is for these reasons that I continuously assured participants that their participation was voluntary.

iii. "right to privacy"

In terms of privacy, participants chose pseudonyms to conceal their identities. Only the pseudonyms were used during interviews and in the data analysis. Participants were informed of their right to privacy and that they would not advantaged or reimbursed in any way for their participation. The participants chose pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality (Leedy and Ormrod, 2008). Furthermore, I have kept the participants details strictly confidential and anonymous. At no point in the study, nor in the research report, nor in academic writings did I mention actual names (see appendix C). As a further measure of privacy, interviews were conducted in a private venue within the campus. To minimize discomfort, I provided refreshments to all participants.

iv."honesty with professional colleagues"

For this study, I worked closely with a supervisor on an ongoing predetermined basis. My supervisor, Professor Alan Cliff, Dean of the Centre for Higher Education Development, UCT is a well-respected academic in the field of education. The process of working closely with Professor Cliff ensured that the research report is not fictitious nor that findings are misrepresented. This external check of the research process is referred to as a *peer review* and is important in maintaining honesty and integrity throughout the research (Creswell, 2007). Similarly, Cohen, *et al.* (2000) citing Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to this process as *peer debriefing*, which is a form of cross-examination necessary to test honesty.

In addition to the above, this study was conducted with the approval of the UCT's Human Research Ethics Committee (protocol number: EDNREC2017-03-09, see appendix F). It was also conducted within the principles of honesty and ethics of respect for the knowledge,

democratic values and quality of educational research in South African Universities. Further to the question of ethics in research, the standards of adequacy needs addressing.

3.8 STANDARDS OF ADEQUACY

Judging the soundness of qualitative research is a debated and vexed issue in that it is subjective, embracing different ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (Booth, 1992; Guba & Lincoln, 2003; Trochim, 2006.) To explicate further, "in qualitative data, the subjectivity of the respondents, their opinions, attitudes and perspectives together contribute to a degree of bias" (Cohen, *et al.*, 2000, p.105). Within the field of voice research, there also exists concern over the reliability of derived knowledge, which is not considered dependable due to its subjectivity (Moore & Muller, 1999; Trochim, 2006; Arnot & Reay, 2007). Exacerbating this problem, there is little guidance in literature for evaluating the rigour of qualitative designs (Creswell and Miller, 2000). There is therefore a strong emphasis for a researcher to argue for a defensible choice of research methods and interpretation of data in the appropriate and relevant research community (Ǻkerlind, 2005). Research quality is then focussed on ensuring that the research aims are adequately supported by the research methodology. For the purposes of my research, I considered objectivity, trustworthiness and credibility.

3.8.1 Objectivity

In qualitative studies, the research outcomes are compared to the human experiences of the researcher and the participants and therefore the research outcomes cannot be considered to be objective (Ǻkerlind, 2005). However, it is not only the objectivity of the methodology that is questionable but also that objectivity becomes an issue when the researcher's influences are ignored (Haraway, 1991; Malterud, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative research raises three areas of concern regarding objectivity:

i. the engagement and interaction between the participants and researcher;
ii. the researcher's involvement with the phenomenon and;
iii. that the researcher makes judgement in the interpretation of data (Sin, 2010).

In addressing the three areas of concern raised by Sin (2010), I have acknowledged that my role as a doctoral student at UCT enabled me to gain access to the site. As a student of inclusive education, I also acknowledge that I could have had embedded themes and concepts of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation in my mind during data analysis. Furthermore, involvement with IS over the 20 year period, could have a bearing on the analysis and interpretation of data. Working with my supervisor, Professor Alan Cliff, during the data analysis helped to gain an objective second opinion and guidance. Furthermore, objectivity was maintained through rigorous research in the related fields of study of this research.

3.8.2 Trustworthiness

Qualitative research has been criticized for its lack of methodological rigour. Trustworthiness was therefore established to improve the rigour and to ensure that the findings reflect as far as possible, the meanings described by the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In qualitative research, truth-value is gained from human experiences perceived by participants (Krefting, 1991). As an added measure of ensuring credibility and trustworthiness, Creswell (2007, p.208) advises on *member checking*, which "solicits participants' views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations." In this study, the transcriptions of the interviews as well as the findings were given back to the participants, for verification of accuracy and credibility. At this stage, participants were given an opportunity to change or withdraw their responses if they wished to do so. However, none of the participants wished to change their responses. Participants were also given an opportunity to communicate their likes and dislikes regarding the research process and to make recommendations. No recommendations were forthcoming. In addition to trustworthiness, credibility is also an important consideration. In grounded theory, trustworthiness is also bolstered by the amount of time spent collecting data from different sources (Brown, Stevens, Toriano & Scheiner, 2002). To this end, I explored various sources, methods and theories from February 2016 to March 2020. This included, research articles, books and journal articles on the migrant student experience.

3.8.3 Credibility

Credibility of a research study tests that the appropriate research methods are used and that a true picture of the phenomenon under investigation is presented (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility is of primary importance when establishing the trustworthiness of the findings of a study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The qualitative approach can be problematic in that the participants' experience of a phenomenon can be "context sensitive" and they can change what they are saying at any time during the course of the interview (Ǻkerlind, 2005, p.331). I therefore took cognisance of this and gave participants the option to change their interpretation during and after the interview. Finally, I gave participants the opportunity to refuse to participate, with no negative consequences to them, ensuring that only participants who were genuinely willing to participate were included. The option to participate voluntarily also helps ensure credibility and honesty in this study (Shenton, 2004).

Grounded theory researchers have been critiqued for the lack of clear relationship between representation and reality in interviews. This has led to theoretical and methodological problems in interpreting interview data (Sin, 2010). Since the purpose of qualitative research is to describe or understand certain phenomena from the point of view of the participant, it stands to reason that the participants themselves are the only ones who can legitimize the findings of the research (Trochim, 2006). To ensure reliability of my findings, all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim thereby providing the study with information that was correct and reliable (Creswell, 2007). The transcribed data from the recordings were then saved as a printed copy which allowed for transparency and for proof of all data analysis decisions. The transcribed recordings were also shown to participants for verification of accuracy. Further to providing accurate information, audio recordings afforded me the opportunity to be actively engaged with the participants instead of being preoccupied with note-taking. Focussing on participants and listening to what they were saying helped to build a rapport with them.

3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.9.1 Limitations of qualitative research

In this section, I will discuss the limitations of qualitative research from a design perspective as well as the limitations in its execution.

3.9.1.1 Limitations in design

This section deals with setbacks in terms of the theory and practice of the design.

One limitation relates to replication of results in qualitative research. Insofar as theory goes, "a common criticism levelled at qualitative research has been that the results of a study may not be generalisable to a larger population because the sample group was small and the participants were not chosen randomly" (Hancock, *et al.*, 2007, p.7). However, the original research question sought insight into a specific subgroup of the population because the subgroup was *special*. Furthermore, "generalisation of the findings to a wider, more diverse, population is not an aim" of qualitative research (Hancock, *et al.*, 2007, p.7). Based on this argument, the findings of my research were applicable only to the cohort of IS at UCT and not to the entire student population, or either all IS in SA, or to HE students in general. While other studies may elicit varying results, the findings of this study can be used as a point of departure for future research on student experiences. As the study focussed on registered students with valid study permits at a HE institution, it excludes students who could not access this university (for legal, financial reasons or academic reasons). However, as this study focussed on *lived experiences* of enrolled students at UCT and not on applicants. Furthermore, the findings do provide a point of departure in raising awareness about the lived experiences of IS.

3.9.1.2 Limitations in execution

This section deals with issues of power of the researcher and setbacks in data collection. In the previous sections, I argued the nature of critical theory in giving participants a voice to air their issues. In my engagement with them, I reduced the power relations by being candid about the nature of the research, positioning myself as a fellow student rather than a researcher.

After initial interviews it was difficult to meet with students again due to them travelling back home or being busy with tests and assignments. Sometimes the gap between the initial meeting and the interview was substantially long and I had to recap what was discussed in the initial interview. To obviate this issue, copious notes and memos were compiled during interviews and were instrumental in the catch-up sessions.

The results of this study and possibly together with results from other studies have the potential to lead to better integration for IS at HE at institutions in SA and internationally. I am however mindful that the research was conducted by one researcher over a short period, of time in the limited geographic area of Cape Town, SA. I am further mindful that it is not possible to generalize the findings of this study to all HE institutions in Cape Town or SA or

internationally. However, as alluded to previously, this is not the intention of qualitative research.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Chapter two of this study provided the foundation for the research methodology in terms of a review of theoretical underpinnings and current debates around lived experiences abroad and locally; education in SA; the theories of power, acculturation, social capital and voice research. In this chapter, the research methodology was debated and substantiated. In describing the research approach, data collection methods and data analysis, the justifications and limitations of each were debated. Examples of other similar studies relating lived experiences seen through inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation were included in the debates to substantiate my choices of the research methodology. Finally, ethical considerations, in keeping with the strict requirements of the Human Research Ethics committee of UCT were adhered to. Having explored the literature pertinent to this study and the resultant methodological framework, I would now like to present the findings of this research in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The significance of this study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the lived experiences of IS at UCT. As discussed in chapters one and two, the importance of this study lies in the tremendous economic and political value of student cross-border migration among participating countries (Münch & Hoch, 2013; Choudaha, 2019). Furthermore, well documented global studies in the field of student migration have raised concerning issues of cultural intolerance, racism, homesickness and lack of support from local authorities (see for example, (Bhugra, 2004a; Zhao, *et al.,* 2005; Woodfield & Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010; Harrison & Peacock, 2010; Knight, 2012). In the South African context, IS provide much needed revenue and add value to the culture and academics of any academic institution (Ramphele, 1999). Recent and continued xenophobic attacks have drawn attention to issues of safety of migrants. This has drawn attention the *otherness* of all migrants, including IS. While there have been significant contributions by researchers, in the field of migrant student experience in SA (see for example, Ramphele, 1999; Atkins, 2002; Ojo, 2009; Moll, 2010; Cross, *et al.*, 2011 and Lee & Sehoole, 2015) there exists a gap in research for inclusion at tertiary institutions, especially for research on IS in HE in South Africa (Motha & Ramadario, 2005). Furthermore, research in peer-reviewed journals abounds in migrant student experience in first world countries, it is described as being very young (Kennedy & McNeela, 2014). Studies in this field are often undertaken by white researchers examining the experiences of students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Notably, there is a call for a better, more local understanding of IS' experience which is underpinned by theoretical frameworks. This study aimed to draw attention to the dynamics of oppression and exclusion which Cicognani, et.al. (2018) describes as being insufficiently researched amongst migrant youth. Pillay's (2015) rhetoric on the decolonising of universities raises important questions around the engagement of bringing new anti-colonialist epistemologies from beyond SA's borders.

In the data analysis, I was aware of my own socio-cultural and political bias - having lived through apartheid and exclusion in South Africa. Furthermore, I am also aware that my presence as a *stranger* to the participants could have had a bearing on their responses.

Using grounded theory, I was able to build a theoretical framework from the analysed data and literature review. Using the theoretical framework of power, acculturation, social capital as well as over-arching issues of inclusive education, marginalisation and voice research, this study will add further value to understanding migrant student experience. The use of critical grounded theory assisted me in analysing the findings of this study. Critical realism highlights that social phenomena are constitutive of the participants and are not externally descriptive. Furthermore, meaning has to be understood and interpreted (Sayer, 2000). As a researcher, I had to constantly ask what the causes of issues were and what the implications for student experience were (Sayer, 1992). In analysing the data and sifting through the themes, the use of grounded theory enabled me to find themes which emerged from the data – instead of imposing the conceptual framework on the data. The extent to which the data showed elements of critical grounded theory lies in the social problem which it highlights, namely, the issue of access, belonging and participation. While literature abounds in evidence of acculturation and adjustment issues of students in the global north, this study provides a fresh perspective on the influence of other social issues. Xenophobia and student fallist movements have a marked influence on social inclusion of IS. Critical grounded theory also exposed the dichotomy prevalent between issues of inclusion between whites and Africans/ Asians. In a sense, the issue is critical, as it exposes underlying dynamics of the coloniality of being and the mind.

The findings presented in this chapter represented the common themes, where high percentages of respondents had similar issues surrounding lived experiences. I also looked at counter claims to make the presentation of findings as transparent as possible. In keeping with qualitative research and grounded theory, the concepts, categories and themes were drawn from the data. These related to highly common issues/ experiences - ensuring that the themes were not *cherry picked.* In instances where there were low occurrences of issues/ concepts, they were omitted. This chapter examines the findings of the study, seeking to answer the research question posed, in chapter one:

Main question:

What are the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international students at the University of Cape Town?

Sub questions:

i. **What factors motivated students to migrate to South Africa?**
ii. **How did IS experience and negotiate their experiences during the application process?**
iii. **What were their experiences during registration and orientation?**
iv. **What were their experiences academically and socially?**
v. **How did they negotiate their transition from their home countries to South Africa?**
vi. **What are the differences in experience between IS from varying socio-economic, cultural and geographic backgrounds?**

The review of literature highlighted key issues in trying to answer the research questions. Chapter two discussed in detail the theories of power, acculturation, social capital as well as issues of inclusive education and marginalisation. It also highlighted how verbal communication involves "finding the word, speaking for oneself and feeling heard by others," using voice research (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990. p.487). The heart of this study lies in "analyzing the mechanisms that produce such invisibility" and "engage in dialogue and the desire for exchange" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, pp.261,2). Academic institutions must address the intended or unintended ways in which IS, become academically and socially invisible. Findings will add value to the CHE, DoE, UCT and IAPO's understanding of the *outsider* status of IS and make necessary policy changes, to improve belonging and participation of minority groups of students. It is also envisaged that this study will make a contribution to the global academic knowledge available on student migration – especially in the global south. The arena of inclusive education is rather young. This study can therefore also contribute to inclusion of migrants (students and staff) in higher education globally. IS' are a valuable source of revenue and research output which promotes university rankings. IS education and global experience as researchers, academics and professionals also adds value to their expertise at UCT. The findings in this study resonates to a great degree with the literature in this field as well as the conceptual framework. However, data indicates layers or

levels of issues such as, power, marginalisation and inclusion. This will be discussed in detail in the sub-sections. The themes which emerged from this study are graphically depicted as follows:

EMERGING THEMES:

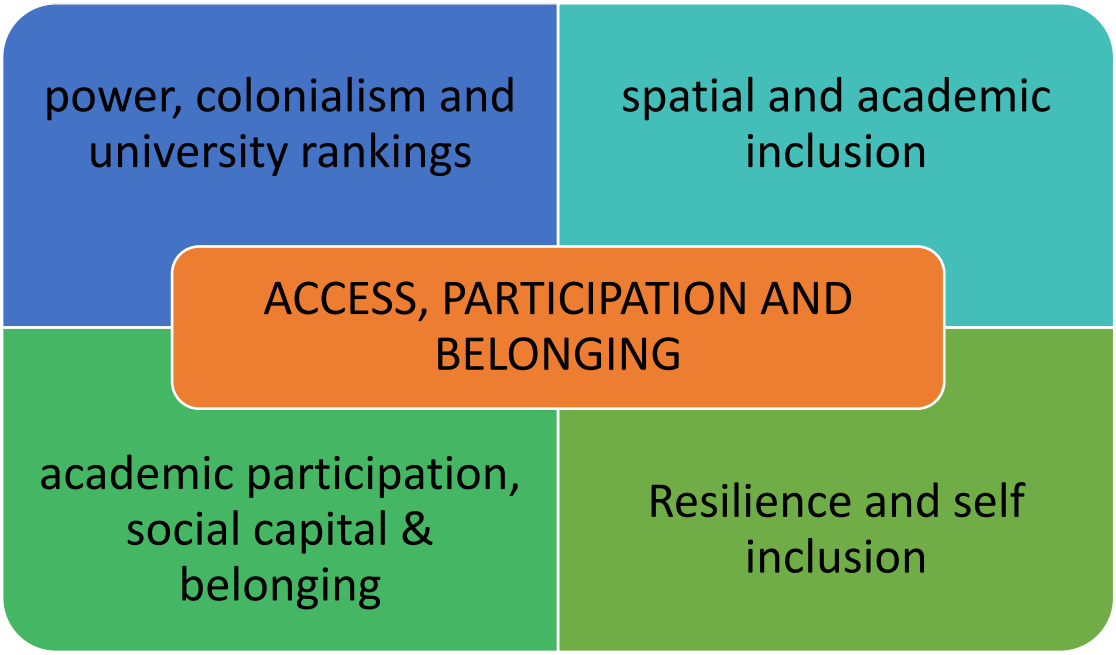

Figure (ix) Thematic overview of findings

The above figure depicts the manner in which the findings are discussed. At the heart of the study is the issue of lived experiences of IS as seen through the lens of inclusive education.

In comparing the themes discussed in the conceptual framework with those of the thematic overview of the findings, the following comments are pertinent. The conceptual framework, which was draw from the literature review, indicates that inclusion/ inclusive education is a conundrum. Inclusion is very context-dependent with many mitigating factors. The findings of this study supports this assertion. The context of inclusion in this study, hinges on the origin of the IS. White students' perception and experiences of inclusion, differs markedly from those of African/ Asian students. Inclusivity is also directly related to power – as wielded by the DHA. A further observation is that inclusion/ inclusive education in literature, is understood from a global north perspective. In this regard, inclusion seems to be associated with race and disability. The findings showcase a perspective from the global south. Evidence suggests that SA is unique in this regard. Factors such as apartheid and the influence of

colonialism on the struggle of the local, black students has a role to play. SA's issue of xenophobia plays a huge role in the social acceptance of African / Asian IS.

