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Afrophobia and Internationalisation of Public Higher Education in South Africa

Joseph Pardon Hungwe

A Research Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Education in the University of Johannesburg in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Education.

August 2018
Declaration

I Joseph Pardon Hungwe declare that this dissertation is my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any University.

Signed ........................................... Date .......................................................
Abstract

This conceptual research study juxtaposes the notions of afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. In accounting for the significance of internationalisation of public higher education, this study explores and proffers the ideals of rainbow cosmopolitanism towards the elimination or combating of afrophobic attitudes and practices within South African public higher education. While internationalisation of public higher education is multifaceted and multidimensional, the focus of this study is on the recruitment and retention of international students as a facet of internationalisation. In this regard, South African public higher education universities attract and recruit many international students from other African nation states. Yet, there have been violent instances of anti-foreign practices and attitudes within the broader society of South Africa.

Chapter one gives an orientation to the study by describing and analysing the phenomenon of afrophobia in South African higher education. The main objective of this chapter is to conceptually introduce the concept of afrophobia and its underlying assumptions. Also, chapter one as an orientation to the study presents the interlocking (intertwining) concepts in which afrophobia arises. So, theoretical issues that underpin the study such as international migration, international student mobility, internationalisation, nation state, citizenship, xenophobia and afrophobia are introduced as they are discussed in details in the later chapters of the study. In addition to the theoretical issues, the chapter presents the problem statement, justification, research questions and a brief description of the methodology of the study.

By conceptually examining the two pronged phenomenon of afrophobia and the ideals of internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, this study employs the critical race theory as a methodology. The pervasiveness of race in society and the existence of unequal social power relations are some of the basic tenets of critical race theory. Moreover, there is also a concern about the changeability of social structures that leads to social transformation. Besides the methodological discussion, chapter two delineates afrophobia, a derivative from xenophobia, as a social issue in which, race conceptualisation is the factor that distinguishes the ‘tolerable’ from the ‘intolerable’ international (foreign) student.

In accounting the broad scope of this study falls under international migration, chapters three and four explores the phenomenon of international migration in which the student migration falls. To the extent of recruitment and retention of international students, international migration is an indispensable component of internationalisation of public higher education.
However, it is in international migration that the challenge of afrophobia emerges. Chapter three examines and concludes that while the phenomenon of student international migration is on the rise, the processes of internationalisation of higher education are shaped and determined by the political, economic and social circumstances. In regards to the specificity of social, economic and political circumstances, Chapter four critically analyses the discourse underlying internationalisation of public universities in South Africa. To a large extent, the discourses of internationalisation of higher education in South Africa are underscored by the fact that the country has the largest higher education sector that is characteristically advanced than most in other African nation states. Inevitably, South Africa attracts, recruits and enrolled many international students from other African countries.

Pursuant to the social challenge of afrophobia within the broad scope of international migration, Chapter five exposes the paradoxical racial nature of anti-foreign sentiments and attitudes in the broader society of South Africa. An analytical discussion of afrophobia in the broader society of South Africa is essential considering that public universities, as social spaces, are not immune to the stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes towards foreign nationals. Whereas there have been incidences of violence perpetrated towards African foreign nationals in the broader South African society, Chapter six is an exposition of the subtle forms of afrophobia in public universities.

Contrasting afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, it becomes apparent that this paradoxical relations demands conceptualisation of internationalisation that eliminate or combat afrophobia. In this regard, the cosmopolitan ideals and values which promote social possibilities of relations beyond borders of nation state are pursued in Chapter seven. However, after an extensive analytical discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of cosmopolitanism, this study notes that the contextual application of cosmopolitanism in South Africa is rather limited. It seems reasonable to argue that the concept of internationalisation of public higher education seems to better explain social diversity associated with African international students in South Africa.

The formation of rainbow cosmopolitanism is the main contribution that this dissertation makes. Basically, rainbow cosmopolitanism endeavours to eradicate afrophobia so that internationalisation of public higher education is promoted. Therefore, this study employs a conceptual approach the concluding chapter makes final remarks and recommendations in line with further research.
Dedication

This doctoral study is dedicated to my parents for their enduring and unconditional support, love and sacrifice.
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To my God above I say, JAH KNOWS.
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CHAPTER ONE:

Orientation to the Study

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study critically analyses the juxtaposing of the recruitment and retention of African international students as a facet of internationalisation of higher education and afrophobia in the South African public higher education. South Africa attracts a considerably high number of immigrants, especially from other African nation states. Characteristically, some immigrants are documented (legal/regular), while others are undocumented (illegal/irregular), some skilled while other possess the critical skills that the South African economy needs. It is in this broad framework of immigrants into South Africa that the cohort of international students falls into. Remarkably, all public universities in South Africa have international students as a part of their student body. Similar to the trends of the general immigration, African international students mostly from the Southern African Development Commission (SADC) are the majority within the international students cohort. According to the Department of Education (2017), in 2016 there were 73 859 international students in South Africa. To a larger extent, South Africa’s attraction of African international students can be attributed to its comparatively better standards of higher education, political and economic stability, as well as the imperatives of 1997 SADC Protocol on Education and Training.

Given the numerical rise in immigration, the post-apartheid South Africa has experienced sporadic recurrence of incidences of violent practices towards foreign nationals from other African nation states. Such incidences of anti-foreign sentiments which are conceptualised as xenophobia are in many ways a reflection of the challenges of acceptance and tolerance of other nationalities within the framework of social diversity. For social diversity, Lee (2017) observes that South Africa is one of the most socially diverse nations in the world because it is composed of different races, ethnic groups, nationalities as well as religious persuasions. Crucially though, it is of significance to point out that the incidences of xenophobia arises within the context of a nation state which claims rainbow nation as its national myth. The rainbow nation was coined to symbolise and denote the possibilities that people of different cultures, races and language can live together in harmony. Baines cited in Lee (2017) suggests that rainbow nation is a pictorial endeavour to capture the multiculturalism, social reconciliation and nation building that is invitational to all citizens. However, since 1994 the practicalities and relevance of rainbow nation myth have been contested mainly because of
frequent recurrences of incidences of racism within both the broader society and the public higher education.

Furthermore, the incidences of xenophobia towards African black immigrants have occasioned academic debates on the relevance of rainbow nation myth (Landau, 2009). In further stretching academic debates, it is critical to note that though the rainbow nation myth was specifically coined for the nation state of South Africa, I argue that its basic tenet of non-discrimination can be applicable to non-nationals. To this end, the debates of the appropriation of African foreigners in the values of rainbow nation are crucial since they highlight the social rejection that African international students experience in the public higher education.

In consideration of the influx of African immigrants, this thesis argues that afrophobic tendencies and negative attitudes in the South African public higher education contradict the basic ideals and intended social objectives of internationalisation of public higher education. As noted already in this chapter, public universities recruit and retain a significant number of African international students (Department of Education, 2017). Comparatively, African international students can afford to study in the South African public higher education. Accordingly, public universities in South Africa can be referred to as ‘melting pots’ of the African students.

For purposes of conceptual clarification, it is important to state that in South Africa, “public higher institution means any higher education institution that is established, deemed to be or declared as a public higher education institution under the Act” (Department of Education, 2017:10). Moreover, in this thesis, it is instructive to note from the onset, that the concept of higher education refers to public universities. In the course of this thesis I use the terms public universities and public higher education universities interchangeably to refer to universities that are subsidised by the states as public institutions.

In addition, public universities aspire to be identified as international universities in terms of their teaching and learning standards, infrastructure, research output as well as social composition of their student body. Rationales of internationalisation of public higher education are often categorised as economic, political social, and cultural (Knight, 2012). However, while internationalisation is a broad term that involves interactions across national boundaries, the recruitment and retention of international students is considered as the most explicit or ‘tangible’ feature of internationalisation (ibid). Accordingly, the international migration of
students results in social contacts with different cultural values of the host nation state as well as other international students from other nation states.

It is in social encounters with cultures that the inherent stereotypes manifest in internationalisation. The internationalisation activity of recruiting and retaining international students is often characterised by social challenges of integrating local and international students. With regards to such social challenges, Lee (2017) observes that the challenges associated with discrimination and social exclusion within the student body of an internationalised university are often not given much attention by universities. Perhaps there is an assumption here that international and local students can relate, interact and socialise among themselves. Lee suggests that neglecting social challenges of relations between international and local students inadvertently works against the broader objectives of internationalisation of public higher education.

For Lee (2017) most African international students in South Africa reported that they encounter more explicit expressions of xenophobia when they are outside than inside their respective universities campuses. For instance, public services such as public transport, hospitals, off-campus accommodation, banks and police services are all places that they are constantly reminded that they are not wanted in the nation state of South Africa (Sichone, 2006). However, there are subtle anti-foreign sentiments that occur in public universities in which they are enrolled. It is in juxtaposing of internationalisation of public higher education and afrophobia in South Africa that this study seeks to address the subtle social issue of discrimination that African international students experience. In addition, this study distinguishes between the broader society and public universities. The broader society refers to the society or nation state in which the universities are geographically located, in other words South Africa. On the other hand, this chapter has already clarified the concept of public university. Since the collapse of apartheid in 1994, South African public higher education has proven to be attractive to a significant number of African international students, especially those who come from the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Against this background, there have been reported cases of xenophobia in South Africa that specifically targets black African foreign migrants. Seen in this light, this thesis advances the concept of afrophobia rather than the conventionally accepted and generic idea of xenophobia.

For higher education, afrophobia manifests itself in subtle ways thereby, differing from the often physical and explicit violent confrontational forms it takes in the broader society. It may
be of significance to note that while cases of afrophobia have been on increase since the inception of the democratic South Africa, there have been social processes tended towards the promotion of tolerance and acceptance of social diversity. The efforts towards social diversity are informed by the realisation that the nation state of South Africa is a ‘melting pot’ of people from different races, ethnic groups, and religious affiliations. Perhaps it is out the need for tolerance towards social diversity that the metaphor of rainbow nation was coined as an attempt to capture the possibility of establishing a nation state where racial and ethnic discrimination do not exist. It is in this context that this study seeks to extend the tenets that inform the metaphor of rainbow nation to be inclusive of African international students. Categorically, the preamble of the South African Constitution (1996), states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. In other words, this research seeks to navigate towards the idea of rainbow cosmopolitanism as an ideal way to combat, eliminate or at least diminish afrophobia in public higher education.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: SETTING THE SCENE

This section on the background to the study is significant for three specific interweaving reasons. Firstly, the background informs the context and circumstances of the study thereby, locating the problem that the researcher identified as worthy of research. Secondly, the background provides the framework of the study. Thirdly, arising out of the background, in which contextual circumstances are articulated, the researcher points out the necessity of recommendations.

My interest to investigate afrophobia in public higher education in South Africa is primarily informed by my experiences of studying at South African public universities. Though my origins are in Zimbabwe, I have obtained both my undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications in South African public universities. Generally, South African public universities are held in high esteem in comparison to universities in the rest of Africa. It would seem then that studying in South Africa gives one the opportunity to experience the broader African culture. I met students from African countries that I neither imagined I could meet nor socially interact with. However, it is through the experiences of meeting many different students from Africa that I obtained the opportunity to critically reflect on the manifestations of afrophobia in public universities.

In Zimbabwe where I did part of my tertiary education, I do not recall meeting many African international students compared to the higher number I came to meet in South Africa. In this
regard, the South African public universities offered me an invaluable experience of encountering and interacting with both South African and African international students. It is also here that three main contexts gave birth to the idea of investigating the question of juxtaposing afrophobia and internationalisation at public higher education in South Africa. Firstly, I attended a public recruitment drive in Zimbabwe by delegates from the University of Witwatersrand. In this promotional drive, it was pronounced that South African public universities were focussed on recruiting and enrolling the best academically talented students from the African continent. The advantageous merits of obtaining degrees from a leading public university like Witwatersrand were enumerated. However, while the session gave an impressive and attractive image of academic rewards, the delegation did not address the recurrent social issue of xenophobia both in and out of campus. The omission of a discussion on the social issue of xenophobia was surprising because during that time, the media was awash with incidences of violent xenophobia in South Africa. The delegates were eerily quiet on this matter to the extent that the prospective international-students were neither warned nor informed of xenophobia. The assumptions were possibly that it was not an issue at public universities; rather, it was an issue that affected the broader society beyond universities.

Secondly from the literature, incidences where foreign nationals are physically attacked or verbally abused are generically referred to as xenophobia. In my analysis of the South African context, the violent attacks on foreign nationals have been mostly aimed at people from other African nation states whose race is black. In this regard, I sought conceptual clarity on what constitutes practices and attitudes of xenophobia in South Africa. At this point, it is imperative to state that there are many other foreign nationals in South Africa from the countries of Europe, North America, South America and Asia. Taking the social heterogeneity of foreign nationals in South Africa, the issue of xenophobia therefore, is complex, multifaceted, and in my view, warrants conceptual investigation. Furthermore, xenophobia manifests itself in variety of ways that are either explicitly violent or subtle. Therefore, there is need for conceptual clarity of xenophobia to avoid overemphasizing its dramatic, violent and media-catching instances over its subtle manifestations. The error of the oversimplification of xenophobia as a hatred towards all foreign nationals is that it does not address the fundamental underlying issues of selective discrimination that are based on national origins and the race of an individual.

It is out of the social interactions I mention above that my interests in researching the subject on afrophobia emerged. It is very common to come across posters in public universities inviting students and staff to an academic presentation on xenophobia in South Africa. Often times
these public discussions happens whenever there is an outbreak of xenophobia. An impression is always created that xenophobia is a social ill that occurs in the broader society and not at public universities.

Thirdly, deriving from this background, this study outlines a series of interweaving recommendations that could be adopted by the public higher education sector in South Africa. Recommendations are underscored by the need to promote internationalisation of public higher education through elimination of interruptive practices and attitudes of afrophobia. Additionally, in consonant with the fact that critical race theory is undergirded by the need to transform the status quo, chapter nine points out that some recommendations can be arrived at. It is instructive to state that recommendations that this study makes are consequential of the rainbow cosmopolitanism.

Having discussed the introduction and the background which have provides an overview to this study, the subsection that follows considers the underpinning theoretical issues. Since this is a conceptual study, the main objective of introducing these theoretical issues is to examine the concepts that undergird this study. It is also important to state that in this first chapter, these issues are given only a cursory and introductory attention as they will be extensively discussed and applied in the chapters further below.

1.3 INTERNATIONALISATION OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

The concept of internationalisation of public higher education is rather broad and can refer to a variety of activities within both the public university and the nation state in general. In attempting to define the concept of internationalisation of public higher education, it could also be argued that universities are by design international institutions. The claims that universities are essentially international institutions are buttressed by the argument that knowledge production and dissemination which is the core business of a university cannot be confined to geographical borders. This thesis will show that public universities as higher education institutions of learning are also shaped and determined by national and regional social, political and economic contexts. The most popularised definition of internationalisation is “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose and function of delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2012:3). Knight’s definition on internationalisation is touted as the normative definition of internalisation. The concept of integrating the international dimension implicitly acknowledges that higher education is primarily located within given national social, cultural and economic circumstances. It would
seem then that internationalisation is an attempt to integrate the national and international dimension of higher education. In other words, internationalisation of higher education entails the provision or acquisition of education beyond the confines of the geographical borders of the nation state (Lister, 1995). Consequently, students from across national boundaries are likely to be attracted to enrol at public universities that have an international reputation.

Activities such as public universities collaborating with other universities in other nation states in research and teaching, the exchange of staff and students, incorporating an international dimension into the curriculum, regionalisation and harmonisation are some of the activities that characterises internationalisation of public higher education. Without necessarily neglecting other facets of internationalisation of public higher education, this thesis focuses on recruitment and retention of international students as an activity of internationalisation. As this study shows, the challenge of afrophobia can be delineated from the facet of recruitment and retention of international students.

The popularised version on internationalisation that is proffered by Knight (2003) seems to concentrate on the administrative view of internationalisation that prioritises managing the recruitment and retention of students. While acknowledging the administrative aspect of internationalisation, in the specific context of this study, internationalisation is discussed from its social cultural dimension. The social cultural dimension of internationalisation has the potential of instilling intercultural interactions, elimination of negative national stereotypes, prejudices and discriminations. Additionally, the social cultural dimension may influence the students’ cultural worldview in such a way that they can work and live among people who hold dissimilar social norms. Nevertheless, bringing students from different countries can bring along social challenges impact social cohesion. In consideration of inherent power relations within internationalisation, chapter four gives an extensive discussion on the discourses of internationalisation in South Africa.

In concluding this subsection, it is essential to state that internationalisation of higher education does not follow a linear, universally structured and uniform trend. On the contrary, what underpins the discourse on internationalisation is mostly underscored by a number of specific rationales.
1.3.1 Rationales of Internationalisation of Public Higher Education

It is reasonable to maintain that internationalisation of public higher education is not a uniform process across the world. According to Knight (2012), the economic, social, cultural and political are usually touted as the main rationales behind internationalisation of higher education. An analysis of rationales of internationalisation is critical for two primary reasons. Firstly, rationales determine the discourse or approach that public universities will take towards recruiting international students. If public universities are only motivated by economic rationales in which they view international students as potential clients who boost the financial coffers through tuition fees and other related incomes, then strategies of marketing and commercialisation become the focus. Secondly, the economic rationale may also imply that universities may be tempted to recruit a large number of international students as it increases the profit margins.

Deducing from rationales of internationalisation, the following section introduces the notion of international student mobility as one characteristic of internationalisation. As noted already, internationalisation of higher education has many facets and refers to various meanings depending on the political, economic and social context in which the university is located. In this undertaking, this study concentrates on the international student mobility as a facet of the broad internationalisation of higher education.

1.3.2 International Student Mobility

International students are a category of immigrants who physically travel from their home nation state to reside in another nation state to pursue higher education studies. Owing factors such as the easier means of transportation and the development of means of communication such as the emergence of internet, the mobility across national geographical boundaries has become a phenomenal issue. It is noted that over three million students are residing and studying in nation states other than their nation states of origin and citizenship (Lee, 2017, Rienties, et al, 2012). In more than one way, the international migration of students has become a global reality. However, owing to the disparities of higher education standards and infrastructure, there is an emergence of what are now referred to as regional hubs. Regional hubs are nation states that stand out within a region for their comparatively better quality and facilities of higher education. Consequently, regional hubs attract a significant number of international students.
Furthermore, in this thesis, recognition is given to the fact that distance education with universities such as University of South Africa (UNISA), has implied that international students do not necessarily have to physically move from their nation states of origin. However, without trivialising forms of internationalisation that occur in distance education, this study concentrates on international students’ mobility in which they physically travel across national borders to study at a public university in foreign nation state. Inadvertently, the mobility of international students entails that they live, interact and possibly integrate with different forms of cultures. The subject of student mobility is discussed extensively in chapter three and four of this study.

After introducing the theoretical issues aligned to internationalisation of higher education, the section that follows present internationalisation of higher education from a South African perspective. While South Africa has its own specific national rationales, it is without question that it draws influences from the African as well as the global context of higher education.

1.3.3 Internationalisation of South Africa’s Institution of Public Higher Education

In South Africa, internationalisation of public higher education is officially informed by two specific policy documents, namely the 1997 Department of Education White Paper (DoE, 1997) and the 1997 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education and Training. These two documents are given due consideration in this thesis. The common factor in these official documents is that emphasis is put on the higher education institutions’ imperative to respond to national and global issues. For instance, the SADC protocol outlines the importance of regional cooperation, exchange of students and staff as key elements of internationalisation of higher education. Furthermore, the recruitment and retention of students from the SADC is outlined as a priority area for the South African public higher education (DoE, 1997).