The findings of the study resonates well with the conceptual framework in terms of power. The findings demonstrate elements of direct and direct power. However, the effects of power, as exerted by UCT and DHA, are not experienced in the same way by all IS. This study further adds to the theories of power by introducing the element of 'seductive' power of university rankings. The theories on power also resonates with the issue of coloniality in its various forms. This adds to the existing literature on power in higher education.

In terms of acculturation, marginalisation and social capital, findings indicate a strong correlation with the conceptual framework. The social capital, which white students bring with them, acts as enablers to participation and belonging. White students are more outspoken, bold and make attempts to 'fit in.' However, Africans/ Asians seem to be constantly seeking social participation with IS students from back home. Acculturation for African/ Asian students is also marred by the issue of xenophobia which is aimed primarily at them. Furthermore, this study adds another dimension to acculturation, namely, 'resilience/ self-exclusion.' While the theory indicates 'assimilation' as the end goal, this study offers an alternative. The main reasons for this is self- preservation and the purpose of the sojourn. To this end, Asians/ Africans see their academic accomplishment as their goal. Given the issue of xenophobia, they are content with self-exclusion in the social arena.

The first section of this chapter examines the role of the various forms of power and colonialism especially, that of university rankings, in attracting IS to UCT. The purpose of this section is to uncover how migrant students are attracted to UCT as seen through the lens of inclusion. The chapter then proceeds to examine lived experiences through issues of administrative and academic access as well as cost studies. This study addresses the gap in knowledge in confronting migrant student concerns and experiences in an African country where it may be deemed that, students would easily fit in. Furthermore, the country presents unique challenges in the face of current calls for decolonisation of education and HE funding issues. The university itself, which is steeped in a deep colonial past and is highly acclaimed internationally, presents a fertile research arena for studies on in/exclusion and marginalisation of migrant students.

As discussed in chapter three, the focus of the qualitative approach and grounded theory is to find a logically comprehensive structure of the data relating to the different meanings, which

provides a holistic view of the human experience. The range of meanings within the group and not the range of meanings of each participant were therefore considered in analysing the data. Furthermore, no single interview was analysed in isolation from those of the other members of the group (Åkerlind, 2005). The importance of the pool of meanings of the group as a whole gives a greater voice to the issue of *we and our problem* versus *me and my problem.* In this sense, grounded theory is viewed as transformative in nature. In keeping with critical realism relating to causality, the analysis of data drew from the works of Sayer (1992) where, researchers look for the meanings and reasons behind experiences and events. It explores the intricacies and nuances of the data. To this end, I searched for explanations, causes and variations relating to students' lived experiences.

Using the research design discussed in chapter three, I collected information through one on one interviews as well as focus group interviews using a structured interview schedule. I then analysed the data drawing on codes, categories and themes from the collective meanings of the participants' responses. The first research question relates to issue of university rankings seen through the lens of colonialism and power.

4.1 Seductive power, colonialism and university rankings

This section attempts to answer the first question of this study:

- **What factors motivated students to migrate to South Africa?**

It does so by examining the relationship between power, colonialism and university rankings. The review of literature in this study argued in detail the theories of power. In summary, I adopted the view of McGee (2016, p.104) who posits that power comprises of "*overlapping and interacting analytical lenses*" used in order to view what power is at play, "*in terms of expressions, … realms, … levels … and forms*."

One of the lenses used to examine IS' experiences, is the effect of colonialism on HE institutions and how this hidden power manifests itself within individuals on a global / transnational level. Over 90% of the respondents cited university rankings as a key attraction to study at UCT. Consider the following excerpts from interviews with IS' regarding reasons for their choice of UCT as an academic institution:

UCT is the top university in Africa. ***(N, Dublin)***

So it's about university rankings, you know and UCT is famous. *Even the system of education – it's like there are public universities in Congo but they are not recognized and have poor systems like classrooms and chairs and libraries.* ***(G, DRC)***

… so then I just considered my options and I was – I had to choose between Malaysia and South Africa cos financially they both cost more or less the same and ya I just found that ***UCT is a really great university, great standard*** *and that's why I chose to come here.* ***(A, Mauritius)***

Being exposed to international news and readings, I realised I could get better education somewhere – where it's always been my passion. So at first it was my intention to either go to Europe or America, but that was too costly then. Out of my research, I realised ***that South Africa has a very advanced system of education****, so that's when I said, 'Okay – why don't I stay on the continent?'* ***(B, Cameroon)***

N – Umm. So originally I'm from Zimbabwe and umm it's in your prospects to leave the country and to study abroad in another country. The reason I chose South Africa is that it's close to home and it happens to have some of the ***best universities in Africa.*** *So, ya that carried a lot of weight for me, umm... and in addition to that, I've been to Cape Town before and I've always known about the* ***University of Cape Town – growing up and it just seemed like a really prestigious institution*** ***(N, Zimbabwe****).*

It is ***the ranking and reputation of UCT*** *in Africa and South Africa and globally as well. I found opportunity here. In Belgium / Netherlands it is not easy. It is very expensive so I came to study here.* ***(S, Africa).***

If there is two people who did business management, and want to apply for a job, you studied in South Africa and the other person studied in Congo, they will choose you cos they know you have more experience and knowledge than what that guy studied. ***(C, Congo)***

If you come to South Africa you have to choose ***one really good university*** *because we are not paying you to go to some place that's maybe not so recognized or that nobody knows* ***(N, Switzerland)***

> *So when I was still on exchange, I started looking into the possibility of doing my masters and so I looked at possible programmes in the field of justice and transformation. It was a natural follow up from justice and peace studies. So I looked at UCT and the first thing that drew me was that is definitely the* ***best university in Africa*** *and cheaper to study here.* ***(G, USA)***

Of interest in the above quotations is that both white IS as well as students from Africa view UCT in the same light. Words and phrases, such as "*great standard," "advanced system of education," "prestigious institution," "ranking and reputation" and "best university in Africa,"* speak to how UCT is viewed in terms of student aspirations due to the institution's magnetic pull. Aspirations of students to be enrolled at the best institutions, competing on the league tables for the best ranking, is described by Rizvi and Lingard (2009) as competitive individualism which is informed global education policy-makers. In this regard, South African educational institutions are perceived by students to be superior to others in other African countries. As discussed previously, UCT has a rich colonial history. It is also highly ranked by *western* academia who determine and define knowledge production. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, p.63) argues... "the worst form of colonisation … on the continent is the epistemological one that is hidden in institutions and discourses that govern the modern globe." This is consistent with the following comment made by a student:

> *Well it's the best university in Africa. So that determined my applications and all that and I was* ***lucky enough to get in so it was a blessing****.* ***(G, Kenya)***

The expression of being *"lucky enough… blessin,"* speaks to the internalisation of what students aspire to. For this study, from Kenya, education is a tool to uplift herself, her family and the community back home. In this instance, it relates to the colonial hegemony inherent in UCT. There is thus a sense of gratitude for being accepted at the institution. HE institutions play a powerful role in determining values, identities and epistemologies. Sadar (2008, p. xv), in arguing the intimate relationship between the source of knowledge and western, colonial racism, culture and civilisation maintains that colonialism and current HE are deeply intertwined. For it is here where "legitimate knowledge is cultivated, preserved and protected" Pillay (2015) hence, the "South African academy remains a colonial outpost" (McKaiser, 2016). As argued in chapter two, SA's colonial history cannot be separated from HE as universities were established to serve *elitist* colonial needs. Indeed, South African *settler* universities presume to have a superior western culture who "establish themselves as

the local representatives of 'universal' knowledge, proudly proclaiming this position in the neo-gothic buildings erected and the Latin mottos they adopted" Pietsch (2013). Consistent with this view Dr Max Price, the former vice chancellor of UCT opined that the "culture of what's held up to be excellent universities and excellent science, and what we emulate as aspire to be, are the Ivy League universities and European universities" (as cited in Hendricks, 2018, p.30).

This scientific capital is argued by Bourdieu (1986) as the prestige earned by the research reputation and academic publications which then translates into intellectual capital, influencing public opinion. Of relevance to this study, is the notion that migrants from the global south have an innate colonial predisposition to the racial/ ethnic division of labour in global metropolitan cities (Seroto, 2018). As discussed in chapter two, UCT is steeped in colonial, English history.

Several buildings at UCT are named after prominent capitalists and politicians. This led to several student protests in recent years (for example, #Rhodesmustfall). Quijano (2000) adds that the *colonial power mix,* involves exploitation and domination of people in many aspects of their lives, including academic institutions. This domination is, still presently viewed in *global coloniality,* which is produced in the modern/ colonial/ patriarchal administrations and defines knowledge production through books, criteria for academic performance and the self-image of people (Mignolo, 2003, cited in Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Among the top 30 universities in the world in 2017, 22 are from America and the UK (Karabel, 2005). The top universities are referred to the *Big Three or Elite and Prestige Colleges* (Harvard, Yale and Princeton) in the USA and Oxbridge in the UK. These colleges represent a powerful image and function as *global models* to emulate. In attracting IS, Yale is described as *manufacturing prestige,* which does not relate to academic rigour (Karabel, 2005). To this end students are involved in "acculturation into white norms and standards and western knowledge systems, under the guise of universal academic excellence, that is the measurement of success and that therefore, has to be acquired to progress academically" (Hendricks, 2018, p.31).

As Cicognani, *et al*. (2018) argues, the issue of participation and belonging is hampered by the existence of power relations. For the IS, social group memberships give them support and identity (Sonn & Lewis, 2009). It is important to note that issues of access, belonging and participation are directly or indirectly dependent on power relations. As far as IS are concerned, they are described as strong agents continuously engaging in self-determination through education, defining their needs and values and rights (Marginson, 2014).

In the South African context, consider how UCT is positioned in a historical/ advertorial overview on its website (discussed in chapter two):

> *3 Nobel laureates... more than 80 specialist research units... A-rated researchers...world leaders in their fields. (http://www.uct.ac.za/main/about/history)*

While this is arguably a slice of UCT's history, the subliminal message speaks to university rankings, which culminates from the hard work of various academia who studied at the institution. The following comments from a student has relevance:

> *I had associated to my two new supervisors are **very well linked internationally** so they are well known the attend a lot of conferences **(N, Switzerland)***

The unspoken message is that the success of the two academia are a result of the functioning of the institution rather than the converse. This tacit power may have a seductive effect on those seeking alternatives for HE. In this regard, Grosfoguel's (2007) argument surrounding the source of knowledge has a bearing. In questioning the nature and source of the epistemologies in current academia, Grosfoguel (2007) interrogates why the canon of thought in disciplines of Social Sciences and Humanities stem from only five countries in the Western World. As Fricker (2007, p.1) opines, global coloniality is "a socially situated capacity to control others' actions" and "create or preserve a given social order."

Another important caveat to consider in light of the various criticisms on *epistemic hegemony* is what influences IS perceptions of the institution, aside from international public opinion. To this end, the data suggests that IS feel a sense of power and privilege in being associated with the university. As registered students, they seem to wear their UCT badge with pride. By giving the institution credibility, they are in fact drawing from this power source as students and ultimately alumni of the campus. In this way, prestige is a self-sustaining mechanism.

While white IS and African/ Asian students view UCT as a credible institution, further interrogation reveals differences. For the white IS, UCT represents a recognised university, akin to the ones at home, but set in a foreign tourist destination. UCT's attractiveness also lies in its affordability when one considers monetary exchange rates. This is evident from the fact that white IS used the *semester away* programme to *holiday* and study in SA. In this regard, 100% of the white IS described Cape Town as an amazing holiday destination. This was one of the top two reasons for the choice of location to study. By way of example, consider the following two excerpts from white IS.

really beautiful place, we can do such a lot here and I wanted to come to Cape Town *specifically because I think it's interesting, again for research and I mean also I loved the city* ***(N, Switerzerland)***

I had studied for a semester in London and I loved traveling. That was kind of my consolation for going to college at all. It was that I had to be able to study abroad and the school I come from offered many opportunities, but the only one that wasn't in Europe or in Latin America, was in Cape Town and ***I wanted a different experience from Europe*** *and my Spanish wasn't proficient enough to be fully resident in Latin America so I decided to come to Cape Town.* ***(M, California)***

The comments from the excerpts indicates white IS are generally well-travelled (for example, travelling to Europe and Latin America). Their travels to SA are guided by their desire to gain a *different* global experience and to explore the tourist destinations of SA. Furthermore, some of the white IS have funding opportunities from wealthy Western countries.

While university rankings form a *pull* factor in student mobility, there exists push factor emanating from the country of origin. For the African student seeking a better lifestyle, tremendous sacrifice is made in order, to be enrolled at a *world-class* university.

4.1.1 **Push factors in migration**

In this section, I begin with the *push* factors in student migration relating to the colonial influence of educational aspirations through the medium of English. Broadly speaking, education is seen as a powerful tool in enhancing social mobility, facilitating wealth, power and employment opportunities (Bourdieu, 1986). Consider the comments made by a white IS regarding the value of education:

So my parents had some rules for me – I had to go to university. They went to university; my grandmother went to university – ***so there's a whole thing about getting educated. So education is very important in my family****…* ***(N, Ireland)***

These comments resonate with Bourdieu's view that social distinction is a fundamental dimension of social life. To this end, academic "institutions hold individuals and groups in competitive self-perpetuating hierarchies of domination" (Swartz, 1997, p.6).

"Education has become an increasingly important factor in determining which jobs people enter and in determining their social class position" (Iannelli & Paterson, 2005, p.2). For the

previously colonised African students, education is a means to uproot oneself from poverty. In the African context, education is the source of liberation for colonised individuals who may find access to "socio-political and economic development, and through which an African Renaissance can be expressed" (Hendricks, 2018, p.20)

This is consistent with the view that IS can be described as the "new cosmopolitan workforce for the knowledge economy.... who value mobility, flexibility and competition" (Slee, 2001, p.95).

Consider the comments from students from Cameroon, Mauritius and Kenya.

> *I come from a country of* ***Cameroon where the educational system – the infrastructure is not that well developed.*** *Being exposed to international news and readings,* ***I realised I could get better education somewhere*** *– where it's always been my passion so at first it was my intention to either go to Europe of America but that was too costly****… (B, Cameroon)*** *and*
>
> *Hmmmm… **Well firstly, the universities in Mauritius aren't that great of a standard**. I got a lot of negative feedback from people who went there. And so the universities in Mauritius aren't that good and we would be having trouble as some of the universities degrees were not being recognized… (**A, Mauritius)**. and*
>
> *The situation in* ***Kenya is not all that nice when it comes to university level*** *cos the students are just left alone…* ***(G, Kenya)***
>
> *In terms of education**, higher education in DRC is not really great becos there is too much briberies and stuff in education** – especially higher education especially the public ones but there is a new private institution there where there are but they are too new and some of them are not recognized. My dad is a chancellor of one of the leading universities there but he couldn't allow me to go there* ***becos the education there is dead – especially the higher education one… you can find 2000 student in the classroom*** *and they don't even have seat, the chair where they can fit them.* ***(G, DRC)***

The comments on the state of the infrastructure and academic institutions being in a sorry state of affairs relates to theories on the damage done by the colonialists to global south countries. In most cases, after the colonialists have left and the country has independence, the ravages of colonialism and oppression are still visible in the underdevelopment and

destruction of the infrastructure. Some of the pressing push factors included crowded lecture venues, non-recognition of qualifications and poor levels of education. In the last scenario, whilst the student's father is the chancellor of the university, he chose to send his son to SA to study.

An additional push factor refers to the subtle issues of power which are manifest through the medium of language in business. As English is the preferred form of global business communication, students aspire to enrol at English speaking universities. Students are therefore compelled to seek education in a western setting where English is the medium of instruction. Geographic mobility is considered a form of capital which is immediately transferable to economic capital. Student mobility then serves to (re)produce social class advantage and hence social inequality (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Where there is social inequality, there is room for exclusion and marginalisation.

This section dealt with the forces of attraction and repulsion (pull and push) factors in student migration. Findings indicate that university rankings exert a powerful force of attraction on students while the need for success and upward social mobility exert a repelling force from students' home countries. This section questions the importance of education *per se*. Whether used a force of attraction or repulsion, the modern world has created a dire need for people to be educated. With the advancement in global technology, capitalism has found a footing to increase revenue by *selling* the concept of education. Consumerism is thus fed by a self-sustaining machine, where aspirations for a better lifestyle are fed by western hegemonies creating the need to be educated. However, it is the west which owns the means of production of education. In the next section, I examine the theme of spatial and academic access.

4.2 Spatial / academic access and belonging

This theme was selected from the data as it presents an interesting dichotomy of student experiences. While access was extremely problematic for African/ Asian students, the process appeared to be seamless for white IS. Aside from the acknowledgement of power relations between the groups, the data highlights the need for support of vulnerable individuals and groups. The conceptual framework suggested the lens of power, foreignness and the geographies of marginalisation to explain the issue of student access. Indeed, the concept of belonging for IS' is influenced by socio-spatial boundaries (Wolff, 1950) - a powerful tool in determining how "spaces for engagement are created" (Gaventa, 2006, p.6).