Incontestably, South African public higher education universities attract many international students from other African nation states (du-Plessis and Fourie, 2011, Botha, 2007). While international students come from all over the world, the consistently top sending nation states are Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Malawi. In this thesis, I acknowledge that internationalisation tends to be conditioned and determined by the political, economic and social circumstances of a nation state or region. To this extent, the specific characteristics of internationalisation in South Africa are given due consideration in Chapter Four. It is fundamental to state that some of the elements encompassed in Knight’s (2003) definition are
obtaining in South African public higher education. However, this study observes that whereas from the perspective of recruitment and retention of international students South Africa shows signs of success, the social reality of afrophobia in the broader society and public universities is a present social challenge. The consensus is that:

It is clear that xenophobia is present on universities campuses in the same way it is present in the society. Universities are subject to larger social processes rather than being immunised against them. Where xenophobia manifests in society, it will likely manifests itself at higher education institutions (Department of Education, 2008:13).

The above excerpt suggests that unfair social discriminatory practices on the basis of national origins, referred to as xenophobia, exist in the public universities. However, this study critically examines and interrogates the common conceptualisation of xenophobia which seems to suggest that all foreigners encounter hatred on the basis of their foreign nationalities.

In conclusion, it is imperative to point out that the theoretical issues of internationalisation of higher education; international student mobility and the context of South African higher education are interlinked to the phenomenon of international migration. More importantly, it is a fact that international students are a category of international migrants since they actively participate in international migration in pursuit of higher education.

1.3.4 International Migration

Contemporary international migration provokes contentious debates in both public and academic domains owing to its political, economic and social ramifications. According to the United Nations report, cited in the (DHA, 2016) on international migration, there were 232 million international migrants by 2013, a number which apparently represent 3% of the total human population. If these statistics are anything to go by, then international migration is a phenomenon that is considered to be on the dramatic rise in its generic form. International migration is associated with human mobility across national boundaries caused by variety of factors. Framed in push and pull factors, this study explores and discusses the factors that make other nation states to be attractive to visit or reside in comparison to others that are less attractive to visit and reside in. In this regard, chapter three discusses the notion of international migration as prefixed by the pull and push factors. It is of significance to note that though international migration is considered to have risen remarkably in the last fifty years, it is not a new phenomenon. People have always been migrating across geographical national borders in search of better economic opportunities, security and escaping political and social challenges.
At times, people migrate due to natural disasters such as drought, eruption of volcanoes and floods.

International migration is occasionally viewed from negative perceptions by other recipient nation states. For Obi (2010), international migrants may be regarded as security, health, economic or cultural risks to the receiving nation state. Taking this into account, some nation states explore ways to ‘tighten’ their geographical borders so as to exercise administrative control of the number of immigrants. The tightening may include strict border controls and the patrolling of cities and residential areas in search of illegal migrants who are then deported back to their nation states of origin. In addition, there is a constant review of immigration policies so that there is ‘appropriate’ respond to the challenges of international migration (DHA, 2016). In the circumstances of the United States of America, the immigration policy was further reviewed and tightened in the aftermath of the 11th September 2011 terrorists bombings. Consequently, the number of international students to the United States of America declined as the processes of application and obtaining of study visas became difficult and complicated. In addition, the negative perspective of international migration seems to elevate the social and cultural differences between the citizens and immigrants. Resultantly, the elevation of social difference may lead to the mistreatment of immigrants being treated as outsiders.

On the other hand, when viewed from a positive perspective, international migration may imply the acknowledgement of possibilities of social cultural relations across geographical borders of nation states. Faist (2000) argues that international migration may result in transnational social spaces and economic development for both the receiving and sending nation states. Perhaps, it is in the positive perspective of international migration that concepts such as international students, transnationalism, regional collaboration and integration are entertained. It could be advanced that this understanding of international migration sees the possibility of a common humanity (cosmopolitanism) that accepts social relations, tolerance and social diversity across geographical national borders. Therefore, chapter three critically examines the phenomenon of international migration and its impact on internationalisation of higher education.

Fundamentally, international migration results in situations where people of different nationalities and cultures interact and share some social and economic spaces. Considerably, international migration is an indispensable component of internationalisation of higher
education. In view of internationalisation of public higher education, students from diverse national, social and cultural backgrounds are likely to converge and undertake their higher education studies within a given public university. As will be outlined in both chapters five and six, the social challenge of xenophobia manifests itself in both subtle and explicit forms. Since this study uses a conceptual approach as the methodology, what follow concerns the conceptual orientation of xenophobia.

1.4 XENOPHOBIA

Xenophobia refers to negative attitudes, perceptions, stereotypes, prejudices and beliefs that citizens hold against foreign nationals. It is fair to argue that xenophobia then is the rejection, social exclusion and in some cases, violence is perpetrated against foreign migrants (DHA, 2016). Hale (2011) points out that xenophobia is marked by instances of intimidation, abuse both verbal and non-verbal as expressions of intolerance towards foreign nationals. Essentially then, xenophobia is underlined by notions of unfair social exclusion of foreign migrants who are considered outsiders of the nation state. Landau (2007) uses the term undesirables to denote perceptions of foreign nationals as unwanted.

From a critical race theory perspective, it could be argued that xenophobia is concerned with power relations between citizens and foreign nationals. Accordingly, xenophobia is “inextricably linked with dominant culture, policies and practices” (Hale, 2011:317). The notion of dominance as an element of xenophobia is of significance because it brings to the fore debates on foreigners as the marginalised and the locals as the dominant group. For instance, discrimination against foreigners is often framed in terms of their inability to speak the dominant language, or their ‘failure’ to express themselves in the dominant cultures such as fashion and dressing. In this regard, Landau (2007) suggests that in South Africa there is a perception that foreigners can be visibly identified in terms of their physical appearance and dress codes. The misconception often created is that there is a dominant ‘tolerable’ physical appearance for the locals, and therefore, those who do not fit this standard appearance are uncritically considered as misfits of the nation state. It is my endeavour to expose these power relations that ultimately impress that foreigners are marginalised, vulnerable and powerless against locals who are seen as dominant by virtue of their status as citizens. In this light, chapter five firstly discusses and analyses xenophobia broadly from the context of a number of other African nation states and then secondly, from the specific context of South Africa. Accordingly, Young and Jearey-Graham (2015) and Landau (2007) claim that South Africa is
a highly xenophobic nation state. Although violent instances of xenophobia have occurred since 1994, it is the incidences of 2008 and 2015 that shed more light to the gravity of this matter.

While I extensively discuss the practices and attitudes that constitute xenophobia in chapter five, there is need to clarify the notion of afrophobia in this introductory chapter. The main line of argument is that given that that conceptual clarification is important, afrophobia needs to be separated from xenophobia. Basically, afrophobia is a derivative of xenophobia and the following subsection conceptually outlines this distinction.

1.5 THE CONCEPT OF AFROPHOBIA

Afrophobia is a distinct type of xenophobia whose target of hostility, fear, negative practices and discrimination is people from other African nation states (Matsinhe, 2011, Tafira, 2011). In this regard, afrophobia is seen as specifically targeting foreign Africans, while xenophobia targets foreigners in general. On the basis of conceptual research methodology, the use of concise and exact concepts is paramount, since the intention is to comprehensively capture the practices, attitudes and underlying assumptions in exact concept so as to represent or reflect a phenomenon accurately. Apparently, afrophobia appropriately captures and analyses the patterns of anti-foreign practices and sentiments against foreign Africans in South Africa or perhaps anywhere else.

An affirmation is made that “South Africa is increasingly characterised by powerful xenophobic and exclusionary discourses targeted on migrants from the rest of Africa” (Peberdy, 2006:16). The distinguishing character of xenophobia in South Africa justifies the use of the term afrophobia. While Landau and Freemantle (2010) do not employ this concept, they suggest that xenophobia is targeted mainly at Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Somalis, Eritreans and other African nationals. Furthermore, Adjai and Lazaridis (2013) suggest that, in South Africa, xenophobia does not occur randomly. It is intentionally directed towards all black non-South Africans. It is attested that “in the case of South Africa foreign nationals targeted are black Africans with those from Europe and South East Asia being excluded” (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:196). Therefore, afrophobia therefore, appropriately distinguishes anti-foreign practices and sentiments directed towards foreign Africans in South Africa from anti-foreign practices and sentiments that are directed towards any foreign as in xenophobia.
Several but contestable arguments have been advanced to explain the pattern in which African foreign nationals are targeted. Some of the controversial and contestable reasons are that African foreign nationals are involved in criminal activities, spread the HIV/AIDS medical condition, causes unemployment as they compete with citizens for jobs, as well as competition for women (Singh and Francis: 2010). Afrophobia seen in this light is essentially a form of negative stereotype. To avoid the oversimplification of afrophobia, the complexities associated with it are examined in Chapter five. Suffice it to say that afrophobia is a distinct selective form of xenophobia that undermines the notion of ‘the rainbow nation’ which seeks to build a socially cohesive nation of South Africa. In taking into account the fact that practices and attitudes of discriminating against foreigners are rather selective, the concept of race is therefore, central in discussing and analysing afrophobia.

1.5.1 THE CONCEPT OF RACE

In consideration of the fact that the notion of race is central within the framework of critical race theory, this subsection explores the conceptualisation of race. It is imperative to state that this section does not intend to propound a definition of race. Rather, I seek to lay out the conceptualisation of race which has bearing to afrophobia and internationalisation. In this way, the debate on whether race is a biological reality or a social imagination has seized scholarship for a long time. In attempting to analyse the notion of race, Leonardo (2012) suggests that the binary of white and black in which race is discussed seems to be inadequate in capturing the degree of social diversity that characterizes humanity. For example, the concept of race is sometimes appropriated to forms of human social diversities such as religion, ethnic, tribal, gender, sexual orientation or even economic social class.

Furthermore, the lack of unanimity in defining race is in most instances pronounced in accordance with academic fields. For instance, in anthropology race is defined in terms of cultural forms of life, while in sociology, race entails the manner in which a society is organized. Additionally, in politics, race is viewed in terms of issues of class dominance and marginalization that essentially stratifies a nation state. Finally, issues of phenotype and genotype underlie race conceptualization within the domain of genetics (Jones, 2012).

In outlining the notion of race, it is vital to state that the physical, national, religious and other forms of human variation factors cannot be disputed. The physical appearances such as white, black, coloured, colour of the eyes or nose shape are empirically distinguishable and incontestable. However, the perceptions, stereotypes or prejudices that are socially attached to
different race groups are obviously contentious and lead to power relational inequalities. For instance, prejudices, assumptions and stereotypes have resulted in the supremacy of the white race over and above all other racial categorisation.

Wilson and Davis (2011) observe that the contestations that surround race often emanate from stereotypes and prejudices that consequently lead to unequal power relations in the society. In this regard, Leonardo (2004:141) notes that domination within the framework of race is power that “subjects enter into and is forged in the historical process formed out of patterned and enduring treatment of social groups”.

From this subsection on the exposition of the notion of race, it becomes evident that the parochial conceptualisation of race as binary of white and black skin color is inadequate to represent social diversity in human population. I consider that power relations that are associated with race which are evident in most societies are constructed and recreated socially. As an illustration, the white population is often regarded as economically rich as well as endowed with cultural superiority. On the other hand, the black population is regarded as possessing an inferior culture and is generally regarded as economically poor.

In addition, due to increased international migration and human mobility, the narrow conceptualization of race in terms of black and white skin colour does not take into account human populations such as mixed races, Asians and other social groups that cannot be categorically classified as black or white. To this end, race as denoting human social classification can be categorised in terms of foreigners, citizens, illegal and legal migrants. In this regard, this study takes into account that international migration and the general increased in human mobility has resulted in the revision of conceptualization of race. More importantly, people are not geographically fixed so racial categorization cannot therefore, be static (Leonardo, 2012). For this study, the concept of race is employed in reference to social diversity categorisation of South African domestic and African international students in South African institutions of public higher education.

This study is anchored on the assertion that race as referring to human physiological, national, social or ethnic variations exists. Race is therefore, a conceptual categorisation of people in accordance with the marked social, cultural and national differences. So for instance, a person can be racially categorised as black, Zulu and South African as distinct from a white, English and American. However, it is the generalised stereotypes, prejudices and negative perceptions which are attributed to racial groups that are conceptually contestable and dismissible. I
contend that the power relations that ultimately result in marginalisation and social
discrimination are embedded in the misconceptions on race. Accordingly, in the following
subsection, I now turn to the notion of rainbow nation as one of the endeavours towards
elimination of social misconception of race in South Africa.

1.6 THE RAINBOW NATION: A SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL MYTH

In the process of nation building, nation states tend to develop and adopt national myths. A
national myth is designed to instil and foster a sense of national vision. The idea of national
myths is given extensive attention in Chapter eight. Here, I introduce the idea of the ‘rainbow
nation’ intended to capture the imagination and vision of a socially unified South Africa. This
flows from the fact that South Africa is characterised by social diversity in terms of race,
ethnicity, religion, class and gender. Whereas under apartheid political dispensation, race and
ethnicity were the social markers of division, the post-apartheid dispensation sorts to build a
nation of social tolerance and non-discrimination across all forms of human social diversities.
It is in this context that the notion of a rainbow nation was born in South Africa. The notion of
the rainbow nation emphasises social cohesion, commonality and the perceived shared social
identity of all South Africans despite racial and ethnic differences. In other words, the
persuasive and compelling nature of the national myth of rainbow nation is tended towards
establishing national unity within the context of racial and ethnic diversity.

Drawing from critical race theory, it could be argued that the notion of race has remained
central in encapsulating the idea of South African as a rainbow nation. For public higher
education in South Africa, Chinyowa (2013) observes that white and black students tend to
have divergent perspectives and interpretations of the historical discourse of apartheid. Cross
(2004) similarly notes that the transformation of education is underpinned by the imperative of
creating non-racial universities. Therefore, the idea of a rainbow nation envisages a sense of
national identity as well as non-discriminatory practices and attitudes. In the broad scope of
this study, the tenets of the rainbow nation are relevant in bringing out the possibilities of
eliminating afrophobic practices and attitudes. In this regard, the significance of the rainbow
nation to African international students is discussed in Chapter Eight. Connected to the issue
of the rainbow nation is the contestable notion of citizenship that I introduce below.

1.7 CITIZENSHIP

While the issue of citizenship does not directly and immediately fall under the recruitment and
retention of international students, a cursory look at it is vital for the understanding and
appreciation of the issues around afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. Afrophobic practices and attitudes are basically accentuated by the assumptions held around citizenship. Citizenship designates affiliation or belonging; while simultaneously acting as a marker for not belonging for those who are non-citizens. In this context, Bleomraad et al (2008) states that the notion of citizenship in nation state simultaneously represents social inclusion and social exclusion. However, given the seemingly perpetuity and indispensability of nation state in which the notion of citizenship is derived, it is necessary to note that citizenship is also an umbrella term towards membership of the nation state. Abowitz and Harnish (2006:653) observe that “citizenship theoretically confers membership, identity, values and rights of participation and assumes a body of common political knowledge”.

Specifically, a relation between citizenship and international migration ought to be spelt out. International migration, including the facet of student migration, has brought to the fore the contentious distinction between statist and global citizenship. Perhaps, there can be no any other notion that has received renewed academic attention more than the notion of statist citizenship in view of international students. Engel (2014) argues that citizenship as an explicit formal expression of allegiance to the nation state is regarded as parochial because of the inevitable emergency of arguments for global citizenship. It can be concluded that internationalisation of public higher education directly or indirectly determines relations and perceptions between citizens of different nation states.

Citizenship denotes the idea of belonging that an individual possess to the nation state as a political community. Bloemrad et al (2008) agrees that citizenship has always been linked to a given geographical and political community (nation state). Citizenship then occasions social inclusion that may sometimes be expressed through ‘official’ languages and other cultural norms. However, by expressing social inclusion, citizenship simultaneously excludes non-citizens. Bauder (2014:91) argues that “formal citizenship often excludes migrants who are not born in the national territory in which they reside and or were born to parents of foreign origin”. Perhaps, it is in the contradictory nature of the notion of citizenship that immigrants are sometimes unfairly discriminated against.

In the search of conceptualisation of citizenship, Banks (2008:139) notes that “a citizen is an individual who lives in a nation state and has certain rights and privileges as well as duties to the state such as allegiance to the government”. Bird (2016) agrees and maintains that
citizenship involves membership allegiance to a nation state as the political community that is bounded by geographical borders. In other words, a person is said to be a citizen in relation to a given nation state. Chavez (2015) observes that citizenship also refers to cultural and social perspectives: social inclusion, identification, a sense of belonging, patriotism and loyalty. It can be derived that statist citizenship presupposes legal and legal attachments, that is, the legitimacy of an individual in a nation state acquired either by birth, decent or naturalisation that have attendant rights, privileges and duties.

According to Bloemrad et al (2008), the notion of citizenship is underpinned by assumptions of justice, equality and a sense of national cohesion in which members of diverse cultural backgrounds are ‘unified’ by the common bond of belonging to nation state. The notion of citizenship gives the impression that by the mere fact of being citizens, there is an implicit requirement to be socially, politically and economically treated fairly and equally in regards to access and participation. Indeed, some South African students do invoke their citizenship rights where they consider they are exclusively entitled to certain services (Ramphele, 1999). Contentedly, citizenship is a vital character of nation state and a referral point for social distribution and access to the economic goods of the nation state.

The implication of citizenship that I have discussed under internationalisation is that local students as citizens have more claim to economic, political and social cultural power compared to international students. Local students are entitled to more economic resources such as financial scholarships, bursaries, grants and loans that are provided by the nation state or entities within the nation state (Muthuki, 2013). Likewise, social and cultural power is enjoyed from the fact that citizens’ languages are in most cases the official languages of public universities. Perhaps, it is in consideration of the social cultural power that sometimes local students as citizens argue that international students should quickly adjust and adapt to the local cultures to avoid social challenges including xenophobia and afrophobia (Karuppan and Barari 2011). To this end, some forms of the manifestations of afrophobia in South Africa, discussed in Chapter Six, revolve around citizenship and the power that it inherently bestows on citizens. In concluding this conceptual discussion on citizenship, it is imperative to state that, in transcending geographical borders, there is also recognition of the mostly academic notion termed as global citizenship.
From a critical race theory perspective, the concepts of nation state and citizenship inherently emphasise power relations. If the nation state supposedly bestows economic, social and political power to its citizens, by implication non-citizens have comparatively limited political, social and legal benefits. Consequently, the limited power of non-citizens sometimes exposes them to experience socially discriminatory practices and sentiments. In connection to international students, their state of being non-citizens may imply that they experience socially exclusionary practices and sentiments. For instance, in most host nation states, international students pay higher tuition fees than their local counterparts. So, for local students, citizenship may imply comparatively easier access to public universities education. As pointed out in chapter three, the notion of citizenship derives power from the concept of nation state.

1.8 NATION STATE

Arguably, the contentious debates that surround the concept of international migration revolve around the notion of nation state. International migration presupposes the existence of national geographical borders that demarcate political communities. In summative terms, there are two opposing views on nation state. On one view, Sager (2016: 43) argues that “a nation state is in complete control of geographical space and is situated with society”. Accordingly, there is an assumption created that nation state is culturally and socially homogeneous political entity. To cite an example, a misconception is created that there is a uniform and exclusively Zimbabwean, Malawian or British culture. Based on the above assumption, international migration is regarded as a threat as it poses the possibility of disrupting the homogeneous social and cultural status of the nation state.