This section answers the research question:

What are the students' experiences during application, registration and orientation?

In analysing the findings of the research related to student experience, the themes of *spatial and academic access* emerged.

4.2.1 Spatial Access

Spatial access into the country in the main is highly problematic for the students. Lengthy waiting periods, costly delays, and laborious processes in their engagement with embassies leave IS' frustrated and helpless. International boundaries are controlled gateways which create identities of cultural groups and can be used for inclusion or exclusion (Duncan & Duncan, 2004; Solem *et al.*, 2010; Trudeau & McMorran, 2011). Furthermore, these migratory policies act in curbing rather than controlling migration (Balbo, 2011; Lee, 2016). These views are consistent with the findings of this study if we consider the following expressions:

> *Sigh … applying for my visa …* ***The biggest challenge*** *for me was always with Home Affairs* ***(B, Cameroon)*** *and*
>
> *Applying for the visa* ***was really hectic****. Cos I had to wait for so long. I had to go and tell that that I had to be in school by this date. So I had to follow up every day, every day until we go back. Like there's no priority they can give to you – it was really hectic* ***(G, Kenya)*** *and*
>
> *Oh ya, that one is one of the* ***most hectic processes*** *to come and study in South Africa. Right now, to get a visa to come and study, takes at least 8 weeks* ***(M, Kenya)*** *and*
>
> *Ok. Umm.. I think that was probably the* ***worst part of the whole process****, of coming here. Umm, I mean having to deal with the South African Embassy- itself is a* ***nightmare*** *– especially in Zimbabwe. Going to the South African Embassy, a lot of the people there are not very kind* ***– they are very mean and rude*** *and umm generally a lot of the people stereotype Zimbabweans* ***(N, Zimbabwe)***
>
> *The first thing that made it difficult, was that I was told it would be ready in five days, so my ticket was booked after five days. Then I went after five days, and it still was not ready, so my plane ticket had to be pushed again, for another one week, which was also costly* ***(M. Kenya)*** *and*

Oooh – Oh Boy, what a thing. *After 10 years on South Africa, I've had a loottt of time at home affairs. In Port Elizabeth and in Cape Town and in Tanzania. It's not a pleasant process at all – I'm sure you must have heard repeatedly.* ***It is awful*** *– I'll give you an example. I applied for an extension for a visitors visa when I was in Port Elizabeth, this was after the study visa* ***and that took a year for them*** *to get back to me and when they got back to me, it was actually a previous application that they had actually gotten back to me for. It's incredibly difficult to get documentation together if you want to get your finger prints sorted – you have to send to Pretoria and wait ages and ages and ages and hope that it comes in time. The process for applying for a study permit is terrible – especially now with VSA – it's awful.* ***(V, Tanzania)***

Umm just the general behaviour of the tellers and the people at the desks and stuff. They are very ***condescending and rude****… umm they are not kind at all, they shout at people… umm they have no respect for other people whatsoever* ***(N, Cameroon)***

The embassy still believes that we are going to sell drugs or something. There should be allowances for post grads. I have to renew everything again – I'm going for a full time progamme for three years, which should have taken me one year ***(F, Congo)***

All of the IS hailing form Africa/ Asia, had negative experiences with visas and student permits. Students' choice of very emotive language when describing their experiences speak to the extreme negative experiences. This is evident in words and phrases such as "*nightmare, hectic, mean and rude"* which speak to their state of wellbeing as humans. In addition to their choice of words, notes made by me during the interviews, recorded that facial expressions and hand gestures, underscored their negative experiences. These experiences leave them in a "gray zone of regulation with incomplete human rights, security and capabilities" (Marginson, 2012, p.497). The 'gray zone' which students find themselves in relates to citizenship and belonging leaving them in a state of disconnect (Opotow, 1990). The *Stranger's* position in the group is "determined essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning," due to socio-spatial boundaries (Wolff, 1950). The main point of formal contact is the embassy or consulate, itself a guest and unable to replicate all home government functions. One of the basic pillars of inclusive education is in creating "welcoming communities and building an inclusive society" (UNESCO, 1994. p.2). However, this is contrary to student experience. Consider the comment of a student from

Tanzania who orates that... "*you don't feel like you're welcome here - like the country is not welcoming you."* Another student remarked that officials had a "*condescending, rude"* attitude towards migrants. These experiences once again relates to the *coloniality of being*, where students from certain countries are treated with disregard and belittlement. The *power of coloniality* seems to be, replicated by South African staff at embassies abroad. A contradiction is that many of these staff were previously under colonised rule.

Experience with the South African embassy is described as "*a nightmare… and a lot of people stereotype Zimbabweans."* This is in keeping with the xenophobic violence against Zimbabweans, in the main for perceived losses of jobs, housing, education, etc. Furthermore, the issue of power is, highlighted by the stereotyping and ill-treatment of Zimbabwean migrants.

This issue once again relates to the idea that although UCT has a magnetic attraction to IS,' they do not feel *welcome* in the country. IS are therefore left in a state of limbo and vulnerability. This is supported by Marginson (2012), who maintains that IS are regulated by two political regimes but are not fully covered and supported by either. As previously explained, this *vulnerability* is highlighted by their choice of emotive language when describing their experiences. It is for this reason that inclusive education is concerned with the identification and removal of barriers to education (Ainscow and Miles, 2009). In one extreme a resident of the USA, who hails from Bangladesh, compares his experiences with those of his colleagues who also travelled to South Africa. In the main, his ethnic and racial origins created barriers to entry and undue delays when dealing with the SA Embassy and security personnel at the airport. This can be seen from his responses below:

> *I'm from Bangladesh, I stopped asking. You know when travelling through airports, it's like why am I* ***delayed fifteen minutes and my friends are all like through in five*** *more or less, you know? You know, like I am a person of colour…*
>
> ***There definitely barriers to entry****, for example, a lot of people from the US get to have a ninety-day tourist visa, so some students don't have to go through the process of this application – but I don't get that cos I'm from Bangladesh. I mean, what's the point?*
>
> *The study permit came through and it was difficult. Most people you – for most consulates, you are usually able to submit – send in your passport, send in your application online but for South Africa,* ***I had to go in in person***

I could be angry and when I was younger I would feel angry but now I'm like, "that's life." (L, Bangladesh)

These comments resonate with the theories of overt power and exclusion where students are often, excluded and marginalised based on social status and ethnicities. The fact that this Asian student has suppressed his anger speaks to his succumbing to the colonialist authorities. This scenario resonates with the *outsider status* of migrants who have to fit into "deeply hostile institutional arrangements" (Slee, 2011, p.107). This student from the east therefore seems powerless against the *gatekeepers* and has to succumb to delays based on skin colour. Students therefore feel uncertain, vulnerable, de-powered, sub-ordinated and incomplete (Marginson, 2012), suffering a sense of dislocation and alienation which contribute to the high levels of stress (Bhugra, 2004). The last comment about acceptance of his fate in life ("that's life") points to the historical repetition of being treated poorly. India, a previous British colony, has a deep seated history of oppression by the colonisers. Although the student is in a different country, he has become accustomed to exclusionary and discriminatory treatment. This acceptance relates to the *coloniality of the mind* (discussed in chapter 2).

Whilst African and Asian students have to endure much in order to enter the country, they seem resolute in overcoming all obstacles to arrive at UCT. This is evident in the tribulation they endure in order to be successfully registered at the institution. However, not all IS experienced the same level of difficulty. This is evident from analysed data on white IS experiences. Students hailing from countries in the global north seem to have an easier experience with embassies in their countries compared with African / Asian students. None of the white IS students had any misfortunes when applying for their visas and study permits. Consider the comments from white IS:

> ***That took 24 hours, that was very easy.*** *I handed in my documents at the Norwegian embassy in Oslo on a Friday and I picked them up on the Monday morning. Although the information was not online at least from my embassy it was not updated and when I went there I called them in advance and they said no that's not what you need on the website – you have to have this, this and this and that actually differed from what I saw from the UCT website* ***(R, Norway)***
>
> ***The actual process was very easy,*** *I didn't have any problems with it,* ***it took me about a week both times*** *because I applied for my first visa in the states, for my*

second visa for SSA in Cape Town and then for my third visa this time, I applied in the states as well ***(M, USA)***

This was pretty straightforward *too, like I just said… I just went to the embassy, they gave me a list of documents that I needed and as soon as I had everything, I just went there and deposited the documents and two weeks after, I had my VISA* ***(N, Ireland)***

People at the South African Embassy in Washington DC were really nice *– that's where I was living at the time. But Home Affairs is not super straight forward about what you need so I thought that I had everything* ***(G, USA)***

In most instances IS hailing from western countries found access into the country a fairly "*easy, straightforward"* process. In comparing this data to those of Africans, experiences seem juxtaposed. This is evident when considering that staff at the SA embassy in the USA were "*really nice"* and provided efficient service, relates to the subtleties of power and colonialism. Also consider that the application process took "*about a week."* While white *clients* command respect from embassy staff, the converse is true in many African countries. Consider a comment made by a Kenyan student who described staff at the embassy as being "*mean and rude."* This relates to respect for *western* civilisation and colonialism (Pillay, 2015) discussed in chapter two. Although this finding may not be conclusive, none of the African or Asian participants reported having a *pleasant* experience at the SA embassies in their country. A point to consider though, is that staff located in embassies in first world countries could be more productive due to the advanced state of technology at their disposal. In countries in the global south, staff frustration and inability to service clients could be as a result of poor infrastructure, working conditions and the large volume of applications.

The above data is supported by staff from the IAPO (UCT) offices, who confirm that "*visas, medical insurance, vetting and selection of programmes, access to the internet, police clearance and ability to pay exorbitant fees,"* are the most common problems among IS hailing from African countries (IAPO staff).

In concluding this sub-section, I would like to point out an interesting remark made by a Norwegian student who remarked:

Before I applied to UCT, they asked for skin colour. I mean really! I never thought about race before I came to UCT. It's like the country is stuck in the sixties. I have become more colour conscious here, opening my eyes to issues here.

This is an interesting comment as it speaks to the perceptions people in more privileged, first world countries. For this student, coming to a *westernised* institution did not resonate with issues of racism in the global south. This comment/ theme represented an outlier in terms of common concepts/ issues raised by students. Although laws entrenched in the South African constitution speak out against exclusion based on skin colour, the experiences of this student point to the poor implementation of policies at grassroots. While spatial access relates to cross border flows of migrants, academic access relates to the application and enrolment process at the campus.

4.2.2 Academic Access

Academic access in this study refers to the process of application and enrolment/registration. Although students are attracted to study at UCT through marketing on website (seen in the previous section on university rankings), there are exclusionary registration processes. Lack of support and poor online call centre as well as face-to-face service at the campus, leaves students feeling unwelcome and marginalised. Generally, it is a frustrating process for ***all*** students (100%) irrespective of their country of origin. There is therefore a general failure on the part of the administration of the campus to live up to its global ranking. Whites as well as Asians/ Africans encounter similar experiences of frustration. Common themes relate to the length of the registration process, uncertainty as to what is required, inefficiencies, spending hours in long queues in the sun, duplication of efforts, lack of proper direction and costly, painful delays. Poor experiences related to both online applications as well as the process on the campus. Consider the following comments made by students:

> ***You know we are just outsiders****, I mean. I remember in my first and second year coming here and having a huge line of people and that was tricky, especially if you are being told that you need to go from one office to another and still having to restart the process* ***(J, Seychelles)***
>
> *Sigh … **that was another nightmare**. My application online was dreadful. Umm it was a time where you had to submit so many times online and then I would call to ask whether the people received my online application and every time when I would call, I was put on hold for such a long time – for like ten minutes…. So it was very, very painful in that week after week* ***(C. Namibia) and***

When I came to register, sigh… it was a very hot day, extremely hot. The queues were extremely long, umm the thing is that ***we were not told exactly where to go to****, so we were very lost. We then arrived at the fees office, and we had to sit there for, I think, four to five hours to just make a payment and at registration, it was painful.* ***(C. Namibia)*** *and*

I stood in such a long queue and there were not seats, no bench to sit – especially when you in the queue outside, you had to get all the way in before you could find a seat but just some few seats. So, those long queues and still it wasn't a one stop shop ***– you had to go here, scan your permit there, medical aid there and then after that you had to come all the way in here for financial clearance and then go to the faculty again –*** *even up to this year, I still find it very difficult****. (B, Cameroon)*** *and*

We had to come down here to this building and we sat in line – in a long line going down the stairs like a snake and everything and then they eventually moved it up to the upper campus to the sports field – ***so you could do international registration and then go over to your actual registration (R, Norway)*** *and*

We ran around this goose chase *cos people are giving us different information. As an international student you have to do a thing called pre-registration. They approve your visa, they approve that you've paid and they approve like who you are – like you've been accepted* ***(N, Zimbabwe)*** *and*

*The service****, it was like gambling*** *it depends on who you speak with. The service could have been clearer, I did things and when I got there "oh no you did the wrong thing" but I had to go back* ***(M, Mauritius****) and*

It was horrible – like now – that's the reason why you see me stressed now*. It was hard to come here. I had everything, letter from the NRF and everything, everything but it took two months. Now I lost two chapters of my PhD because the programme already started here before I could come*. **(N, Cameroon)** and

It's like my least favourite period of being at UCT is registration*… I found registration really inefficient cos I think I was comparing it to my undergrad university where we registered online.. So that's what I was comparing it to… the whole standing in line thing…* ***As an international student, they didn't tell us you didn't have to go in line, there were a few timeslots that they gave us so we all went on line for hours*** *– I think we spent like four hours waiting.* ***(G, USA)*** *and*

The queues and all that… It was really hectic cos you are ***there the whole day, maybe not eaten and hungry*** *but you just need to wait cos you need to be registered. And if you are late, you just have to pay a penalty so ya* ***(G, Kenya)*** *and*

I found that no one knew exactly what to do*. I found that across the entire application process, I found that there is not a congruent, one set of information that everyone knows about. And that is* ***very irritating and very stressful,*** *particularly when you get stuff done and you are trying to apply to a* ***university which is supposed to be highly ranked (N, Ireland)***

It's like it's highly ranked and good academics and well recognized but ***they don't put much effort into making us feel like we are part of the circle (J, Seychelles)***

The online process literally took me 8 months*. I had to send all documents per post. First time around they just did not arrive, so I tried to send them by express post in October –* ***I ended up paying like $400 just on DHL, different private mail companies to get it down here****.* ***I had to fight the system. It's very superficial arrangements. (R, Norway).***

Similar to spatial access, academic access during registration is described in very emotive language (for example, *"nightmarish, painful, least favourite period, goose chase, not eaten, hungry,"etc).* Furthermore, education structures in themselves, after accepting all learners, may have the potential to reinforce authoritarian, discriminatory and anti-democratic practices, (UNESCO, 1996). The lack of familiarity and poor communication about processes from the university leaves students frustrated and in a state of limbo. UCT, despite being a highly ranked university, does not meet expectations in terms of student administration. African students were very emotive about their experiences, evident in their tones, expressions and choice of words. The descriptions of their experiences seem to suggest a struggle for survival. White IS, although annoyed, used less descriptive words - almost expecting such service in a global south country. Consider the comment from a student from Ireland who found the process of registration, *"very irritating and very stressful…*. for a "*university which is highly ranked."* Similarly, a student from Norway found the registration process to be "*very superficial"* and *"incredibly overwhelming,* by a student from the USA. In this regard, experiences during registration does not meet the expectations of students who place great emphasis on rankings and therefore expect superior systems and service. To

explicate further, whilst UCT wears a cloak of westernised, first world epistemology, the administrative student support is lacking. The lack of support from social structures together with the dynamics of power and privilege affect group experiences of acculturation (Sonn & Lewis, 2009). In terms of governance, policy and best practice the SA government has initiated much needed input on support for IS.' Consider that the DHA's (2017) Draft Policy Framework for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in South Africa sets guidelines for the state and institutions to be more inclusive of IS by providing appropriate support services, including "study visas applications, on-campus administrative support and advice regarding registration, housing, academic support, counselling, social and cultural activities" (DHA, 2017, p. 16). However, in reality, student experience during registration has not improved over the years. The negative issues surrounding registration at the campus is a grave area of concern. However, why has the institution not remedied the process? In the main, this relates to supply and demand. As a prestigious institution, there is an oversupply of applications. This means that the students are in need of the institution rather than the converse. This is true of *ivy league* institutions, where students are placed on waiting lists – just to be accepted. The creation of scarcity offers ample room for poor service and marginalisation.

This study found spatial and academic access to be strong themes. This is evident by students' emotive language and emphasis on very descriptive adverbs in relating their experiences. These are findings which institutions, in dealing with IS should heed to and develop adequate responses to. However, I am mindful that SA is described as "a country which tries to embrace inclusive education against a background of educational segregation and exclusion" (Walton, 2013, p.2). To this end, IS experiences during registration may not be peculiar only to them but may be shared by local students as well.

4.3 Cost of studies and in/exclusion

A common thread through this study is the layered nature of in/exclusion. Cost of studies is a rather *layered* form of exclusion. Respondents had varying articulations about fees, based on their political background. White IS and non-SADC students seem to *bear the brunt* of exclusion. For students from SADC countries UCT fees are structured in a manner, which embraces inclusion. As discussed in chapter two, the main objectives of the 16 member SADC is to achieve economic development, peace and security, and growth, alleviate poverty. The aim is to enhance the standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration (see chapter one).

In this regard, the aim of the community is to support each other in trying to rebuild the various nations post the era of colonialism. SADC students pay the full course fees plus R3 750 as an admin fee. Non-SACD students pay the course fee plus faculty international term fee (ITF) plus a non-refundable administration fee of R3 750. This equates to an undergraduate IS paying R90 000 for the year of study vis-à-vis R45 000 (average fees) for a South African student (UCT, 2019 fees). In this regard, members of the SADC countries are assisted in achieving academic success. However, this may be construed as *selective inclusion,* as charging non-SADC IS inflated fees may be regarded as exclusionary. The exorbitant difference in fees for IS may be viewed as a barrier to entry and as a cash-cow for the institution. Comments regarding fees ranged from being *exclusionary and unfair* to *inclusionary and fair*. In the following instance, the student from Kenya (non- SADC) had to pay significantly more than a Tanzanian (SADC) student. Furthermore, the exorbitant deposit required by the institution disadvantaged the sponsor.

> ***having to make the payment was a bit of an issue because my dad did not have the twenty-two thousand that was required with my –*** *for me to register at the time.* ***(C, DRC)***

> ***Cos my cousin is Tanzanian and she pays like R40 000 less than I do****. I know there's a chance to pay less, but I don't know.* ***I had to pay R75 000 deposit before I could register*** *– which was really hard for me and my dad. Cos he is an entrepreneur and sometimes things are good and sometimes things are not so good* ***(G, Kenya)***

The inconsistency pointed to in the above quote lies in the fact that both Kenya and Tanzania are developing countries located in Africa, yet the fees vary. This sentiment is expounded on, as follows:

> *Oh okay, there we go.* ***I feel it's a little bit aggressive because we are all Africans****, if they would charge students from Europe – from outside Africa more, I wouldn't complain but because we are all Africans I think we should try to uplift each other as a continent, that's how I feel.* ***(M, Kenya)***

This relates to the idea of decolonising academic institutions by granting access to previously disadvantaged students. While in a sense this calls for preferential treatment of 'Africans,' the student feels justified in excluding white IS from paying lower fees. Consistent with this view is that "decolonization should aspire at the very minimum to restore or create a reality where racialized subjects could give and receive freely in societies founded on the principle of

receptive generosity" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007 p.262). This receptive generosity is what students from SADC countries benefit from when studying in South Africa. However, the message being sent out by the institution is that *all* Africans are welcome, but some are more welcome than others.

Another issue relates to IS being viewed, as *cash cows*.

> *The fees are exaggerated. It is not affordable-* ***it's like they are crooking us.*** *Overseas, they charge only one amount. Here the price is doubled (S, Amsterdam)*
>
> *like "sir, I cannot guarantee or I cannot hold the spot for your daughter because we have a lot of international students coming in or trying to register with the money.* ***So I can't keep a spot for your daughter when someone else is coming in with the money" (M, Kenya)***
>
> *Yes that's great cos I feel like we are* ***mostly strangers or aliens*** *here and also another thing, most opportunities, like bursaries or internships are meant for South Africans – so international students miss out on these opportunities.* ***We are overlooked because they think we are just passing through after taking our money (A, Mauritius)***

In this regard, overt power is exerted on the student who feels marginalised based on affordability. From the IS' perspective, they are regarded as cash-cows with limited privileges. However, as mentioned in chapter one, SA universities are cash-strapped and over- populated. There is therefore preferential treatment for IS with cash deposits. For students hailing from African countries, the exorbitant fees seem exclusionary. However, for white IS, who enjoy the benefit of the favourable monetary exchange rate, fees are not as exclusionary.

Earlier in this section, I discussed how power and privilege work as enablers to inclusion. The following quote from an American student shows how financial power acts to promote access into the institution. Furthermore, she does not mind paying the additional levy charged to non-SADC students.

> ***As an American student I am much more advantaged coming to UCT*** *than other students* ***because the dollar is doing great****. So I can* ***pay that sum, once off****. As an American, it's still more affordable, I am able to afford that and I definitely hope that the extra fee that is being charged is being used to offset the fees of students who otherwise wouldn't be able to afford it. And at the end of the day,* ***Americans***

> ***benefitted from apartheid which is the reason why so many students are unable to afford tertiary education.*** *So in an indirect way, the economy did well in the apartheid days cos of South Africa's relationship with the United States. Obviously, it wasn't our entire economy but we benefitted in many ways and obviously that had a knock-on effect* ***(G, USA)***

In addition to the issue of power and privilege is the comment on colonialism and apartheid. In essence, western countries have benefitted in many ways from apartheid and being charged the levy helps to compensate for the abuse of power in the previous regime. In this regard, consider the following comment from an Irish student, who believes that "*as an Irish student, I think it's fair to pay more, in order to help other poor students from black countries."* These white IS' acknowledgement of the power relations between white citizens and those of the developing world is an important step in addressing social justice issues which relate to student experience.

Whilst over 80 % of white IS were satisfied that the exorbitant fees paid by them was not exclusionary, one white IS from Norway, provided a different perspective on the issue:

> *We pay a lot of money – R104 000 versus locals who pay R42 000. Fee increases affect us most. I'm frustrated that I don't get value for money. This is supposed to be world class university, which charges the world but delivers an inferior experience.*

Previous differences between white IS versus African IS indicate privileges in terms of political, economic and cultural differences. For this Norwegian the issue of class and affordability is a key factor in the payment of fees. The *value for money* issue could relate to the poor service delivery experienced during the registration process (discussed earlier). Further, this excerpt highlights the common theme of the findings, in that while UCT is cloaked in academic excellence this student has an *inferior experience.*

Further to access, is the issue of academic and social participation, discussed in the next section.

4.4 Academic Participation, Social belonging and Resilience

- **What are the students' experiences academically and socially?**
- **How are the experiences of white IS similar or different to those hailing from other parts of the world?**

In this section I discuss the issues surrounding experiences of IS academically, their issues surrounding social interaction through the lens of in/exclusion and belonging.

4.4.1 Academic Participation

This section deals with the role of power in academic participation as well as issues of integration, acculturation and academic success.

4.4.1.1 Power and academic participation

In chapter two I discussed Bourdieu's view on how academic discipline has positions of relative dominance and subordination (Mendoza, Kuntz & Berger, 2012). Academic institutions comprise one competitive area where capital is employed so that agents (students, institutions) can enhance or protect resources (Mendoza, *et al., 2012).* Bourdieu's *fields of power* or structured arenas of conflict (Swartz, 1997) is a social space with:

> *a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct interactions among the agents* (Bourdieu 1985, p. 724).

This study suggests that the campus of UCT (both physical and academic) represents a *field of interest.* Swartz (1997, p.10) in theorising culture and power, opines that "actors by and large 'mis-recognize' how cultural resources, processes, and institutions lock individuals and groups into reproducing patterns of domination, the task of sociology is to unveil this hidden dimension of power relations." Herein lies the transformative nature of this study. The comments of IS below speaks to the patterns of domination and power relations:

> *Decolonized education will never be decolonized for me because I'm not from South Africa and the people here that teach me or that lectures me, most of them are White South African males* ***(C. Namibia*)**.

This quotation resonates with the issue of power and coloniality. While the SA students are challenging the colonial issues surrounding UCT, this IS cannot identify with this struggle as she is an outsider. The other issue of interest is the perception that most of her lecturers are SA white males who represent colonialism and associated issues of dominance.

> *it's kinda normal for some people, when they come to the university, to feel that they cannot approach lecturers because they are intimidated, because of the power, what is this –* ***the power relations between the lecturer and the student****.* ***(M, DRC)***

While the power issue between student and academics is common to both IS as well as host students, language and socio-cultural barriers between IS and host academics adds a further dimension to the power issue. This is also evident in the following comments:

> *You realize, sometimes you sit and the lecturer is talking and you tend to ask,* ***"what is he saying?"*** *Luckily, they always give notes and stuff, so you go read but listening wasn't that easy for me* ***(B, Cameroon)*** *and*
>
> *I don't think that in first year level they consider that* ***people are from different backgrounds. Academic backgrounds, that is****. Like in Maths, ya, the lecturer will be like, "I'm sure you've done this in high school, in grade six or something." But I haven't done that cos our system was entirely different* ***(G, Kenya)*** *and*
>
> *Wow, so* ***firstly I don't have internet at home*** *– so the blended learning was kinda hard for me and also I rely on the labs, etc to work, so ya this was a problem for me.* ***(A, Mauritius)***
>
> *one my professors who is white Afrikaans, he said some quite problematic things and* ***it wasn't just racism, it was also like sexism mixed with racism (N, Zimbabwe)***

In the main, African/ Asian students face an array of academic issues ranging from lack of exposure to the internet to varying levels of mathematics and English literacy. What also emerges from the above quotes is that IS are perceptive about the nuances in the lecture venue. This is possibly due to their high expectations they have about a highly ranked institution.

The third key element used in attempting to define inclusive education describes inclusion as being "about presence, participation and achievement for all students" (Ainscow & Miles, 2009). While students are encouraged to enrol at UCT their academic participation and success has to be of paramount importance. In the main, students feel academically alienated and have to fend for themselves. This begs the question of what a *world class institution's* responsibility is towards participation and success. In chapter two I presented a graph which indicated that the success rates of IS were lower than that of white host students. Ranking should not only translate to the end-product of certification but by how the institution holds itself accountable for academic success.

4.4.1.2 Integration, acculturation and academic success

Chapter two described the acculturation process as "social interaction and communication response styles (both competency and ease/comfort in communicating) that individuals adapt when interacting with individuals and groups from other cultures" (Barry, 2001, p. 193). Power dynamics are often negotiated through transactional relationships of culture and acculturation (Sonn & Lewis, 2009). Examining migrants' experiences of in/exclusion is a complex issue in the acculturation process (Cicognani, et.al, 2018). Knowledge of and the facility with beliefs and values of the host culture is a key element of the behavioural model proposed by LaFromboise, *et al.* (1993).

Integration into the university system begins with the orientation programme held at the beginning of the year. Universities suffer huge dropout rates and failure rates in first year undergraduate studies. In the main, this relates to the huge gap between schooling and HE. Orientation to HE is one of the key elements in assisting students to acculturate to HE and in passing academically. In this study, at least half of the respondents had issues with orientation:

> *I had to fight the system. It is very superficial. There is no social orientation, we don't get socialised... no teambuilding... we basically have to find our own feet (R, Norway)*
>
> *Orientation was very romanticised. We went to places in groups, like you know you feel safe as Americans – you stick together. But it makes it difficult to mingle with other students. (M, USA)*
>
> *Orientation was with international students only. What good is that? It's important to have orientation with South African students as well. Although they had freshers braai's and parties, we had to buy pricey tickets (N, Cameroon)*

On the one hand IS are in need of *special* care in terms of their special needs as visitors in SA. However, evidence points to the orientation programme being *superficial* and alienated from other SA students. Although the above represents fifty percent of the experiences of IS, at least fifteen percent did not attend orientation due to delays in obtaining study visas and permits. The barriers to entry discussed previously, therefore compounds the negative student experience and ultimately their success rates. Of those who commented on orientation, twenty percent enjoyed the programme:

The orientation was a good programme. It was nice and helpful. I got to see a lot of Cape Town. (M, Mauritius)

It was good to meet fellow Americans at orientation, so we did not feel so homesick (G, USA)

Orientation is the first step in the acculturation process. In the next section, I delve deeper into student experiences.

What is evident by the following comments is that IS are ill prepared in the acculturation process due to lack of knowledge of the host nation's values, culture and language:

I did not want to speak out because ***I was ashamed of umm, I was ashamed of coming to another university*** *or to another country, in fact and coming all the way from Namibia to just come and fail.* ***So I was ashamed, I was isolated, I had no friends, umm I was drowning, I was failing.*** *I was staying so far away from campus, ya…* ***(C. Namibia)*** *and*

International students are ***generally prone to anxiety and depression if they get homesick.*** *My point is that IS students have mental health issues just be being in this new environment, unfamiliar, you know especially if they are undergrads and haven't really been on their own before.* ***So the fact that student wellness is under – capacity*** *is really directly going to affect those students when they are struggling with that.* ***(G, USA)***

In the above excerpts, the respondents use very emotive language to talk about their experiences – from being *"ashamed and isolated"* to being, *"prone to anxiety and depression."* What is clear is their inability to be successfully integrated into the society of the university results in low self-esteem and academic failure. Berry (1995, p.479) apportions this stress to a "lowered mental health status (especially confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptoms, and identity confusion." Several researchers have also explored how academic demands and perfectionism are also associated with elevated levels of acculturative stress (Sullivan, *et.al.*, 2015).

In trying to explain the adjustment of migrant students, Lysgaard proposed the U curve theory which consists of four stages, namely, honeymoon stage, culture shock stage, adjustment stage and the mastery stage (Mendenhall & Black, 1991). However, results in

this study indicate that students (90%) do not enjoy the *honeymoon* stage and fall immediately into the *culture shock stage*. Similarly, while Berry (1980) proposed the acculturation model with processes of *assimilation* as the first stage, it does not give sufficient attention to contextual issues of power or histories of colonialism and resistance (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). In supporting the effect of *habitus* on an unfamiliar field, Reay, *et al.* (2009, p.1105) argue that the resulting effects can generate "disquiet, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty."

Another issue experienced in the lecture venues relates to **code switching** where academics switch from one language to another. Although this issue was problematic for only 20% of the respondents, it is significant from an academic governance/ policy perspective in that the language of instruction at UCT is supposed to be English. A further consideration is that the country has 11 official languages. Consider the following excerpts in support of this issue:

> *Ya, Ya. Recently, my Sociology lecturer. My lecturer is a PhD person and he did research in Khayalitsha. So predominantly, Khayalistsha is Xhosa. And because we had Xhosa speaking people in the class**, he then spent maybe five, ten minutes speaking in Xhosa**. (C. Namibia**) and*
>
> *Another time, I was talking with someone in the lab and **the Prof came and started speaking Afrikaans, Afrikaans.** I was just standing there not knowing anything. **It made me feel like a drop of water in oil.** They are prof – they should know. I said something to the post doc – we were all working together in a lab. When she want to tell him something she speaks in Afrikaans – **only three of us there**. That day I was like – are u sure that you have to speak that other thing. They said "yes." You know that we don't understand that you speak that – they just laughed **(G, Kenya).***

This experience relates to exclusion and marginalisation based on language. This can be a subtle or overt tool in exclusion. It becomes overt when lecturers speak openly in class, in mother tongue languages in the presence of IS. However, given the history of the South African education system, local black students may be able to better understand concepts in their mother tongue - in this case Xhosa. In the second scenario, the student felt *"like a drop of water in oil."* In this case, the exclusion was blatant as there were only three students in the class. Furthermore, the lecturer as a professor and a learned academic should have been more cautious in his use of exclusionary language. Juxtaposed to experiences of African students, white IS reported having positive experiences.

As an international student, I did not have any different issues. The convenor of my course is actually from England, so I think that helped me a lot and she also taught the first course that I took ***(G, USA)***

In this instance, the student who is a white IS, was able to use her socio-cultural capital in the form of her convenor a fellow white, to garner support for her success.

4.5 Social Belonging

Social interaction is an important aspect of IS' experience and supports academic success. In this study, issues of xenophobia, language and student protest action were highlighted as avenues for exclusion and marginalisation.

4.5.1 Xenophobia

In contextualizing xenophobia, Crush and Ramachandran (2009) highlight that migrants are stigmatized by emphasising the threat they present. It is furthermore a social issue which contributes to marginalisation and/ or exclusion of migrants in social settings. The prejudice and discrimination spawn social and psychological stress in IS which in turn influence their identities, sense of belonging and resistance to discrimination (Ladbrook, 2009; Cicognani, *et al.*, 2018). UCT, as a popular choice for IS, is a melting pot of cultures wherein there are power differences resulting in terms such as, *mainstream, ethnic*, *minority*, etc. (Berry, 1997). The following comments are based on the dilemma of difference:

"Umm, where are you from? What are you doing here? ***When are you going back?"*** *And that last question, when you tend to not know when you are going back or you don't show signs about when you are going back. Some will openly tell you,* ***"No, you have to go back."*** *So, you guess what I am trying to say? So those types of things make me feel* ***like I don't feel like associating with this group or people*** *cos they don't seem welcoming* ***(G, DRC)*** *and*

They don't necessarily know how to address – ***it's easy for them to exert that kind of hatred towards someone who is not from South Africa by saying, "you're a foreigner, you don't belong here.*** *Why did you have to come here? Why didn't you go to institutions in your own country?* ***(C. Namibia)*** *and*

> *Then the prof said,* ***"there are already too many Cameroonians here." He said, "I'm kidding."*** *But how can you speak like that. We international students do not speak like that.* ***Colonialism is over (J, Cameroon)***

Once again the issue of belonging and acceptance is highlighted by questions surrounding the origins of IS (predominantly African), their present status in the country as well as an insistence for them to return home. In terms of in/exclusion, this is consistent with Kabeer's (2000) description of "problematic inclusion,… or 'hard-core' exclusion" (as cited in Sookrajh *et al.,* 2005. p.4). Labelling of individuals and groups as '*you*' is also associated with racism, sexism and oppression of minority groups. These "attitudes, prejudices, and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" is defined as *xenophobia* by the ILO, IOM & OHCHR (2001, p.2). There is the perception that hosts are not welcoming and in extreme cases, IS are blatantly told that they do not *belong*. In this regard, inclusive education aims to achieve is a sense of "belonging to the same community, perceiving another as a worthwhile being, or discerning any thread of connectedness creates bonds, even with strangers" (Opotow, 1990, p.7). In the last quotation, the lecturer *jokes,* rather insensitively, about Cameroonians not being welcome in SA. This points to the perception that she is not *worthwhile or belonging.* The student rightly remarks about the professor's colonialist mentality.