On another perspective, there are views that consider nation state as an entity that is under severe threat from the forces of globalisation. Notably, globalisation has resulted in large scale international flow of migrants. In this view, the nation state is seen as a concept that is being gradually eroded by the increase in cross border flow of capital, goods, ideas and people. Nash (2009) argues that the idea that immigration flow is determined by similarities in race, ethnic or culture is questionable. I discuss this in detail further in chapter six because it has a bearing on the social life of international students in public higher education institutions. Beyond specific issues of race and ethnicity, South Africa is a socially diverse nation state with a South African culture that international students need to adopt as part of cultural adaption. Below, I introduce the discourse on public higher education.
1.9 PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

In noting that public higher education refers to a variety of categorisation post-secondary school studies, this study uses the term higher education to refer to public universities. Public universities are distinct from private universities, teacher colleges or vocational training colleges. Public higher education is often state-subsidized and therefore, enrols more students than private institutions. In the case of South Africa, there are around twenty-six public higher education universities.

In outlining the theoretical issues that underline this study, I have so far laid out the conceptual undertones that this study analyses. In an endeavour to navigate and expose issues of social discrimination against international students, the foregoing subsections have indicated the importance of conceptual clarity. In progression, it is now necessary to state the following; problem statement, cursory literature review, research questions, justification of this inquiry, methodology and ethical considerations. In some sense, these sections are technical as they offer the scope of this study. Below I state the problem statement.

1.10 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Afrophobia as referring to the general dislike of immigrants from other African nation states is not adequately conceptualised in academic discourses. The conceptual inadequacies of afrophobia entails that a fallacious impression is established that all foreign immigrants in South Africa are vulnerable or exposed to anti-foreign attitudes and practices. Therefore, an analysis on the concept of afrophobia in internationalisation of public higher education is essential.

This study argues that afrophobia in public higher education contradicts the goals of internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. In other words, afrophobia and internationalisation are incompatible because afrophobia opposes the fundamental objectives of internationalisation of public higher education. According to the Department of Education (2001) the South African National Plan for Higher Education categorically states that the recruitment of international students from the SADC region is an important component of the higher education sector. Furthermore, the document maintains that the recruitment of international students from SADC would enrich and broaden South African students’ worldview. If we accept this understanding, then the very existence of afrophobic tendencies contradicts this imperative because afrophobia is inherently discriminatory, exclusive and prejudicial. Conversely, internationalisation of public higher education suggests values of
social inclusion regardless of one’s national origins. Put differently, afrophobic tendencies manifest as social hostility, yet internationalisation of public higher education is receptive to different nationalities.

1.11 LOCATING THE PROBLEM IN LITERATURE

To locate the problem that this study is grappling with, a cursory literature review is necessary to point out the current debates on the subject. There are a number of discourses that characterize current debates on internationalisation of higher education in South Africa. Firstly, Singh, (2013), Manik (2013), Ojo (2009) and Dunn and Nilan (2007) agree that the number of African international students has increased dramatically at South Africa’s institutions of public higher education. The reasons for this attraction are many. For example, according to Rouhani (2007: 145) “South African higher education is better resourced and more diversified than those of most African countries and the institutions are usually free from disruptions that often characterize other African institutions of higher education”.

Secondly, Cross et al (2011) and the Department of Education (1997) discuss internationalisation of public higher education from a policy viewpoint. Internationalisation of public higher education is given dual imperatives, namely to make higher education globally competitive and to equally address national issues. For Kishun (2007), internationalisation is South Africa’s explicit attempt to reconnect with the global higher education community. Similarly, McLellan’s (2008:140) analysis of internationalisation policies since 1994, suggests that “there is a global context in which the country, and thus its institutions and individuals must operate, even when considering national priorities”. To this end, internationalisation encompasses both the local and global dimensions.

Thirdly, according to Rosenthal et al (2007), internationalisation can be viewed from a migration viewpoint. In this perspective, internationalisation is characteristically the movement of students across the national borders. For Cross et al, (2011) internationalisation should comprise of both inward and outward movement of students and staff. Inward refers to the movement of international students into the institution, whereas, outwards, occurs when students go outside their country to enrol and resides for purposes of international university studies. In South Africa, because of the view that public universities are of comparatively better standards, the movement of African international students has mostly been an inward (Singh, 2013; Kwaramba, 2012; Sichone, 2006; Rodgers, 2004). So, South Africa’s internationalisation drive is closely related to the influx of African international students.
Singh (2013), Waghid (2009) and Sichone (2006) discuss internationalisation in connection to xenophobia. There is a contestation around the question of internationalisation and international students as immigrants. This interplay illustrates the presence of xenophobia in institutions of higher education. The question of xenophobia is one that affects all international students. Yet, I remind the reader that while this might be the case, I focus on Afrophobia. Louw and Mayer (2008) present a crucial point for this study. They argue that in its proper perspective, internationalisation of higher education should be closely linked to the development of global citizenship. Accordingly, internationalisation should be conceived as a strategy that is related to multiculturalism. It is further argued that “living together and learning together from each other in a multicultural context should ideally reduce bias, stereotyped national images and potential conflict situations (Louw and Mayer, 2008). The supposition here is that when different nationalities of students study together under the auspices of internationalisation, then discrimination is greatly reduced.

In South Africa’s institutions of higher education, internationalisation is:

The process of integrating an international, intercultural and global dimension into the purpose and functions of delivery of higher education, bearing in mind South Africa’s internal developments and its responsibilities towards the development of higher education in the region and continent” (South African Universities Vice Chancellors Association, 2004: Vol 3).

What can be taken from the above description is that South African public higher education through such pronouncements, asserts its critical role in the development of regional and continental education. Therefore, afrophobic issues falls under the domain of the intercultural and global dimensions of higher education.

Furthermore, the above South African Universities Vice Chancellors’ excerpt indicates that there is not much coverage on research that examines the interface between internationalisation of higher education in South Africa and afrophobia. In general, there are two strands of emphasis on internationalisation in the literature. Firstly, there is literature that broadly covers internationalisation of public higher education (Kwaramba, 2012, Cross, et al, 2011, McLellan, 2008, Sichone, 2006). This literature mostly discusses social issues such as xenophobia in public higher education (Whitehead and Dominguez: 2015). Secondly, there is economic strand that lays emphasis on what South Africa as a nation state stand to benefit economically in view of international students (Aloyo and Wentzel, 2009, Ojo, 2009). Pointedly, Ojo (2009) gives a
 synopsis of the potential skills supply that the international students may offer, thereby contributing to critical areas of the economy. These contributions are important and crucial for the various debates related to higher education and internationalisation; yet crucially I recognize that there is a research gap because afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa is lacking in the literature.

1.12 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.12.1 Main Research Question

Can a ‘rainbow’ cosmopolitanism conception of internationalisation eliminate tendencies towards Afrophobia in South Africa’s institutions of public higher education?

To probe further this question, this study will seek to understand the following sub-questions.

1.12.2 Sub Research Questions

a) What informs the general understanding of internationalisation of public higher education?

b) How the problem of afrophobia is conceptually framed in higher education?

c) What are the crucial features of rainbow cosmopolitanism that can mitigate the potential tensions between afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education?

1.13 AIMS OF THE STUDY

a) To describe general conceptions of internationalisation of public higher education

b) To explain the conceptual underpinnings behind afrophobia within higher education in South Africa.

c) To explore the possibilities that a rainbow cosmopolitanism conception of internationalisation can offer towards the eradication of afrophobia in higher education.

1.14 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

a) To establish a catalogue of the forms of afrophobic specific to South African public higher education.

b) To establish recommendations for combating afrophobic tendencies in the South African institutions of public higher education.

c) To promote internationalisation of public higher education in both in South Africa and the rest of the African continent
1.15 JUSTIFICATION

This study inquiry is justifiable on the basis that afrophobia holds the possibilities of disrupting the process of internationalisation in South African institutions of public higher education. For the reasons of promoting and enhancing internationalisation of public higher education, it is crucial to research and propose recommendations. So, the above point is supported by three major reasons. Firstly, a foundational purpose of universities is to play the critical role of shaping social relations across race, ethnic and national boundaries. In this respect, I concur with the observation that “universities have an obligation to lead, rather than to follow, to innovate, to question and debate social issues through relevant research and to find possible solutions” (Gray and Bernstein, 1983:37). In addition, most analysis of internationalisation appears to homogenise international students. Consequently, there is an assumption that challenges faced by all students world over are also homogenised. For example, there is a perception that in South Africa, challenges faced by an American international student are equally faced by a Zimbabwean international student. Pointedly, this generalisation cannot be justified since these students have different needs and face different social challenges because of their nationalities. If we accept the possibility that an African international student will face the challenge of afrophobia, it is therefore, reasonable to argue that afrophobia is investigated as a specific condition experienced by African international students in institutions of public higher education in South Africa.

The key contribution of this thesis to the body of knowledge is the academic exposition conflicting nature of afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. So far studies done have tended to be broad by focussing on the social challenge of generic xenophobia in higher education (Sichone, 2006). Discussing the generic xenophobia in South Africa seems to imply that all international students are confronted by the challenge of negative stereotypes. There are good reasons to suggest that students from developed countries such as United States of America and the United Kingdom for example, are less likely to experience xenophobia in comparison to their counterparts from African countries. In this aspect, this study analyses afrophobia in public higher education as a unique type of xenophobia directed towards African international students. The main claim I have made is that afrophobic tendencies militate against internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. According to Matsinhe (2011), the conceptual suitability of afrophobia rather than xenophobia is to emphasize the idea that negative tendencies specifically targets African foreign students studying in public higher education institutions in South Africa. Though
Gordon (2016) observes that foreign students from China and Pakistan for example, have also been targeted, this does not detract the fact that African international students have been the primary target.