In aligning with the theoretical framework of this study, xenophobia must be viewed through the lens of power. On the one hand, SA students feel powerless in their struggle for the decolonisation of the academic institution. In their frustration to see change within the institution they turn on the *stranger,* the *other* who they may view as being obstacles to their cause. Xenophobia is a topical issue which is often avoided in academic arenas. It is hoped that this study will provide a necessary stimulus for further studies with IS and international staff at academic institutions in SA.

Of interest in this study are the experiences of white IS which are converse to those of African students. This points once again to the layered perceptions of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation. The following comments indicate a greater acceptance of these students.

> *I think it's not like you are not welcome, but* ***as an American international student, I was more welcome into different groups.*** *Because I was different from everyone. Groups are based on race and class at UCT* ***(G, USA)*** *and*

> *For us from Anglo-Saxon countries we have very different things that we have to adapt to, compared to students from black countries. For me the* ***adjustment has been a lot easier than a lot of other people I've spoken to****. There's generally a feeling that* ***we are treated better – people want to assist us more****. There's just a lot of everyday racism that I benefit from. At the university there is the sense that we are paying more and so if we have a good experience, more will come* ***(N, Ireland)***

In the chapter on power and colonialism, I discussed the idea of the *coloniality* of the mind. Although these comments represent a small percentage of the sample, it is worthy of focus in a transformative study. The *better treatment* received by white IS points to how the minds of the democratic host nation may still be shaped by influences of colonialism. The comments above speak to the layered nature of inclusion in terms of how white IS are treated. In essence the view is that western, white students are superior (in terms of wealth, education, culture, etc.) to African/ Asian students. There is therefore a deeper respect and acceptance of Western IS. Consider McNay's (1999, p. 99) assertion:

> *Bourdieu claims that large-scale social inequalities are established not at the level of direct institutional discrimination but through the subtle inculcation of power relations upon the bodies and dispositions of individuals.*

Although McNay's interest is in the field of feminism, I extrapolate the notion of the *subtle inculcation of power* to explain the opposing treatment of African vis-à-vis the white counterparts. The *disposition of individuals* relates to the material and financial wellbeing of students. This further relates to Femia's (1981) argument that hegemony sometimes operates indirectly to shape the way society perceives reality. The hegemony referred to above relates to the manner in which colonisation has left indelible imprints on the minds of the SA host students. In this case, host students have become the *oppressor* to the African IS. This relates to the section on power (discussed earlier in this chapter) and the calls to decolonise the mind. Another powerful tool in exclusive practices is language.

4.5.2 Language and exclusion

Language, whether written or verbal, can have implications for exclusion and marginalisation. As discussed previously, terminology used to describe IS (previously known as 'foreign students') points to the *otherness* of students. The notion of *us* versus *them,* leaves room for exclusion and marginalisation. On the issue of power and language: "knowledge…

cannot be detached from language; languages are not just 'cultural' phenomena in which people find their 'identity'" (Mignolo, 2003, p.269. cited in Maldonado- Torres, p.242). Similarly, Dr Max Price, the former vice chancellor of [UCT] on describing the culture of UCT, remarks that "what we aspire to be, are the Ivy League universities" (cited in Hendricks, 2018, p.30). Written and verbal communication in an academic setting may lead to significant drawbacks in participation and success. The following excerpts highlight issues surrounding the language barrier:

> *I was very isolated, umm when I came. I did not know who to speak out to for help, umm. I did not know how to ask questions because when I came here, and I'm like oooh* ***these people speak English in such a high****, you know on such a high level that I* ***was so intimidated*** *to go up to someone and ask them in my Namibian accent what it is that I needed from them and I was actually very timid to go up to someone and say that "hey, I dunno what I'm doing or who do I go speak to if I wanna change a course?"* ***(C. Namibia)***

In this instance, the student from Africa feels *"intimidated*" due to her accent which she perceives as a barrier to communication. The low self-esteem due to the poor command of English leads to self-exclusion or marginalisation. In other instances, where IS want to belong and participate, they are excluded by language barriers. Language may therefore be seen as a soft power against marginalised individuals.

> *I definitely don't feel like I'm part of the culture – the main reason is that even when you try to come closer, the fact that you don't share the same culture, you don't come from the same country,* ***you don't speak the same language, they immediately see you as an outsider and they put you aside (B, Cameroon)***

> *I've been in groups of people who maybe speak the same language, like Xhosa and it comes to a point where – so they don't realize that I'm different, so when they start speaking in Xhosa, I'm like,* ***"sorry, I don't understand." Then you see like there's this distance like, then you realise that you are not welcome there. (G, Kenya)***

> *It's like when South African students get together, they exclude you – especially when they speak in Xhosa cos I happen to surround myself with a lot of Xhosa people. Umm I find it extremely disrespectful when people do that because they do know that I*

was not born here. ***You're not Black enough because you don't speak a Bantu language. (N, Zimbabwe)***

I think that White South Africans are more open to Black international students. You can easily speak with White South Africans. ***If you don't speak a Black language like Xhosa, then they don't engage – it's frustrating (J, Cameroon)***

I did not understand and she did not understand me at all and I had to repeat myself like so many times, so that was quite difficult… *they were not very welcoming or helping… due to the fact that in Mauritius we barely speak English and everything is written and is in English, but we never speak it –* ***so that was kinda like a barrier when I came here (A, Mauritius)***

So the French person might have the idea solved, but they cannot express it in English. *They then feel de-valued cos they cannot share their opinion with the English speakers. SO they feel,* ***"now I'm dumber," they frustrate themselves – "like oh, I can't share my idea." (G, DRC)***

In the excerpts above, students' use of words and phrases such as "*outsider, exclude, disrespectful, barrier"* and "*not welcome there,"* point to feelings of overt exclusion. In this regard, students feel powerless and unwelcome. In the above scenario's the IS inability to effectively communicate in the hosts' language leaves them with a low self-esteem and ultimately marginalised.

For white IS, the issue of language barrier is not as problematic. This view is evident in the following quotes from white IS who encountered a group of local students using an African language:

They were not shutting down conversations, ***it was not uncomfortable*** *it was just like – oh this is a new perspective. I don't know of if people were more receptive to me cos I was an American international student.* ***(G, USA)***

Students often used words and slang that I didn't know yet and I would just kinda say "what's that mean?" People think it's funny. ***I definitely picked up a lot of things.*** *Like yesterday, I was out with friends and somebody did something surprising and I was like "ya sis".* ***And they thought that was really funny****. So I definitely picked up a few things.* ***(G, USA)***

What is evident in the above comment is that white students seem to be more resilient, confident and adaptable in the South African cultural landscape. This is evident from phrases such as, "*it was not uncomfortable*," and "*I definitely picked up a lot of things."* This is due to her command of the English language and her exposure to various cultural groups at home and abroad. Instead of excluding herself, the IS sought to embrace the challenge and learn the local verbal expressions. This particular student was well-travelled and was very confident during the interview. This is consistent with the view that *habitus* has a bearing on lived experiences and assists white students in engaging over the stakes, rewards and rules of the game with the hope of achieving *the good life* (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010). Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992, p.127) *fish in water* theory (discussed in chapter 2), also has a bearing on how white students are able to acculturate easier and feel at home. For students whose first language was not English, I had to often repeat questions using simpler words. As discussed in chapter two, the power of language is a critical habitus for IS as it represents symbolic capital which is beneficial to the user (Bourdieu, 1986). When students do not possess the legitimate language, they are disadvantaged academically and socially. IS mobility as a social practice, is shaped by social *field, habitus* and capital of the various social actors in an academic setting (Tran, 2015). Apart from exclusion and marginalisation due to language barriers, UCT has been characterised by student protest action, which further added to exclusionary practices.

4.5.3 Student protests and exclusion

Student protests at UCT have centred on calls to decolonise the university as well as the related #feesmustfall campaign, which called for a zero percent increase in fees. In terms of the decolonising of the institution, students engaged in the #Rhodesmustfall protest, which drew attention to western colonialist influence on the university's buildings and statues. This highlighted Molefe's (2016, p.36) assertion that "South Africa in 2015 is a white supremacist state or that white privilege explains the racial inequities in access to and success at universities." From an IS experience there has been expressions of layered exclusion in terms of student mass action. In the main, IS seem to be encouraged to be part of the movement but are excluded at other times. Consider the following comment:

> *They also left us international students out of the protests cos like we are not South Africans – it's not like we are not suffering with fees. They did not ask us to join them, not really, no* ***(G, Kenya)***

This first layer refers to complete exclusion of IS from the #feesmustfall campaign. What is evident is the 'us' versus 'them' binary seen in the phrase "*cos like we are not South Africans…"* It is for this reason that IS were not invited to be part of the struggle. The emotive use of *"suffering"* indicates a deep-seated emotional pain associated with that of the SA student. Another layer refers to the grey area of being black or white depending on the situation. In essence IS' views are only considered in relation to skin colour in a specific context. Consider how this IS experiences variations of exclusion on opposing binaries based on skin colour.

> *yes, we do experience exclusion on a broader spectrum.* ***And also with the protests, you know, you are not black enough to support this because you think that white people should not be blamed for everything****. Or, you're not Black enough because you don't support the ideas of some of the political members from a particular political party* ***(B. Cameroon).***

Another type of exclusion relates to *self-exclusion,* where IS are unable to participate in student mass action based on regulatory restrictions. For example, this American student expresses her willingness to participate in the #feesmustfall campaign but was restricted by the conditions of her visa when confronted with the possibility of the exams being cancelled.

> *As an international student, I spoke to other international students who felt that we wer kinda* ***marginalized around the protests.*** *When people wanted to cancel exams, they were like "****I agree with feesmust fall, but I can't stay, I have a visa."*** *And South Africans would be like: "oh yeah we hear you." But they didn't actually take that message into account* ***(G, USA)***

Of interest as well, are the responses from host students who cannot empathise with the plight of IS. In this regard IS' feel marginalised due to their inability to participate in mass action with host students but also feel excluded due to non-acknowledgement of their restrictions. This resonates with moral exclusion whereby "individuals or groups are perceived as outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply" (Opotow, 1990, P.1). Consider the following comments on the issue of the SA Black struggle for the fees must fall campaign:

> *… **free education will never be free to me – never**. I will still pay those interest rates because I am not from here and I will never support the movements cos they are very patriarchal first – **cos it's always the black men leading the forefront of a strike** ummm, and it's very … South Africans will only need you at that time because they want your support **(C. Namibia)***

While protest action generally serves to unite students in a common cause, the calls to decolonise UCT had the opposite effect for IS. Decolonisation of UCT should be "a multifaceted transformation project committed to overcoming the legacy of apartheid and colonialism in the university system - and to make UCT a home to all" (Pijoos citing a UCT spokesperson, 2018). Whilst the idea of making UCT a "home to all" is encouraged, it is ironic that student protest action had the effect of marginalising IS due to their *otherness*. In summary, Freire (2005) in a *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* has an interesting view on the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor. For "as long as they live in duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor… The pedagogy of the oppressed is an instrument for their critical discovery that both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanisation" (p.48). In this regard, host South African students, who themselves are historically oppressed, become an instrument of oppression to IS. The next section discusses how IS are able to acculturate and become resilient.

4.6 Exclusion and resilience

This section attempts to answer the following research question:

- **How do students negotiate their experiences if they feel excluded and/ or marginalized?**

The preceding sections in this chapter highlighted the experiences of students during application, academically and socially. Evidence points to issues of exclusion and marginalisation during the process of visa application and the enrolment process. Post these processes students voiced their experiences of in/exclusion and/ or marginalisation academically as well as socially. However, the layered nature of in/exclusion and marginalisation is underscored by subtle nuances and overt differences in experiences of white IS, vis-à-vis those hailing from African and Asian descent. In this section, I examine the ways in which students are able to negotiate their feelings and experiences of marginalisation and become more resilient. All participants indicated their ability to

acculturate and adapt to the South African academic and social environment. However, I do acknowledge that there may be many IS who have terminated their studies and have left SA due to homesickness, stress and inability to cope.

Resilience is in this study is seen through the conceptual framework of acculturation where students are able to *self-include* or *self-marginalise*. One of underlying foundations of resilience and coping is the socio-cultural capital students bring with them. This capital enables migrants to benefit from knowledge of social structures and rules through social networking and cultural practice (Swartz, 1997; Portes, 1998). Socio-cultural capital which IS bring to the new setting, assists them in engaging over the stakes, rewards and rules of the game with the hope of achieving 'the good life' (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010). Resilience also resonates with Giddens (1984, pp.15, 257) who conceives of power as having a "transformative capacity" or "the capacity to achieve outcomes." IS are therefore able to empower themselves. In this study, I suggest that socio-cultural capital assists in building resilience in IS. The broad themes of academic and social resilience emerged.

4.6.1 Academic resilience:

> *My first language is Sawili. So we used to speak English just in school only. I found it a bit challenging here in the lectures, ya the accents. Like if it's a white lecturer, like it used to take me some time to understand what it is they are saying* ***and listen and hear each and every word they say. So I would just talk to another students to just give me their notes for me to understand what is going on. But after the first semester, I started getting stuff (G, Kenya)***

In this instance, the student has issues with accents of lecturers, which affects her academic success. However, she is able to use the capital of those in the group to enhance her understanding of the different accent until she was able to cope on her own. This is consistent with LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton's (1993) second, third and fifth dimensions of bicultural competence whereby IS establish social networks in both cultural groups by communicating effectively without losing one's own identity. In the following instances, students are more vociferous about their marginalisation.

> *And then after that I became* ***– I broke out of my shell and then I went up to lecturers*** *after class and I would tell them that actually I don't understand what it is that you tried to say earlier so can you please make it more, can you elaborate more on that subject. And, at other times,* ***I would raise up my hands in class and I would***

tell them that they should actually repeat themselves, *cos I actually did not get what it is that they actually said.* ***(C. Namibia)***

And then I raised up my hand and told him that, that in itself is very exclusionary because most of us don't speak Xhosa. *Yes, you have people in the class who are Xhosa users, but then you have people from Zimbabwe, like myself or you have people from Cape Town who just don't speak Xhosa – they speak English* ***(B, Zimbabwe)***

The excerpts above point to what the relatively powerless and marginalized ***can*** do – assisted by what others can do on their behalf (McGee, 2016). Empowerment is thus possible through enhancing agency of individual students and organised groups thereby creating a more inclusive student experience for themselves. Empowerment closely relates to the *'power to'* theory (Bourdieu, 1986) which in this instance, students are able to voice their feelings on their perceived injustice. Outside of the lecture halls, students are able to build resilience in social settings.

4.6.2 Social resilience:

I experienced criminalisation once *– I think it was in a shop and this guy said to me, "You guys"* ***and I said, "what do you mean by you guys?"*** *He said, "You guys from Congo or Nigeria, I don't care****…" I stood my ground and said, "you don't refer to me as 'you guys'.*** *I'm not from Congo or Nigeria – I'm from Cameroon and by the way, I'm African.* ***(B, Cameroon)***

Then they would come up to you and say, "my sister, we need your support, we need numbers because we are not happy with what is happening at the institution." ***Umm, then I would tell them, "I'm not your sister, I'm not. We are not biologically related.*** *We not related by surname, not by ancestors, we're not related. Secondly, you only call me your sister now and you only recognize me now cos you need something from me, but this entire time, I was identified as the foreigner* ***(L. Tanzania)***

Yeah campus itself, I've also had ***instances where a stranger just throws words at me where I just ignore,*** *but not common. I try not be alone****, I try to be in a group, or with a friend, or not walking at night alone.*** *– First as a woman and second is an international student, because the moment you are black and you don't speak a local language there might be hostility or something like that.* ***(M, Kenya)***

One of the central themes in this study is the issue of power – which in this case speaks to the *power to.* In the two excerpts, the IS are very vociferous about being labelled and stand up against members of the host nation. The power dynamics are related to labelling and profiling based on physical and cultural attributes. This is similar to the xenophobic attacks based on race and culture and relates once again to Wolff's (1950) rendition of the *stranger* or the *other* and the manner in which they are treated. In the second excerpt, the student feels used when the occasion suits SA students (for example, during the student protests) but feels otherwise marginalised. She is very vociferous about her non-participation in the student protest action. In the third excerpt, the IS chooses to *ignore* the comments made by hosts. However, what is significant about this type of resilience is that through the process of acculturation, IS are able to learn sufficiently enough about the host culture and build resilience instead of abandoning their studies and returning home. Resilience could also take on the form of acceptance and assimilation of local culture.

4.6.3 Resilience through Assimilation:

> *And also ya, I am have been having problems with the accents here and sometimes it would be quite hard to understand when people but other than that it is OK.* ***AT the beginning it was a little bit hard as I had to get rid of the Mauritian accent as people don't understand me but eventually, I got used to it (A, Mauritius)***
>
> *Well Swahili is like you know it has that French undertone, so, it's a very romantic language, so it's very nice to hear – but I don't feel excluded. You come as a Capetonian and you come into this environment where people do not speak English and Afrikaans – so yo actually have to adapt – you know?* ***Umm but I do think that if there was that language barrier that you should then as a newbee sort of try to learn or get involved (F, Congo)***

In both instances, the students try to fit into existing social and language requirements by acceptance and involvement. This speaks to Berry's (1980) integration and assimilation stages in the acculturation process. This relates to fourth and fifth dimensions of bicultural competence whereby IS have the ability to possess or willing learn culturally appropriate behaviour and establish networks in both cultural groups. In this regard, the white students with rich cultural capital may be less likely to be assimilated into cultures of developing

countries (Schwartz, et.al, 2010). In some instances, students may develop resilience through separation and marginalisation.

4.6.4 Resilience through Separation and Marginalisation:

Berry's (1980) third approach to acculturation is termed separation whereby each group of individuals maintain their own unique culture with minimal interaction. Consider the following excerpts from students hailing from Africa:

> *International students from Europe or whatever, they tend to "hey, you also not from South Africa."* ***So they try to find someone with whom we have something in common. So the thing I noticed about international students is that they tend to come more closer when they realise you are from outside South Africa*** *– they tend to see something* ***more in common*** *with you* ***(B. Cameroon)***
>
> *It's almost like that sense of we don't belong here – let's try to make the best what we have at the moment by –* ***We'll I have very close friends from Zimbabwe and when situations would come up like employment opportunities on campus or bursaries, bursary applications opening – we would always inform each other****. When we get together****, we talk about the horrible experiences we as other African nationals go through*** *her in South Africa cos we always identified as the other* ***(B. Zimbabwe)***

In both instances, there is an attraction of IS either to their own ethnic groups or to other IS in general. There seems to be a general empathy found in groups where information and opportunities are shared. In the second excerpt, IS find solace in confiding about their negative experiences in the country. In terms of psychological acculturation, which posits that minorities are absorbed into mainstream cultures, findings in this study suggest that this does not always occur as it may be resisted by IS as a minority group. This is consistent with Berry's (1997) assertion that the acculturation process is may differ where the sojourn is temporary in cases such as guest workers and IS. In this regard, separation may be self-directed in that IS may find solace and support in other IS to minimised feelings of alienation. Familiar culinary, linguistic or cultural practice may lead students to group together.

For the purposes of this study, I have combined Berry's *Separation* stage with that of the *Marginalisation* stage, which involves IS distancing themselves from other groups. Berry (2006) appends the marginalisation approach to a description of small groups of migrants who refuse to be part of the heritage and culture of the host nation. This view is contrary to

the type of marginalisation described in inclusive education where the process involves the exclusion of the *other* by the host group or society (described in detail in chapter two).

4.7 CONCLUSION

In attempting to answer the research question relating to the lived experiences of IS (access, participation and belonging), this study provided evidence of a nuanced view the role of power in inclusion. The findings give IS a voice to raise their grievances and challenges. Although voice has agency, I am mindful of the power dynamics in conducting research with a diverse population. The participants in this study comprised of students from various sub-groups of race, class, age ethnicity and sex. Voice then, is intrinsic to the individual only to the extent of culture, race and sex. While voice for white IS may be empowering, voice for a female African could be tokenistic as her challenges seem unending. Her voice then means that although someone is listening, very little will come of it.

The magnetic pull of UCT as a highly ranked institution built on the foundation of western academic colonialism is evident from responses by white IS as well as students hailing from Africa. In this regard, academic discipline has positions of relative dominance and subordination (Mendoza, *et al.*, 2012) where UCT has a position of dominance. Despite this magnetic attraction, physical access controlled by *gatekeepers*, such as the DHA and South African Embassies, is viewed as a barrier to inclusion. While students from SADC countries are deemed to be included through similar fees as the host nation, students from non-SADC countries view the inflated fees as exclusionary. However, white IS seem to have fewer issues with physical access and seem to command respect from embassies abroad. Critical realism seeks to examine the causal relationship between variables and to ascertain the underlying reasons for social phenomena. UCT's *ivy league* education relates to the *coloniality of power* in attracting students. Whilst the institution wears the cloak of inclusion, evident on its website, evidence of student experience speaks to hostilities rather than a welcoming atmosphere. Other issues of political access relating to visas, showcase a multi-layered experience of exclusion and marginalisation. Evidence points to the barrage of barriers faced by Africans and Asians as compared to white IS. It is not surprising then that the experiences of white IS seem to be more positive as they have fewer hurdles in accessing the academic and social aspects of UCT. Furthermore, their social-capital, in the form of access to technology and their language capital places them in a far better position than

Africans and Asians. An important point to consider is why IS (especially Africans/ Asians) come to SA to study – especially in light of the poor experiences of those who have come before. In aspiring for a better lifestyle for themselves, they are prepared to bear the pain of exclusion, xenophobic violence and power struggles with authority.

Push factors in migration related to the acquisition of socio-cultural capital. This relates to Bourdieu's (1986) view that education is used to acquire capital which becomes a marker of distinction. Berry's (1997) acculturation model adapted to signpost student academic and social adjustment. In terms of social adjustment, key issues relating to xenophobia, language barriers and student protest by the host nation were identified. The *fallist* movements described in chapter two, serves to alienate IS due to consequences of the institution delaying lectures and exams. These delays have an impact on study permits, visas and related costs. Calls for the involvement and inclusion of IS by host students is seen as superficial as it leads to *partial* and *temporary* inclusion. In determining how students cope with marginalisation, Berry's (1997) acculturation model was used to explain issues of academic and social resilience as well as resilience through separation and marginalisation. In summary, the findings locate students lived experiences through concepts of inclusion and power. However, these are evolutionary concepts which are primarily contextually driven. While access, participation and belonging are issues to all students, IS from African/Asian countries, seem to be most affected. In the next chapter, I will discuss the conclusions and recommendations based on my findings.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The final chapter of this study begins with an overview of the research, its aims and objectives, key issues in the literature review, conceptual framework, choice of methodology and a summary of the key findings. In essence, it describes and accounts for the degrees and differences in the experiences of IS. The recommendations which emerge, proposes a scholarly contribution to literature in the field of inclusive education, higher education and migration studies. The model draws on the theories discussed in this study and suggests practical ways through which IS can be more welcomed and included into host countries and academic institutions. As a point of departure, let us consider the following quote (found at the beginning of this thesis) in relation to the purpose of the study:

> *Superiority? Inferiority? Why not the quite simple attempt to touch the other, to feel the other, to explain the other to myself? Was my freedom not given to me then in order to build the world of the You? (Fanon, 1967, pp. 231 2).*

Fanon's (1967) *Black Skin, White Masks*, has multiple bearings on this study. In expounding on colonialism in Africa, he argues how native inhabitants relate to Western culture and education while fighting for liberation from colonialism. In this sense, students from Africa, while striving for economic liberation see UCT, a colonialist institution, as a means to an end. More importantly in this study, the quote above relates to how we view the *other*, the *stranger* in our society. This study therefore sought to reach out and give a voice to those who are marginalized, in order to create a better, unified world for all. Finally, it speaks to *superiority and inferiority*. This relates to how IS from more disadvantaged backgrounds are treated, vis-à-vis those from Western countries. As a highly ranked institution, UCT may have a *superiority* complex and may not sufficiently cater for the needs of IS. This is in light of the Draft Policy Framework of the DHA (2017) which recommends support services to IS in all aspects of their academic and social well-being.

5.1 An overview

As I processed the data of this study I became acutely aware of two conundrums. Why does UCT still encourage the recruitment and admission of IS whilst South African universities have a shortage of space for its own inhabitants? Secondly, why do IS still continue to flood applications at UCT? Upon reflection, I reverted to the introduction of this thesis wherein I argued that IS make huge academic contributions to the institution, especially in the realm of post graduate studies. IS also make valuable contributions to the highly skilled workforce in the country. Evidence from this study and others point to institutions and governments gaining the most, academically and economically. However, in reality research in this field seeks questions around the internationalization of education. For example, what are the main values which actors stand to gain the most from internationalisation? (Knight, 2004).

The second question relates to *why* IS still return to UCT despite their learned/ shared challenges? Evidence points to their desire to accumulate social capital in order to procure a better living standard for themselves and their families. They are therefore willing to endure hostile environments. This thesis sought to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of IS at UCT, a highly ranked university in the country and globally. Chapter one set the framework for the study, highlighting the value of the international student sojourn, the common global experiences of IS and the impact of migration and culture shock on migrant experiences. Closer home, I described the current crises facing HE in SA, with specific mention of the student *#fallist* movements and its resulting impact on the in/exclusion and /or marginalisation of IS. Chapter two discussed in detail how coloniality, decolonization and power were interrelated in university rankings. I also argued the role of socio-cultural capital in the acculturation process of migrant students and their ability to cope in the country. The section on inclusive education drew attention to the complexity of in/exclusion and the various interpretations associated with how inclusive education is implemented. Using critical grounded theory, I developed a conceptual framework around the data. The framework included issues of power, voice research, acculturation, social capital and inclusive education, which I used as a lens to view student experiences. In Chapter three, I argued for the choice of the methodology and its appropriateness for the nature of this qualitative study, the sampling method and data analysis. As this study relates to social justice in terms of inclusion, critical grounded theory and critical realism were used to describe in detail, how the data was gathered and processed. I also highlighted my role as the research instrument. Chapter Four discussed in detail the findings of this study which, was

benchmarked against the conceptual framework as well the theories of power, acculturation and in/exclusion.

The aim of this research was to explore the experiences of access, participation and belonging of IS at UCT.

5.2 Key findings

- Seductive power, colonisation and university rankings
  - Push factors in migrations
- Spatial/ academic access and belonging
  - Spatial access
  - Academic access
  - Cost of studies and in/exclusion
- Academic participation, social belonging and resilience
- Academic participation
- Power and academic participation
- Integration, acculturation and academic access
- Social belonging
  - Xenophobia
  - Language and exclusion
  - Student protests and exclusion
- Exclusion and resilience
  - Academic resilience
  - Social resilience
  - Resilience through assimilation
  - Resilience through separation and marginalisation

5.2.1 Seductive power, colonialism and university rankings

In considering the issues experienced by IS at UCT, it is arguable that the findings resonate with global migrant student experiences. However, the setting of a developing, previously colonised country with a very new democracy, adds nuances to student experiences. This is in keeping with the view of critical realism where, the world is differentiated and stratified. This is similar inclusive education not being binaries of who's *in or out* but is a rather complex issue. Nuances in experiences are mostly determined by the socio-cultural-political characteristics of the IS. Engagement of host nation students and staff with IS, also indicate a bias toward white IS.

This section provides an overview of how students are seduced by university rankings. In the main, students from global south countries see UCT as a well-established, highly ranked university - equivalent in stature to institutions in first world, western countries. Students from global south countries seek to acquire socio-cultural capital to fit into what is typically a western, global economic system. Education from a highly ranked university adds credibility to their accomplishments. As Erel (2010) contends, migrants validate their cultural capital through dominant, recognised institutions. The academic reputation of the university thus weighs over political power and wealth (Becher, 1989). Findings of this study are also consistent with Knight & McNamara (2015), who state that the key reasons for IS choosing their university were related directly to prestige and its international outlook. Castro-Klaren's (2008) argument about how the *coloniality of power* is manifest through classification and division of people by institutions – especially epistemic control by key role players in global education also supports the findings of this study.

This section is important in that explains how the institution has a magnetic pull on IS. The webpages of the institution are very vociferous in showcasing its academic integrity and the successes of its alumni. The identification of this seductive power is imperative to this study as it foregrounds the issue of access and participation. As Knight (2015, p.8) argues… "soft power is popularly understood as the ability to influence others and achieve national self-interest(s) through attraction and persuasion rather than through coercion, military force, or economic sanctions." While high rankings speak to academic rigour, it does not translate to student experience as a whole as students are disillusioned. Findings in this study are consistent with Brooks & Waters (2011) who report that students from China, India and Vietnam migrate to *world-class* universities seeking higher standards of education. Other studies on migrant students indicate that education is seen as a high priority for African migrant students as it is seen as a means to achieve future employment and upward mobility (Cassity & Gow, 2005; Naidoo, 2009). It is well documented that IS seek to study in more *westernised* countries for self-improvement, including language skills (Harrison & Peacock, 2010 in the UK; Reay, 2016 in Australia; Koelet & De Valk, 2016 in Belgium and Cicognani, et al., 2018, in Italy). Studies on IS in Australia indicate that the foreign credential in vocation education plays an important role in driving IS mobility (Tran, 2015). Research on IS in SA, indicate that SADC students choose the country due to government funding and employment, while non-African students enjoy the benefits of foreign exchange and tourism (Lee, *et al.*, 2018).

For white IS the lure of an experience abroad, sometimes through the *semester away* programme, as well as the relatively cheap cost of the experience seemed to be common thread. UCT is seen as a highly ranked institution, which compares favourably to the universities, back home. The student experience at UCT is therefore seen as a *study holiday*, with a chance to experience other cultures and destinations. The location of the campus in the beautiful tourist destination of Cape Town, provides ample sight-seeing opportunities (beaches, hiking trails, vineyards, shopping malls, student hubs, etc). Other studies indicate that the aspiration of travelling and spending time abroad may be considered as providing opportunities to create new identities and experiences through self-discovery (Atkins, 2002; Bagnoli, 2009; Brooks & Waters, 2011).

The findings on the seductive nature of UCT also points to how western hegemony is produced and sustained, through epistemologies prevalent in western academic institutions. This feeds directly into the capitalist world, which seeks out highly educated individuals who aspire to fit into the corporate culture. Capitalism therefore produces a self-sustaining system of recruiting, educating and employing *ivy-league* individuals. This resonates with what Pillay (2015) describes as *epistemic violence* (discussed previously). Indeed, *ivy-league* institutions have an average acceptance rate of 6%. It is not surprising that the average tuition fee for undergraduates is as high as US$ 51 924 per annum (tuition only) at *ivy-league* institutions in the US (Duffin, 2019). The attractiveness of IS coming to UCT to study is unquestionable from an economic sense, as average fees are a mere 10% of that of *ivy-league* institutions (see also chapter two). Potential research in this field could relate to *where* highly educated African IS migrate to after their studies. Do IS return to their home countries to make educational and economic contributions or do they seek employment opportunities in first world countries? Furthermore, there is opportunity to examine the academic and economic contributions made by IS in host countries, post their studies.

5.2.2 Spatial/ academic access and belonging

Access to education is one of the foundations of inclusive education. Literature in this study abounds with negative experiences of IS studying at western universities (see for example, Ambrosio, Marques, Santos & Doutor, 2017). Although much of the findings in this study resonates with previous research, data indicates a multi-layered dimension to physical access

into the country. Findings in this study point to dismal experiences by IS hailing from Africa, compared to positive experiences by white IS. In the main, I argue that the socio-cultural capital accumulated by white IS places them in a better stead, in terms of knowledge of the country and academics. Furthermore, physical access via embassies seem to be more fluid. This was viewed through the lens of westernised power white IS have, enabling them to earn the respect of staff at embassies and regulatory bodies. Africans/ Asians report horrendous anecdotes of their experiences of physical and academic access. Students are often viewed suspiciously – often associated with drug dealing and other crime. Lee, *et al.* (2018) on interrogating IS experiences in SA, remark that the burden of proof of non-criminal activities in applying for a study visa, rest solely with African IS. These findings are congruent with other studies which indicate that IS often view the process of obtaining visas and study permits as being punitive and act as barriers to inclusion (Ramphele, 1999; 2015 Haveman & Smeeding, 2006; Lee & Sehoole, 2015; Lee, *et al.*, 2018). As discussed in chapter two, while policy documents of the DHA (2016) speak to providing an efficient, seamless visas application process, evidence from IS points to contrary experiences – in the main for African/ Asian students.

In terms of access to academic institutions, studies suggest that students are generally dissatisfied with the issue of upfront fee payments and inflated fees for non-local students (Ramphele, 1999; Naidoo, 2017). In the UK, the University World News reports that thousands of IS who have been implicated in an English testing scandal, received letters revoking their visas and threatening deportation after investing all of their savings in education (Sharma, 2019). Studies conducted by Ojo (2009) indicate that IS viewed the paperwork and expenses surrounding study permits made access difficult. While there is rigorous support for inclusion in policy documents, implementation at grassroots is absent. In interrogating the experiences of African IS, McLellan (2009, p. 300) argues that:

> *There is something terribly wrong when almost all major policies accepted by a country and its HEIs preach and prioritize African cooperation, but AIS [African international students] continually experience discrimination and ill-will in direct conflict with those policies…there is a clear gap between what cooperative African policies commit the country to and how those commitments are being realized.*

There is thus conflicting notions of what inclusion should be – as determined by policy makers versus what IS expect and experience.