In line with afrophobia, there are also suggestions that African international students are ‘exempted’ because of the safety of public universities campuses. For Dominguez-Whitehead and Sing (2015) although xenophobia is pervasive in the broader South African society, the African international students have suffered little or none of it largely because of the nature of their occupation as students. Ojo and Booth (2009:44) have claimed that “no such attacks were reported in any higher education institution in South Africa”. However, Bayaga (2011) suggests that the concept of collegiality in public higher education for both students and staff is strongly underpinned by xenophobia. It is of paramount importance to state that though this study takes into account xenophobia, it argues that African international students at public institutions of higher education face the challenge of a specific kind of xenophobia called afrophobia. This suggests therefore, that there are forms of xenophobia at public higher institutions of education that this study explores. This study further outlines that afrophobia is more pronounced in South Africa because of the high number of African immigrants.

1.16 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The core concepts of this inquiry are internationalisation of public higher education, international migration, nation state and international mobility of students examined in the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism. This conceptual framework is justified because of the realisation that the core concepts denote social diversity in terms of nationalities. To that end, the tenets of cosmopolitanism endeavour to establish ways of managing social diversity given the perennial challenges that arise. When peoples from dissimilar social contexts meet due to international migration, afrophobia, xenophobia, ethnicity and racial tensions is bound to flare up. In the internationalisation of public higher education, the tenets of cosmopolitanism can apply to realise intercultural, global citizenship and interaction of students across nationalities.

Warf (2015:37) says that cosmopolitanism “insists upon the inherent worthiness of individuals irrespective of their country of origin, birth and thus poses a challenge to those for whom nation state is sacrosanct”. To this end cosmopolitanism promotes values of common humanity, tolerance of social cultural, racial and ethnic diversity. It is of equal importance to note that cosmopolitanism is neither anti-diversity nor theoretically ‘blind’ towards diversity. On the
contrary, cosmopolitanism is an acknowledgement or appreciation of social diversity. Diversity is a phenomenon to be celebrated and not to be wished away. Audi (2009), Delanty (2008) and Pichle (2008) argue that the key tenets of cosmopolitanism include universalism, tolerance to cultural, social and national differences, and the value of humanity. These values suggest inclusivity and the acceptance of the other.

Additionally, Hansen (2009:126) observes that cosmopolitanism “fuses reflective openness to the world with reflective loyalty to local roots, traditions and practices”. From the perspective of fusion of world views, cosmopolitanism does not necessarily mean that an individual has to be detached from his or her cultural and social context. Also, Erskine (2002:458) argues that the commitments to humanity as espoused in cosmopolitanism “extend beyond political borders as well as ethnic, ideological, socioeconomic and religious divides”. It is not unreasonable to suggest that a cosmopolitan has a sense of home in the local, while also being receptive to new perspectives from beyond the national boundaries (Hansen, 2009). Therefore, cosmopolitanism promotes necessary social values that lead to harmony within a social space that is occupied by different nationalities.

Although there are many dimensions of cosmopolitanism, this study privileges the common tenets that run through them. Furthermore, cosmopolitanism has inherent weaknesses which have led some scholars to argue that it is an abstract concept that is far removed from the real life experiences. Due to its universalistic stance, cosmopolitanism is also accused of promoting a dominant ideology at the expense of particularism. Consequently, cosmopolitanism is considered imperialist and elitist since it seems to appeal to those who have surplus finance that enables them to travel around the world. Suffice to say that the merits and demerits of cosmopolitanism are discussed further in chapter seven.

Despite the controversies surrounding the notion of cosmopolitanism, this study will situate cosmopolitanism in the context of South Africa. As already raised in this introductory chapter, the metaphor of rainbow nation can be extended to address social challenges that are associated with the ever-growing number of African international students into South Africa. However, an investigation that contrasts the metaphor of rainbow nation and cosmopolitanism will further expose the challenge of afrophobia. I will argue that in the public higher education in South Africa, the theoretical framework that can adequately address afrophobia in view of cosmopolitanism and rainbow nation is rainbow cosmopolitanism. Though Singh (2013) explains that the rainbow notion in South Africa grants the possibility of unity in diversity,
such unity does not cater for non-nationals. In many ways, the metaphor of rainbow nation is
drawn from a nationalistic perspective. Consequently, a nationalistic perspective is inadequate
when one considers the different nationalities that currently make up the social composition of
student body in public universities.

The notion of rainbow is representative of national social values, while cosmopolitanism
universalizes them to combat afrophobic tendencies within public higher education
(Koczanowicz, 2009, Waghid, 2009). Fundamentally, this is a combination of two seemingly
unrelated concepts and my idea is to conceptually stretch the rainbow notion so that it
encompasses cosmopolitan (international) components. Therefore, attempts to integrate an
international dimension (cosmopolitanism) into rainbow nation notion, which is particular and
contextual. In concluding this discussion, it is essential to state that the notion of social
tolerance that undergirds cosmopolitanism does not imply that people just tolerate even heinous
crimes for the sake of being cosmopolitan. To this end, the connection of social tolerance to
cosmopolitanism is given extensive discussion in chapter seven of this study.

1.17 METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a philosophical conceptual research methodology that employs critical race
theory. Critical race theory is a derivative or a branch of critical theory. The historical
background in which critical race theory became an offshoot of critical theory is discussed in
the Chapter Two. The basic tenets of critical race theory such as transformative, emancipatory,
the changeability of social structures as well the primacy of race in analysing social issues are
the fundamental basis of the methodology adopted. Perhaps more important to note, is the fact
that this study is a conceptual work in which empirical cases on xenophobia in public higher
education are critically analysed by focusing on afrophobia. The relevance of critical race
theory is that it enables the researcher to facilitate the possibility of submitting an alternative
conceptualisation of internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. Moreover,
in applying the critical race theory, this study goes beyond the description of afrophobia but
proffers recommendations. In this regard, recommendations form the constitutive element of
transformation as encompassed in critical race theory.

Additionally, there are several reasons for the appropriateness of conceptual research
methodology for this inquiry. My starting point is that, while there are several empirical
researches that have been undertaken which established afrophobia as a systematic recurrent form of xenophobia in South Africa (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013, Landau and Freemantle, 2010, Singh and Francis, 2010, Peberdy, 2006), such research has tended to neglect conceptual clarity on afrophobia. In affirmative terms, empirical research establishes and describes facts. However, empirical research tends to overlook underlying conceptual values that cause afrophobia. As a result, a conceptual methodology affords the researcher the leeway to reflect on beliefs, attitudes and values that underlie a given concept. In so doing, reflection subjects concepts to continuous and careful scrutiny because conceptual research is inherently analytical (Ndofirepi and Shumba, 2012). Ndofirepi and Shumba succinctly sum up this point below:

Analysis serves the purpose of reducing complex ideas and explicating human situations into comprehensible relational concepts while clarification challenges the common sense understanding of the world and the often-taken-for-granted in order to expose the true meaning (Ndofirepi and Shumba, 2012: 144).

An impression should not be created however, that this study is dismissive or belittles empirical research. On the contrary, the evidence driven from empirical research is incorporated here with the aim of developing recommendations that may eliminate afrophobia. Conceptual research therefore, can proceed from what is empirically available by exposing ideas that are contained in practices. For instance, the conceptualisation of internationalisation may either promote social tolerance or entrench the exclusionary practices like afrophobia.

Furthermore, critical theory as a conceptual research methodology has several characteristics that are relevant to this study. Firstly, critical theory affirms that the power relation within ideologies informs social, political and economic structure (Carspecken, 1996). Therefore, the social and political power relations that underpin afrophobia are exposed in chapter six and seven of this study. Additionally, critical theory goes beyond recognition of power relations by seeking the positive change to the oppressive circumstances for a given people whom the ideology is framed for. Scott and Morrison (2007: 46) point out that “critical theory changes the social circumstances by detecting and unmasking beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice and democracy”.

Secondly, critical theory outlines that in a given system there are two social groups within a society. One group is powerful, while another is powerless. Inadvertently, the powerless group is exposed to domination and discrimination by the powerful. In the same vein, afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education have unintentionally produced two groups of students, namely the African international students who are powerless, while the local South
African students is a powerful social group. Essentially, critical theory enables the identification of internal contradictions within ideologies that contain power relations dynamics (Burbules and Warnick, 2006). To a larger extent, this study analyses the contradictions that may exist between afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. Furthermore, critical theory aims to challenge the power dynamics that are inherent in an ideological framework.

Thirdly according to Carspecken (1996), critical theory acknowledges the presence of unequal social and political arrangements in any given society or institution. Henceforth, Creswell (2007:27) argues that “critical theory perspectives are concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class and gender”. Consequently, in using critical theory, this study explores the possibility that students can socially transcend their national identities to embrace social diversity. By so doing, critical theory assists in combating prejudices and all other forms of unfair discriminations which may derail the internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa.

Fourthly, critical theory offers an emancipatory element (Freeman, Frank and Vasconcelos, 2010). To this end, value-orientated towards emancipation allows me to critique the oppressive tendency of afrophobia in public higher education. For instance, Watson and Watson (2011:66) write that “incorporating critical theory into systems analysis stressed the importance of recognizing issues of power, oppression and emancipation systems thinking and approaches”. Indubitably, those who both perpetrators and victims of afrophobic tendencies in spaces of public higher education need to create liberating norms that enhance the social goals of internationalisation of higher education.

In many ways, critical race theory encompasses all the constituents of critical theory. However, the notion of raace stands out as the distinctive character of critical race theory. In this view, Gokhan (2014:508) notes that “our social relations are affected explicitly or implicitly by racialized social structure”. While critical race theory primarily emanated from the racial context of the United States of America, this study locates it in the South African institutions of public higher education.