In Chapter one and two, I debated how borders delineate space and how this could be exclusionary. This is in keeping with the tenets of Inclusive Education which questions *who's in, who's out and how come?* Borders act to protect what is inside and to regulate the flow of people. In SA, borders seem to protect valuable resources (physical and economic) to ensure that previously disadvantaged black residents are not further disadvantaged. Borders act as a barrier to entry to African students, while white IS enjoy easy access. On the one hand, nations need to protect their citizens and resources, however critical theory examines the vast differences in living standards between *haves and have-nots.* One way to empower people in less fortunate countries is through education (Bourdieu, 1986). IS bring into the country far more that they remove. In many ways, this is a *win-win* situation for both hosts and IS. There is therefore a misalignment between the DHA and academic institutions in terms of recognising the value that IS add to the country. In this regard, the results of this study could be useful in highlighting the plight of IS to the DHA and other regulatory bodies.

5.2.3 Integration, acculturation and academic success

Language is a great form of capital and those who possess the command of English are at an immediate advantage. Command of the English language enables whites to acculturate easier than African students in terms of academic success and social integration. This resonates with Bourdieu's (1986) of the power of language in acquiring capital. In analysing the experiences of students in this section, I used the lens of power. In the main, the power relations which exist between IS and lecturers form a barrier to active academic participation. African students may not have the correct academic capital to fit comfortably into western academic content. Issues such as access to knowledge via the internet, has been cited as impeding factors in acquiring academic capital. In addition, their poor command of the English language further disadvantages them. This resonates with well-documented studies in the USA, which indicate that students experienced language barriers, difficulty in comprehending lessons and lack of familiarity with the academic systems (Naidoo, 2009; Sullivan, *et al.*, 2015; Gartman, 2016; Ambrosio, *et al.*, 2017). The *English Only* movement in the USA, placed restrictions on students from non-English speaking countries. This was viewed with connotations of disrespect or insult (Barker *et al.*, 2001 as cited in Schwartz, *et al.*, 2010). In some instances, code switching by academics further alienated IS. This is consistent with

findings where code switching by educators and lecturers resulted in IS being excluded from teaching and learning (Lin & Yi, 1997; Osman, 2009; Naidoo, 2009; Naidoo, 2017).

Whites on the other hand are able to engage with the academic content due to their academic capital. In this regard, whites are more proficient in English and are less likely to experience stress (Yeh & Inose, 2003; Schwartz, *et al.*, 2010). A similar study on the measurement of sociocultural adaptation in New Zealand, indicates that cross-cultural adaption for students with social and financial resources is less difficult (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Furthermore, students from western countries are able to empower themselves in local languages, knowledge of local culture, food, people, accommodation, etc. before they left their home countries (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Church, 1982 & Catalano, *et al.*, 2016). This assists them in the acculturation process and ultimately academic success. This resonates with Bourdieu & Wacquant's (1992) *fish in water* analogy where IS who are in tune with a social order are able to easily adapt to that environment.

Integration into university academic systems forms barriers to success for AS students as well. This is evident from the high drop-out rate of first year students at institutions. In the South African context, black students are still subject to apartheid school education in the form of overcrowded classrooms, lack of resources, lack of properly trained personnel, etc. In this light, integration and success in HE becomes extremely difficult. This research creates opportunities for further research, in terms of black student experience at universities in SA.

The results of this study are consistent with previous research on academic success of IS. While some studies indicate that IS lacked critical thinking skills and were treated with leniency (Robertson, *et al.*, 2000; Reay, 2016), other studies indicate that IS were academically superior to hosts (Dunne, 2009). Due to the nature of the mixed cohort of participants in this study, academic participation is varied. However, what is evident in this study is that IS who initially struggle academically are able to adapt and become successful. This research can be used as a springboard for a quantitative study on throughput/ success rates of IS.

5.2.4 Social belonging, marginalisation and inclusion

One of the basic requirements for Inclusive Education is a sense of belonging. In this section, there is evidence which points to deep levels of stress related to xenophobia, language barriers and student protests. These issues are seen as overt demonstration of power in the exclusion process. IS feel alienated when host students code switch thereby denying them

participation in social circles. Difficulty in adapting to local colloquial language and accents may lead to feelings of marginalisation (Robertson, *et al.*, 2000; Wang 2003; Sookrajh, Gopal & Maharaj 2005; Andrade 2006). While UCT's website and marketing is welcoming of ALL, actual lived experiences points to layers of in/exclusion. IS find themselves in a strange cultural and social environment, which leads to feelings of homesickness. The issues of isolation, homesickness and fear of failure is consistent with findings at universities internationally (Furnham and Bochner, 1982; Yeh & Inose, 2003; Vancluysen, *et al*., 2011; Williams & Johnson, 2011; Mukeredzi, 2019). Consider also comments by Reay, *et al.* (2009, p. 1105), who argue that when IS (habitus) encounters an environment which is strange, this could result in "insecurity and uncertainty." In addition, where there is absence of social capital and opportunities for members to exchange resources, there is greater hostility between migrants and hosts (Ward and Kennedy, 1999; Morrice, 2007; Hoehne, 2012).

In extreme cases, xenophobic comments made by the host society alienate IS, deepen the chasm between *us* and *them*. This could be regarded as the worst form of exclusion and marginalisation as it is often associated with violence in SA. In a research report which compares xenophobic violence across several countries in the world, Crush and Ramachandran (2009, p.16) report that "anti-foreign invective and verbal abuse is depressingly common on South African streets." In a similar study in Portugal, African students were overtly denied accommodation due to their race and ethnicity (Ambrosio, *et al.*, 2017). However, findings in this study point to racism/ xenophobia by black students in a predominantly black country, such as SA. This points to the issue of *otherness* instead of the historical race issue that is, black on black exclusion. These findings resonate with other studies at South African universities where IS experienced dissent due to xenophobia (McLellan, 2009).

Of greatest relevance in this study, is the effect of the *fallist* movement on exclusion. While IS are encouraged to participate in student mass action, they feel *used*, as host students require mass participation of students for their cause. IS also believe that *#feesmustfall* has no bearing on their struggle as it does not benefit them as outsiders. Furthermore, academic disruptions has disastrous implications for IS in terms of funding, accommodation, visas and study permits. Shut-down of institutions in the past has led to students being forced to vacate campus residences. This, places IS at immediate risk, with no alternate housing being

available. They are therefore forced to return home with consequential academic and economic loss.

Evidence in this study speaks to marginalisation on multiple levels. White IS feel more welcome and *special.* This is largely through their social capital they acquire through experiences and education back home. During interviews they seemed more composed and confident. This confidence enables them to approach host students and engage in social gatherings. Their relatively pleasant experiences in access into the country and into the university means that they have fewer barriers to overcome. This results in a more pleasurable experience for them. Their ease of access is facilitated by efficient embassies abroad, recognition of western qualifications and online access to information. Access to information via the internet enables them to know *what* is expected of them, before they leave home countries. For an African student, access to the internet may pose a problem. They are therefore reliant on information given to them at South African embassies in their home countries. They may also rely heavily on word-of-mouth information from friends and relatives who have come to SA in the past. What this means for institutions, is that a *one size fits all approach* cannot be used in supporting IS. Institutions often have assumptions that new students are *au fait* with processes and protocols by virtue of them being *adults.* The policy of the institution is often that students should reach out to international support offices for assistance, instead of staff reaching out to students. This is in light of the cultural differences between whites and Asian/Africans. While the former are more outspoken and are able to approach strangers for assistance, the latter group are more reserved – often wearing the pain of exclusion in exchange for access.

These findings are consistent with Portes (1998) and Ager & Strang (2010) who claim that social capital is essential in building bonds between migrants and hosts. In the case of African/ Asian students, the absence of such opportunities leads to hostility and exclusion (Morrice, 2007). Findings in this study support research conducted in Ireland where IS had varying experiences based on their socio-cultural capital. Furthermore, research in the field of acculturation of IS, fails to recognise differences between students (O' Reilley, Ryan & Hickey, 2010). Despite the challenges faced by IS, they are able to negotiate their exclusion and marginalisation, often building resilience. Models of acculturation indicate an initial *honeymoon phase (see Oberg, 1960; Lysgaard, 1955).* Berry's *(1980) Acculturation Model* proposes *assimilation* of the host culture as the first step in the acculturation process. Findings in this study point to instances where IS experience a phase of ***rejection***, firstly

when subjected to barriers to entry and poor service from government departments. Secondly, when they are faced with xenophobic behaviour. Whites are more likely to *assimilate* into the new culture – often wanting to experience new food and culture. South Africa's deep political history of apartheid is globally known. Whites therefore want to visit a typical *township* to experience black culture. This is similar to Oberg's (1960) theory where everything is intriguing in the *honeymoon phase.*

5.2.5 Exclusion and resilience

One of the key questions in this research relates to how IS are able to react to marginalisation and exclusion. In chapter four I used the acculturation model to view student resilience in the academic and social space. When accosted with derogatory words or when host students code-switch, IS stand up against this exclusionary behaviour. Similarly, IS stand up against academia in the lecture venues. Sometimes IS become resilient through assimilation of host culture while at other times they build resilience through separation and marginalisation. In this regard, inclusion education policies should cater for those who do not want to be integrated into the campus society. Studies in the US indicate that African-American students who rejected the assimilation of values of the host culture, were also academically successful (Fordham, 1988 as cited in LaFromboise, *et al.,* 1993). This is consistent with the findings of Brown (2009) who posits that students empower themselves in situations where they may feel excluded or marginalized. Similarly, Cicognania, *et al.*'s (2018) studies on the experiences of Morrocan youth in Italy, noted that they are able to resist "oppression by protecting cultural values and practices and developing an 'identity of resistance'" (p.109). In effect, communities characterised by rich capital, leads to members feeling emotionally supported, confident and integrated (Harper & Kelly, 2003; Ager & Strang, 2010; Deuchar, 2011; Ambrosio, *et al.,* 2017).

Resistance to exclusion by IS is an interesting issue, noting that the drop-out rate for host students is significantly high. In the main, local students drop out of university due to their inability to meet the academic demands of HE. In essence, the gap between secondary schooling and the demands of a university curriculum is too vast. IS, especially those hailing from poorer countries, have too much to lose in terms of economics and expectations from their families back home. They are therefore constrained in this manner and have to be resolute in being academically successful. White IS on the other hand, are free to return home

at any point and start afresh with their studies at an institution of choice. I will now examine the significance of the findings.

5.3 Significance of this study

This study makes a valuable contribution to literature on migration studies, issues of inclusive education, social justice for minority groups of people and recommendations for academic institutions/ regulatory bodies, to be more vigilant about access, belonging and participation. As Knight (2004) contends, internationalisation is treated as an *ad hoc* to regular teaching and learning, instead of being a pivotal pillar. The conceptual framework offers a lens with which to view in/exclusion. The framework depicted as three circles (see *fig iii*, page 68) representing Inclusive Education, Critical Theories of Power and Acculturation. This study found that student experiences were best described by the intersection of the three circles. While the conceptual framework emanated from the review of current literature, the Thematic Overview (see *fig ix*, page 126) emanates from the findings of the study. The theme of "Power, Colonialism and University Rankings" relates to the "Critical Theories of Power." To this end, this study addresses the gap in knowledge, using the Theories of Power as it applies to the colonialist past of SA and especially to that of the seductive power of UCT in attracting IS. This is visible in the power of university rankings in drawing IS to UCT.

The other component of the conceptual framework, relates to Inclusive Education. This relates to "Spatial and Academic Inclusion" seen in the Thematic Overview of the findings. The findings confirms and adds valuable insights into the problematic nature of defining Inclusive Education. The role of the #fallist movements and xenophobia towards IS, adds value in how institutions can better prepare for possible ways in which IS may be ostracized.

With regards to the theory of "Acculturation," discussed in the Conceptual Framework, the theme of "Resilience and Self Inclusion" assists in understanding how IS are able to acculturate to student life at UCT. Students are able to become resilient over a period of time, choosing to self-include.

Recommendations from this study provides practical and feasible ways in which institutions and controlling bodies can best serve IS. Furthermore, it calls for an acknowledgement of the issue of difference and the need to celebrate it. Apart from the economic benefits IS add to the diversity of the culture, providing competitive advantages in international relations, which enhances the society's adaptability (Berry, 1997). Cross-border flow of knowledge and culture is vital in building relationships between countries and reducing prejudice between

people Münch, & Hoch (2013). The recommendations made in this chapter can be used by academics and institutions to closely examine policy and practice. As LePeau (2015) suggests, that in order to build inclusive communities, faculty, staff and all stakeholders need to examine multiple aspects of campus life concurrently. Recommendations can also be used by South African Embassies, the DHA and other regulatory bodies, such as the CHE, DOE and HEQC to develop policies. Though the thinking may be global in terms of what inclusion means, in Africa actions have to be addressed in terms of local circumstances (Hoehne, 2012).

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Recognising and celebrating differences

For UCT as a global destination for IS, there is a need to review its historical background and the racial and ethnic make-up of the campus to understand in what ways staff and students are excluded. IS find themselves in a *melting pot* of cultures without guidance and support – left to acculturate into the institutions and country's cultural diversity. The literature review and findings in this study point to the issue of *culture shock* experienced by migrants. *Culture shock* is compounded by homesickness, loneliness, language barriers and a lack of familiar surroundings. This issue is particularly exacerbated in SA with its11 official languages and a myriad of racial and cultural backgrounds. Whilst UCT provides academic support through the auspices of IAPO, students have to make the effort to reach out to the institution, instead of being reached out to. One of the key factors in inclusive education is to recognise that IS students are different - despite the fact that this draws attention to their *otherness*. In doing so, institutions must acknowledge that IS require special support, care and nurturing. Academic institutions must see the value in the contribution made by IS to the economic, academic and cultural aspects of the nation. If UCT needs to live up to its vision of being "an inclusive and engaged research-intensive African university… advancing a more equitable and sustainable social order," then the institution should begin by acknowledging that there are those among us, who by virtue of being different, require special attention (UCT website, 2018). Responding to diversity is referred to by Dandy (2009) as the strategy of integration in the acculturation process. It would also be useful for the institution to review in/exclusion and marginalisation of all students and staff on the campus to gain a better perspective of the issue. In this regard, the findings of this study can be addressed by campus management in order to seek the opinions and experiences of all students.

5.4.2 Enabling access/ visas, study permits, fees

Access itself is a complex concept, with Morrow (2007) suggesting a distinction between formal access (that is, admission to an educational institution) and epistemological access (that is, access to the institutional 'goods', which, in the case of education, is knowledge). In this regard, academic institutions must be mindful of delays in IS acquiring their study permits and visas which could result in students arriving late for the start of the semester. Since it would be unlikely to have late start dates for academic semesters, other administration such as issuing of acceptance letters to IS should be a priority.

In the main, universities follow a two-semester model, based on the westernised, academic canon of thought. I would like to challenge this view and suggest a four block system comprising of two blocks in each semester. This would allow for multiple access points in the academic year. This would enable IS to *drop into* a programme and complete the *missed* courses in the following block or year. In this way, students do not have to lose an entire academic year to *catch up* with their studies. The following table suggests a four block system instead of two semesters.

	BLOCK 1 February to mid-April	BLOCK 2 Mid April to June	BLOCK 3 July to mid-September	BLOCK 4 Mid-September to Nov
INTAKE ONE	Computer Skills	General Psychology	Political Science 1	Introduction to Industrial Psychology
	English Language Studies 1	English Literature Studies 1	Communication Science	
INTAKE TWO		General Psychology	Political Science 1	Computer Skills
		English Literature Studies 1	Communication Science	Introduction to Industrial Psychology 1
				English Language Studies 1

Figure (x) Possible block system for a typical Bachelor of Arts degree (year 1)

The table above depicts a possible solution to IS who may arrive late for their programmes. Although each block is divided into half of the semester, the students enroll for fewer

subjects. Students are therefore able to put more effort into concentrating for fewer subjects and be more academically successful.

In terms of political access, the DHA and South African embassies must also recognise that IS are clients who provide academic institutions with much needed funding. These bodies must be made aware of the implications of cost and time that IS suffer due to delays in processing documents. In this regard, all efforts must be made to process visa applications speedily. I am mindful of the volume of applications which needs to be processed. However, the fees paid by migrants should enable government departments to employ more staff. Access to the country should be regulated in a way that it is not seen as a barrier to entry. One of the key elements that Ainscow and Miles (2009, p. 3) highlight is that, "inclusion is concerned with the identification and removal of barriers."

5.4.3 Academic support

Academic access to institutions is based largely on academic merit and recognition of foreign qualifications. However, "access should extend beyond higher enrolment rates to include attendance, achievement, and progression and completion..." (Lewin, 2009, p.151). Noting students are in the *becoming* stage of their lives, transitioning from youth into adulthood, they require support and guidance. The high dropout rates of first year students speak to the lack of support given to students. For IS, this is compounded by issues of culture shock and homesickness. Furthermore, there is stress over the large amounts of investments made into their temporary sojourn in search of academic capital. Failure is therefore not an option as there are economic implications, issues surrounding study permits and visas as well as the cost of accommodation.

Staff need to be sensitive to the diversity of cultures and languages present lecture venues. Code switching to local languages may assist host students with understanding of course content but it excludes IS. As English is the official language of instruction at UCT, there should be an effort on the part of academics to adhere to the institution's language policy. Campus management should be proactive in this regard in ensuring that staff are informed of such policies, further sensitising them to the cultural diversity on the campus. Management should ensure proper training and mentoring of staff in terms of their inclusion and diversity policies. Such policies are generally emailed to staff with the expectation that they will read them. Evidence in this study indicates that IS are able to become more resilient through

support from each other. However, their integration with each other is left largely to their own initiatives. In this vein, campus staff can assist in integration by creating hubs of support, where IS from similar backgrounds are able to support each other academically. The final element that Ainscow & Miles (2009) use in defining inclusive education is that "inclusion involving particular emphasis on those groups of learners who may be at risk of marginalisation, exclusion or underachievement." Early detection of *at risk* students and *at risk modules* will entail intervention before students fail. In the main, students at a university are left to *sink or swim.* However, in the first year of study students are not mature enough to work on their own (given the manner in which schools operate). Students who *at risk* of failing must be flagged and supported. This can also be done through peer mentoring programmes where students assist each other. However, the success of such programmes involves proper planning, monitoring and orchestration by the institution.

5.4.4 Creating social awareness/ events/ integration

With the large melting pot of cultures in South Africa and within academic institutions, it is sometimes not easy to recognise that IS are among us, unless they articulate in their mother tongues or through their English accents. Host students need to be made aware of the large number of IS on campus and be encouraged to celebrate diversity. Instead of seeing IS as threats, host students should be sensitised to the immense cultural, economic and academic contribution that IS students bring. Campus management must make concerted, planned efforts to fund and organise campus social awareness around IS. One such event could be, centered on themes relating to the culture of one African country, every month. All students should be invited to these events to encourage inter-cultural integration and eventually an appreciation of the socio-cultural uniqueness of each country. The location of UCT is favourable in that there are many beaches, hiking trails, etc. available to students. Planned social events at these sites will encourage social interaction between IS and hosts. The data indicates that the institution does not do enough in terms of social events throughout the year. Ager & Strang (2010) recommend that bonding requires opportunities for members to exchange resources. Similarly, Zhao, *et al.* (2005) propose that intercultural learning must be encouraged through appropriate adjustments (Carr, *et al.*, 1999). This is further supported by O'Reilly, *et al*. (2010) who suggest that short term migrant students (similar to semester away) are able to adapt sooner due to the many events they are invited to.

5.4.5 Twinning/ pairing and adoption programmes

It is well documented that wayfinding poses huge problems for IS. While this is a common problem for *all* students, IS have to further navigate through challenges of the unfamiliarity of the country and academic culture. Twinning programmes encompasses using volunteer, senior host students to *adopt* an IS for a semester. They are able to assist with wayfinding, academics, campus administration and general South African culture. Twinning also gives IS an opportunity to be exposed to the challenges facing local students. This process would help IS realise that they are not alone in facing the general challenges of HE. Twinning can also take place between IS from western countries and those from Africa/ Asia. For example, Ying (2003) found that international students who formed more relationships with host students felt less lonely and enjoyed themselves more. This is in light of the more positive experiences of white IS at the university.

5.4.6 Seeking regular input from IS

This study has, as one of its pillars, the value of voice research. Literature abounds in how marginalized groups of people are able in improve their lives when they are given a voice. Academic institutions should recognise the voice of students who make significant economic, cultural and academic contributions to the campus. Regular, possibly bi-annual input from IS, in the form of surveys (for example, *survey monkey*) should be conducted. This would give campus management an opportunity to hear first-hand from those who feel alienated and marginalised. As Bahou (2011) contends, those in power need to engage with students and not only listen to them.

5.4.7. Psychological support

One of the issues which emerged from this study related to the lack of sufficient psychological support. While there is general psychological support for all students on campus, we must recognise that IS need additional support. Regular, compulsory counseling sessions or *check-ins* should be scheduled for IS, especially in their first year of study. Online psychological services are also useful for students who may find it difficult to physically attend face-to-face sessions. Support groups comprising of IS from similar cultural/ political backgrounds will reinforce teamwork and a solution driven culture. The lockdown, brought

about by the Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted that counselling and support are still possible online. Online counselling would reach a broader student body in a more effective manner. This is in light of comments from IS that *getting* to the counsellor was an issue in itself. Online booking systems would enable a smooth transition to access to psychological help.

5.4.8. Online support/ self-help

Literature in the field of inclusion relates to what communities and institutions can do to support minority groups who are disadvantaged. There is little guidance on what displaced, marginalized individuals can do for themselves. In this regard, academic institutions can make online resources available on webpages. This could take the form of virtual tours, *how to* guides, pre-admission checklists, introduction to host nation culture and academic policies, important contact details/ hotlines of important stakeholders (eg. DHA). It is also incumbent on IS to complete these online workshops before leaving their home countries. Whilst there may be sufficient information available on the internet, a short course on the country's culture, etc. on UCT's web page should be mandatory as part of the application process.

5.5 Conclusion

We are well over 25 years into the abolition of apartheid, living in a multi-cultural democracy. However, the hegemony of UCT as a colonialist western academic institution is still in the process of renaming its buildings associated with colonialism. The *#Rhodes must fall* movement was initiated and driven by student mass action. The reluctance of the institution to drive change in this arena speaks to its deep-seated affiliation with western academic hegemony. In the main, the institutions' clasp on historical colonialist powers speaks to the need for its recognition through western academic rankings. It is able to defend and sustain privilege and prestige through these affiliations. To this end, white IS fit comfortably into the institution's academic culture. There is also the underlying suggestion that white IS are more easily accepted from a regulatory point. The implications of UCT's self-preservation and its close alignment with western academia may imply that the needs of those who are marginalized may not be taken seriously. Considering that the institution has made little traction in terms of hegemonic change, it will be noteworthy to see what fundamental practical steps are taken to be more accommodating of African / Asian IS. In

challenging the status quo, it is hoped that UCT will consider the implications presented in this study. For surely, the purpose of this research lies not only in the value of 'research output' but also in self-reflection and self-improvement.

The following words of an IS student from Africa adequately summarises this study:

> ***I hate that word international, I hate that word foreign*** *because I could never be a foreigner in Africa, never.* ***I could never be an international student because I am from Africa,*** *I am from southern Africa and South Africa is neighbour, so why should I be classified as a foreigner or an international student. I honestly hate that word to the core – I don't like it to use it. (C. Namibia)*

In building global inclusive communities, we need to listen to the voices of those who are marginalised. The above quote resonates deeply with how we perceive others who hail from different backgrounds and cultures. It also demonstrate how migrants feel about hosts. The student's emotive language, showing anger at being called "foreign" and "international," instead of just being viewed as a fellow student. This chapter made recommendations to those in power but if not heeded, inclusive education will be reduced to a list of policies, strategies and resources, tabled in this thesis or policy documents. This study calls for an active engagement of the recommendations at grassroots level. Whilst the DOE (2001) makes reference to welcoming a diversity of cultures calling for a "*fully-inclusive post-school system"* (DHET vision), it does not define *what* this means for IS. In this regard, policies supporting IS are sadly lacking in HE and training in SA. It is envisaged that this research will assist the DOE in addressing this gap.

In addressing, the gaps in knowledge of this study, findings make a significant contribution to access, belonging and participation of IS in HE, especially in celebrating diversity. However, the findings are limited to one cohort of IS at one particular time in history at one institution in SA. I am also aware of my own previous disadvantaged background, which may have prejudiced my collection and analysis of data. Furthermore, I acknowledge that although I argued for the magnetic attraction of IS to UCT, I have also subscribed to its western hegemonic epistemology, evident in manner in which this study was conducted and presented. This thesis provides a background for further interrogation of in/exclusion of minority groups at other institutions in SA and in Africa as a whole. While I found the qualitative approach and critical grounded theory suitable, further studies may use other methods of data collection and analysis, which could provide deeper insights into student

experiences. Findings from this study may also be used in textbooks and other literature to highlight the need for recognition of IS in the global academic arena. In this way, we can provide an understanding of how to create accepting communities and build an inclusive world for all. As Baldwin (1962), a champion for social justice asserts... “not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced.”

- Opportunities for further research:
    - As I am writing the concluding sections for this thesis, the world is reeling from the global Covid-19 outbreak which has devastating implications for student migration. It is expected that IS enrolments in Australia will drop by 50% by mid-2021, resulting in a loss of UD$ 269 million (Maslen, 2020). This creates opportunities for future research into the effects of Covid-19 on migrant students’ experience during the shut-down of universities and to what extent they are supported by host nations.
    - This research also lays the foundation for further research on IS’ experience at other institutions located in developing countries, noting that much work has been done in first world countries.
    - This study highlighted the need for universities to be more active in student support, especially for new students. There is further scope for studies on student acculturation into the society of the university. Results could make recommendations for active programmes on student well-being.
    - In a world of digital transformation, research could assist in preparing IS for host country acculturation through online workshops, etc (see 5.4.8 above). Success stories surrounding on-line preparation could be used to contribute to inclusivity in HE.
    - An interesting follow up of this study could be a tracking of IS alumni of UCT, to ascertain how their education at the institution has assisted them in improving their lives and that of their families back home.
    - Tracking of IS after studies to ascertain if they remain in host countries to seek employment or do they return home to uplift their economy with their skills.

END

APPENDICES:

APPENDIX A - ETHICAL CLEARANCE

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Dr Carolyn McKinney
Associate Professor

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Ref No: EDNREC2017-03-09

16 March 2017

Mr David Naidoo
PhD Programme
University of Cape Town

Dear Mr Naidoo,

RE: Ethical Clearance for Research Project

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been granted by the School of Education Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your PhD research project entitled: *'Institutional inclusion in higher education: An analysis of the experiences of inclusion, exclusion and marginalization of international/ foreign students in the Western Cape'.*

EDNRE
I wish you all the best with your study.

Yours sincerely,

Signature Removed

Associate Professor Carolyn McKinney
Chair, School of Education Research Ethics Committee

APPENDIX B :

INFORMATION LETTER TO THE PARTICIPANT

Dear colleague

My name is David Naidoo, a PhD student at the School of Education at the University Cape Town. As part of my degree I am conducting research within the field of inclusive education with a focus on 'voice research,' which aims at listening to the voices of minority students. This research is titled:

Institutional inclusion in higher education: An analysis of the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international/ foreign students at the University of Cape Town.

The aim of this research is to listen to the perceptions and experiences of the students in terms of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation. As part of the research project, I am keen to obtain the views and experiences of South African/ host students on the inclusion of foreigners at this campus. Participation is totally voluntary and does not count for academic credits nor is there any financial remuneration.

The findings of the study may be able to assist education institutions in improving their support to international students. The research data collected will be used for my research report, journal articles, conference proceedings and books. As you are South African student, I hereby invite you to participate in this study.

Should you agree to participate, my investigation will involve gathering information from you on the experiences of inclusion, exclusion or marginalisation of foreign students - from an academic, administrative or social perspective. The methods of collecting information will be in the form of interviews where you may use information from your personal photographs and social media. It is important to note that all photographs and personal information from social media will be retained by you and will be used only as discussion points in the interview.

The interviews will take place in a vacant office/ lecture venue at UCT or at a location convenient to you. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interviews, so that I do not miss out anything important.

Also, if you decide at any point during the study that you prefer to stop your participation, this completely your choice and will not affect you negatively in any way.

To protect you identity, I will be using a pseudonym in my study and not your real name. All information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information will be stored safely and destroyed with 3 to 5 years after I have completed my project.

I look forward to working with you! Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Signature Removed

David Naidoo

Cell: 0842113300

(davidnaidoo100@gmail.com)

APPENDIX C:

INFORMATION LETTER TO THE PARTICIPANT/ (STAFF MEMBER)

Dear colleague

My name is David Naidoo, a PhD student at the School of Education at the University Cape Town. As part of my degree, I am conducting research within the field of inclusive education with a focus on 'voice research,' which aims at listening to the voices of minority students. This research is titled:

Institutional inclusion in higher education: An analysis of the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international/ foreign students at the University of Cape Town.

The aim of this research is to listen to the perceptions and experiences of the students in terms of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation. As part of the research project, I am keen to obtain the views and experiences of university staff on the inclusion of foreigners at this campus. Participation is voluntary, with no remuneration or academic credits for your time.

The findings of the study may be able to assist education institutions in improving their support to international students. The research data collected will be used for my research report, journal articles, conference proceedings and books. As you are university staff member, I hereby invite you to participate in this study.

Should you agree to participate, my investigation will involve gathering information from you on the experiences of inclusion, exclusion or marginalisation of foreign students - from an academic, administrative or social perspective. The methods of collecting information will be in the form of interviews where you may use information from your personal photographs and social media. It is important to note that all photographs and personal information from social media will be retained by you and will be used only as discussion points in the interview.

The interviews will take place in a vacant office/ lecture venue at UCT or at a location convenient to you. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interviews, so that I do not miss out anything important.

Also, if you decide at any point during the study that you prefer to stop your participation, this completely your choice and will not affect you negatively in any way.

To protect you identity, I will be using a pseudonym in my study and not your real name. All information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information will be stored safely and destroyed with 3 to 5 years after I have completed my project.

I look forward to working with you! Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Signature Removed

David Naidoo

Cell: 0842113300

(davidnaidoo100@gmail.com)

APPENDIX D

Student Consent Form

Please fill in the reply slip below if you agree to participate in my study called:

Institutional inclusion in higher education: An analysis of the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international/ foreign students at the University of Cape Town.

Name: _____ (Pseudonym _____)

Country of origin: _____ Course and year_____

Age: _____ Gender: _____ Ethnicity_____

Please circle your choice

Permission for interview

I would like to be interviewed for this study. YES/ NO

I understand that I will not receive any payment nor will I be given academic credits for my participation. YES/ NO

I know that I can stop the interview at any time and don't have to answer all the questions asked. YES/ NO

I know that David Naidoo will keep my information confidential and safe and that my name and the name of my university will not be revealed. YES/ NO

I know that I do not have to answer every question and can withdraw

from the study at any time. YES/ NO

I know that all the data collected during this study will be destroyed within 3-5 years after completion of my project. YES/ NO

Permission for documents: (If applicable)

I agree that my photographs can be used for discussion during interviews and will be retained by me. YES/ NO

I agree that my personal journal can be used by myself for this study and will be retained by me. YES/ NO

Permission to be audio taped

I agree to be audio taped during the interview. YES/ NO

I know that the audiotapes will be used for this project only. YES/ NO

Sign_____ Date_____

APPENDIX E

Staff Consent Form

Please fill in the reply slip below if you agree to participate in my study called:

Institutional inclusion in higher education: An analysis of the experiences of access, belonging and participation of international/ foreign students at the University of Cape Town.

Name: _____ (Pseudonym _____)

Occupation: _____ Faculty: _____

Age: _____ Gender: _____ Ethnicity_____

Years of service at UCT: _____

Please circle your choice

Permission for interview

I would like to be interviewed for this study. YES/ NO

I understand that I will not receive any payment for my participation. YES/ NO

I know that I can stop the interview at any time and don't have to answer all the questions asked. YES/ NO

I know that David Naidoo will keep my information confidential and safe and that my name and the name of my university will not be

revealed. YES/ NO

I know that I do not have to answer every question and can withdraw from the study at any time. YES/ NO

I know that all the data collected during this study will be destroyed within 3-5 years after completion of my project. YES/ NO

Permission for documents: (If applicable)

I agree that my photographs can be used for discussion during interviews and will be retained by me. YES/ NO

I agree that my personal journal can be used by myself for this study and will be retained by me. YES/ NO

Permission to be audio taped

I agree to be audio taped during the interview. YES/ NO

I know that the audiotapes will be used for this project only. YES/ NO

Sign_____ Date_____

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Students)

Student's Interview Process and Question Schedule

Introduction

Introduce myself as the researcher and explain the purpose of the research. Exchange contact information to keep in contact throughout the duration of data collection and thereafter if needed.

Remind the learners of the interview protocols:

- Their participation is voluntary and that they will not be paid or given academic credits.
- Their right to withdraw from the study at any given time.
- Re-assure participants of confidentiality and that a pseudonym will be used. Allow them the opportunity to select a pseudonym.
- Their right to refuse to answer any questions they are not comfortable answering.
- Their right to withdraw any information given during the course of the study.
- Assure students that they will not incur any costs for the research.
- Explain the process for taking photographs (take photo on cell phone, watsapp photographs; social media content) which will be used in interviews

Proceed with interview questions

This will be a semi-structured interview and the following questions will be used as a guide. Instances may arise where probe questions will be asked to provide clarity of the learners' responses.

1. What is the country of your origin / Where are you from?
2. Why did you choose to study in South Africa?
3. What were your experiences during application to UCT?
3. What were your experiences during registration at UCT?

4. Did you attend orientation?
    - If yes, was it helpful? Explain
    - If no, what were the reasons?
5. Describe your experiences with support staff (example, finance, admin, AIPO)

6. Describe your experiences in the lecture venues.
    - With lecturing staff
    - With fellow students
7. Describe your experiences outside the classroom (with fellow students and friends)

Photographs / images from social media (facebook, wattsapp,, twitter, etc)

(IF RELEVANT/ STUDENT AGREES TO SHARE)

Questions to be asked:

- What caption or title would you give this photo/ image?
- Explain the photo/ image.
- What was the reason behind you taking this photo?
- How do / did you feel when you are / were in this environment or around this person?
- What causes you to feel this way?
- What reaction or emotion would you prefer to have / feel?
- Do you think any other students experience this? Please explain.
- If you could, what would you like to see changed?

Thank the student for their participation and allow them the opportunity to ask questions. Reinforce that they are free to contact you at any time should they wish to withdraw anything that has been said.

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