According to Closson (2010:266), critical race theory “critiques social structures and forms of theorising that legitimize them to make them just and bring systematic change”. Critique in this context basically entails “an approach that enables us to dig beneath the surface of social life and uncover assumptions that keep us from fully understanding how the world works” (Jacobs,
In all nation states where race is part of social composition, there are un-interrogated beliefs, stereotypes and assumptions that are attached to races. In that regard, races are categorised in terms of superior and inferior.

Given the above background, I have argued reasonably that afrophobia constitutes a race issue, the details of which I cover in Chapter Two. Suffice here to say that afrophobia is race issue because it is the black African foreign immigrants (illegal and legal) who encounter xenophobic attitudes and practices. Foreigners could be white or black; however, it is the black who are discriminated against. Lee (2017) employs the term neo-racism to highlight the point that racism cannot only be confined to biological conceptions but rather it could also refer to cultural differences based on nationalities. This suggests that afrophobia fits the description of a race issue. Below I introduce the ethical considerations of this inquiry.

1.18 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

This is a conceptual research that basically involves analysing the researched empirical evidence on internationalisation of public higher education and afrophobia in South Africa. In analysing the empirical evidence, I seek to examine patterns that characterise internationalisation of public higher education and afrophobia. As a result, I use existing policies, mission, and vision statements of public universities as well as academic scholarly books and journals articles on internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa and the notion of afrophobia. Ethical considerations give primacy to the importance of acknowledgement of all sources and that they are correctly cited.

1.19 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

1.19.1 Chapter One: Orientation to the Study

This chapter constitutes an overview of the relevant ideas. In Chapter One I have included the theoretical issues that form the basis of the argumentation around afrophobic attitudes and perceptions in public universities in South Africa. In addition, this chapter introduces the critical areas of the study; the research questions, problem statement, justification and a brief indication of the methodology employed in the study. So, the main aim of Chapter One is to give the context of the study.

1.19.2 Chapter Two: Explication of critical Race Theory as a methodology

Chapter two discusses the critical race theory as the methodology of this study. Critical race theory is a derivative of the generic critical theory. I employ critical race theory to analyse
afrophobia from the centrality of race as a concept used to oppress and marginalise African international students in internationalised public universities. The relevant tenets of critical race theory such as transformative and the possibility of change in structural and ideological structures are examined here. This chapter also justifies the choice of critical race theory as a philosophical methodology to explain afrophobia and internationalisation.

1.19.3 Chapter Three: Student International Migration: A Facet of Internationalisation of Higher Education

An extensive exposition of international migration in relation to the patterns and trends of student international migration is carried out in chapter three. In this chapter I argue that international migration is multi-faceted in the forms such as skilled or unskilled labourers, business people, investors and tourists. Moreover, international migration can be forced due to circumstances such as civil war, social political unrests and famine. With focus on this study, international students are also part of the broad scope of international migrants. In most cases, international students are also exposed to the general experiences and social challenges that other migrants, whether legal or illegal, encounter in the host nation state.

1.19.4 Chapter Four: Patterns and Rationales of Internationalisation: Public Higher Education in South Africa

The rationales for recruiting and retaining international students are in most cases shaped by both the national and regional social, historical, economic and political context of the nation state and the region. Equally so, the South African public higher education is considered to be more advanced in respect to quality of education and infrastructure in comparison to neighbouring African nation states. This chapter examines the factors that give rise to patterns and trends of international students in South Africa public higher universities.

1.19.5 Chapter Five: The Paradoxical Patterns of Afrophobia in the South African Society

At the heart of this study are the experiences of international students as migrants. However, before analysing the specific context of public higher education, chapter five delineates the manifestations of afrophobia in the broader South African society. Drawing from literature that indicates empirical cases of afrophobia in the South African society, Chapter five exposes the explicit manifestations in which African foreign nationals.
1.19.6 Chapter Six: A Critical Exposition of Afrophobia in South Africa’s Public Universities

Chapter six is a detailed exposition of the forms of afrophobia in the South African public universities. Centrally, this chapter compiles the incidences in which African international students encounter afrophobia. Given the complexities that surround afrophobia, chapter six seeks to offer compelling information to avoid self-fulfilling claims.

1.19.7 Chapter Seven: A Cosmopolitan Conception of the Internationalisation of Public Universities: A Case for South Africa

Chapter Seven critically analyse cosmopolitanism because of its potential of eliminating afrophobia in South Africa. In some way, cosmopolitanism is already implied in the diversities along races, ethnicity and tribes as co-existing. In analysing cosmopolitanism, the main objective is to lay out the underlying social tolerance. This study argues that there is a possibility of rainbow cosmopolitanism in public higher education.

1.19.8 Chapter Eight: From Rainbow Nation to Rainbow Cosmopolitanism in Public Universities

As a derivative of the generic critical theory, the critical race theory does not only seek to describe a social phenomenon, but propose and establish alternative establishment that are emancipatory. Chapter Eight seeks to establish values of rainbow cosmopolitanism that could eliminate afrophobia in the public universities of South Africa. So, the first part of this chapter examines the inadequacies of cosmopolitanism that was introduced in Chapter Seven. The second and the main aim of this chapter is the formation of a conceptualisation of international student immigration with the view of combating the negative stereotypes direct to other nationalities.

1.19.9 Chapter Nine: Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

Chapter nine as the conclusive part of the study, sums up the inferences that have been made in all the foregoing chapters on afrophobic attitudes and tendencies in public higher education in South Africa. I conclude that afrophobia is counterproductive to the social, economic and political objectives of internationalisation of public higher education. Since afrophobia is an anti-foreign expression that targets African international students in South Africa, every effort should be explored to minimise it. To this end, this chapter makes some recommendations that are aimed at eliminating and combating afrophobia in public higher education in South African.
1.20 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the main issues that constitute this study. The theoretical issues that inform this study emanate from juxtaposing afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. Afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education are main themes that form the basis of the arguments. Other themes such as the nation state and cosmopolitanism play an important role, but only by giving secondary support to the main themes mentioned above to contextualise the study. International migration, international student mobility, public higher education and the general quest for internationalisation are indispensably attached to afrophobia and internationalisation in South Africa. I have shown that given the importance of internationalisation, then ways to eliminate afrophobia are essential. To that end, this conceptual study seeks to establish a new understanding of internalisation that promotes social interaction across nationalities.

Inopportune, the discussion on afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education could easily become abstract without a context. That is why situating the study in South Africa is important. South Africa has its own historical, political, social and economic circumstances that shape the patterns of internationalisation of public higher education. It is therefore critical to interrogate impediments to social relations between international students and South African students.
CHAPTER TWO:

Explication of Critical Race Theory as a methodology

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One, I pointed out that this study employs critical race theory as a methodology to analyse and critique afrophobia that is juxtaposed against internationalisation of public higher education in South African. Informed by the conception of race that has been discussed in the previous chapter, I now focus on critical race theory. The methodological relevance of this theory is that it enables the conceptual exposition of the racial power relations that underlie internationalisation and afrophobia. In the application of critical race theory, this study acknowledges that it emerges out of the generic critical theory, and by this fact both share common characteristics. It is therefore, necessary that this chapter discusses the core components of critical race theory as tools of analysis. Such tools are used to interrogate, explain, understand and suggest an alternative approach. Consequently, recommendations that emanate from this study whose purpose is to mitigate the tension between afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa are drawn out in chapter nine.

Conceptual studies use established empirical evidence to interrogate the underlying perceptions, assumptions, beliefs, ideologies and values for understanding a phenomenon. As an example, afrophobic incidences may indicate that there are assumptions, stereotypes and perceptions that citizens hold against black African immigrants. So, using critical race theory as a methodology to examine the tension between afrophobia and internationalisation is necessary in exposing the underlying assumptions behind such tendencies and practices.

This methodological chapter is divided in the following interconnected subsection; conceptual research, a brief history of critical theory, basic tenets, critical race theory, and give a conclusion to the chapter. Bearing in mind the centrality the notion of race, it is the endeavour in this chapter to lay out the racial nature of afrophobia.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF CONCEPTUAL RESEARCH

In this section, it is vital to bring out the interconnection between conceptual research and critical race theory. There is a simplistic perspective which claims that educational issues should only be researched and analysed empirically. For Ndofirepi and Shumba, (2012), it is illogical to suggest that any form of research methodology which does not involve empirical data collection is flawed. Some of the empirical approaches that seem to be considered as
offering plausible research include interviews, observations, phenomenology and ethnography. Resultantly, most of these empirical approaches are commonly used educational research. However, rejecting a conceptual philosophical approach to research is an epistemological fallacy that suggests that knowledge can only be empirically accessed. On the contrary, conceptual research is important since it focuses on interrogating and analysing concepts, notions, values and ideologies to avail deeper and better understanding of a phenomenon. In this way, conceptual research examines the use of concepts, terms and words.

Additionally, it conceptual research clarifies the embedded assumptions before establishing arguments that are consistent, logical and coherent. Golding (2014:206) agrees that a philosophical conceptual research “constructs concepts, theories and arguments by employing logic and reasoning to resolve conceptual and normative problems”. Concepts encompass values which in turn serve to explain events, practices, beliefs and attitudes. Unless conceptions are interrogated, ambiguities and incoherencies will remain. In other words, beliefs underlie conceptual frameworks. By unravelling the underlying beliefs behind these standards, canons or values that people hold, it may be possible to rectify social challenges. For instance, a conceptual analysis of xenophobia may result in the understanding of certain patterns, targets, victims, perpetrators and even specific locations of such occurrences. As such, understanding xenophobia is an attempt to appreciate ways in which social relationships could be improved for common humanity. Essentially, conceptual research cannot detach itself from the empirical research cases. In this regard, this study in conceptually analysing the practices of afrophobia takes into account existing empirical evidence. The accusation that conceptual research is rather abstract and operates from a vacuum is therefore, ill-informed.

Ndofirepi and Shumba (2012:142) maintain that conceptual “analysis serves the purpose of reducing complex ideas and explicating human situations into comprehensible relational concepts which clarification challenges their common sense understanding of the world”. To highlight the significance of conceptual research, I use two examples in higher education. The first example of an educational issue arises out of the contestable concept of free higher education in South Africa or any other nation state for that matter. While debates and discussions on the merits and demerits of free higher education have been raging on for quite some time, the concept of free seems to be taken for granted. Conceptual research can examine the notion of free as encapsulated in free higher education. What does it mean to say something is free? Free in free higher education may either imply the government increases funds into education or that private companies fund higher education. It seems then that free can only be
understood by conceptually analysing the conceptual ramifications of the ideal of free. In the second example, I consider the concept ‘university’. Given the pressure of the emerging pattern of unemployed graduates, the conception of university has equally come under scrutiny. There are suggestions that universities should train people who will graduate and secure employment. On the other hand, there is a traditional conservative understanding that views universities as knowledge producers. Knowledge that is produced at the university may not necessarily be designed towards equipping someone for employment sake. In view of these two examples, it is the preserve of conceptual research to clarify ambiguities and ambivalences that may be encountered in the use and application of concepts.

Furthermore, a misconception should not be created that there is a dichotomy between empirical and philosophical conceptual research. The two domains of research are not necessarily parallel to each other given the fact that educational empirical issues are underlined by philosophical conceptual challenges. To this end, “all research involves both philosophical and empirical elements, but sometimes one is foregrounded while the other is back-grounded” (Golding, 2014:206). Accordingly, this study forefronts philosophical conceptual research on afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education while involving the background of empirical research. Therefore, the main contributions that conceptual research may give to the knowledge body are clearly articulated universalised theories. Theories play a significant role in all forms of knowledge as well as social, political and economic interactions. In a way, theories explain people’s world views; give values and determines their actions. Brookfield (2005) suggests that theories explain reality by giving meaning so that rationally informed decisions are undertaken. Furthermore, theories are essential because they can be employed to give forecast of consequences. With reference to this study, critical theory is located and appreciated in the domains of theories.

Given the foregoing assessment of conceptual research, it becomes ostensible that this type of research can possibly results in the proposition of a new theoretical understanding of an issue. I observe that the conceptual approach research which is intended for theorisation purposes lags in the educational research in Africa. African researchers of education tend to adopt Western theoretical frameworks which have been developed but may not always directly relate to African circumstances.

Moreover, the abstract nature of theories implies that they are developed from a set of contextual ideas, values and beliefs that speak to the attendant issues. Consequently, theories
are universalised to be relevant to the social issues emanating from other places. However, the universalization of theories and concepts always emanate from a given context. To this end, it is the objective of this study to conceptually develop the theory of afrophobia which is a paradigm shift from the generic xenophobia. Accordingly, the recommendations that this study makes are therefore, logically derived from accurate understanding of issues of afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa.

Lastly, in this section, I point out that the meanings of concepts are not as obvious as they may seem, hence the need for a scholarly examination in educational research. Moreover, conceptual research analyses beliefs and values with the intention of seeking clarity by exposing inherent contradiction, ambiguities, and a mismatch between ideological intentions and practices. The following subsection deliberates on the generic critical theory from which critical race theory emerges.

2.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CRITICAL THEORY

To appreciate the core tenets of critical theory, it is useful to locate its historical origins. Critical theory is traced back to the Frankfurt school in the early 1920s. Despite its diverse traditions and social emphasis, this theory can be attributed to figures such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse. According to Watson and Watson (2011), Jurgen Habermas is associated with the later versions of critical theory espoused in philosophy and sociology. The founders of critical theory immersed themselves in the social, economic and political conditions of their time. They sought to establish some form of principles of critique to understand oppressive social structures. Moreover, it was essential to establish means necessary for transforming society.

According to Kellner (1990) the social and political conditions of the time informed the discourses of critical theory. Historically, capitalism had resulted in two classes, the bourgeoisie (capitalists) and the proletariat (working class). Whereas the bourgeoisies were economically and financially dominant, the proletariat remained economically poor and oppressed (Wang and Torris-Steele, 2015). It is primarily for this reason that there are suggestions that critical theory was born in economic and social conditions where exploitation and oppression were evident in Germany (Kellner, 1990). In view of these apparent opposing economic classes in the capitalist society, it is not inconceivable to suggest that critical theory emerged for the purposes of transforming the society.
More importantly, from a historical point of view, the term critical theory was coined and first used in 1937 while the Frankfurt school was under the leadership of Horkeimer. Essentially, critical theory was designed to develop a model that served to understand the social organisation and to ultimately transform it. While Marxism had theoretically reduced society in terms of economic disparities between classes, the later versions of critical theory claimed to extend and encompass the social, psychological, cultural, political aspects of the individual in relationship to the broader society (Kellner, 1990)

In this historical setting of critical theory, I have not only outlined the economic origins of critical theory, but I have equally stressed that this theory has been used to challenge the political, social and cultural arrangements and ideologies that seek to perpetuate forms of oppression. Conclusively, the focal point of critical theory is the rectification of social arrangements that result in marginalisation and dehumanisation. In summary, critical theory confronts all forms of oppressive social structures. In the section below, I discuss the basic tenets of critical theory.

2.4 CRITICAL THEORY: BASIC TENETS

In recognition of different strands of critical theory, it is rather difficult to concisely pin down its univocal definition. Rasmussen (2015), observes that critical theory is somewhat too broad to the extent that it has become meaningless and abstract. Noticeably, feminism, post-colonialism, queer theory, critical discourse analysis and critical race theory among others all claim to be rooted in critical theory. However, the subject of focus of these ‘critical theories’ are divergent. This is to say that critical theory has over time evolved into different forms in response to specific the social issue that it soughts to address.

However, despite the contention associated with critical theory, this study focuses on its common features. Towards this end, this inquiry concerns itself with four characteristics of critical theory, namely the notion of critique, social transformation, structures as not invincible and critical theory as emancipatory feature. As consistently outlined in this study, the four mentioned primary characteristics of critical theory informs the exposition on afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa.

More importantly, Dzvimbo and Moloi (2013) point out that critical theory allows for the systematic questioning of underlying assumptions and beliefs that give rise to certain practices along the lines of power relations. In these power relations, sections of the population are
oppressed by those who are perceived to be superior. This is the kind of scenario where afrophobia festers. In the sections that follow, I examine the notions of critique, social transformation, structures as not invincible and critical theory as emancipatory.

2.4.1 The Notion of Critique

The notion of critique is a common feature that seems to be a conventional point for all theories that are considered as being critical. Critique is central as both a point of departure and point of destination. As in ordinary circumstances, critique denotes the use of rationality or independent thinking that is not conformed to dogmatic practices, passivity and oppressive normative systems. For McKernan (2013), critique is essentially a way people interrogate or confront oppressive social, political and economic conditions. In critiquing, there is an explicit realisation that in some circumstances, human cultural practices are tailor-made to suit the interests of a dominant social group at the expense of the other (Regelski, 2005). Basically critique involves a well-informed art of challenging structures that constrain human freedom. Wang and Torris-Steele aptly sum up critique as:

Critical theory views ideologies as broadly accepted set of values, beliefs, myths, explanations and justifications that appear self-evidently true, empirically accurate, personally relevant, and morally desirable to a majority of populace, but that actually work to maintain an unjust social and political order (Wang and Torris-Steele, 2015:20).

The above citation on ideological critique can be used to consider afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education as ideologies. Ideologies usually operate as a collective system of beliefs and values that explain the functioning of social, political, cultural and economic structures. Applying a critique on ideologies can potentially enable the examination of its underlying assumptions. On this basis, it seems that the tenet of critique is inextricable from critical theory. If the tenet of critique is removed in critical theory, then the whole theory collapses.

The notion of critique in the critical theory is a rational exercise which “aims to articulate an evaluation of a given social order by theorizing a gap between the normative potentiality that this orders harbours and the still deficient actuality of its current state of development” (Ivkovic, 2014:29). On Ivkovic’s observation, critique becomes an indispensable core component of critical theory to the extent that it is the tool that assesses the social situation. It is involved in the challenging of social oppression and discrimination based on race, sexuality, nationality, religion, poverty, crime, racism and xenophobia (Watson and Watson 2011). A
critique therefore, is placed to examine the underlying values, theories, values that are beneath the dominant and popular cultures. Specifically in the context of South Africa, the notion of critique reviews and assesses social order by exposing the underlying assumptions that account for afrophobic practices and tendencies.

2.4.2 The Notion of Social Transformation

Concerning social transformation, critical theory states that critique of the current social order should challenge the status quo and the system that sustains it. In this connection, critical theory attempts not only to explain phenomena in society, but also seeks to establish social transformation. Brookfield (2005:7) claims that “critical theory wants to explain a social order in such a way that it becomes itself the catalyst which leads to the transformation of their social order”. This suggests that critical theory endeavours to be transformative by identifying social issues and inducing social transformation through the identification and isolation of underlying causes of social inequalities. Albury (2015:257) agrees and makes the following observation; “what is wrong with the current social reality, identify actors to change it, provide clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation”. Groves and Sampson (2007) state that critical theory needs to offer alternative ideas and actions that may result in the realisation of a new social order. Social transformation driven by critical theory must result in the change in both thinking as well as activities towards better social arrangements. It is for this reason that critical theory is popular in fields such as gender, culture, and education as well as political and economic challenges. Furthermore, social transformation which alters the social institutions and values is an indispensable element of critical theory. The basic motif in seeking social transformation is that a theory is critical since it explains, understands and interprets society, but also changes and unshackles humans from conditions of oppression (McKernan, 2013).

For the purposes of the promotion of social transformation, critical theory accentuates the significance of challenging norms that account for hegemonic structures. It is such norms which are put in place for the mechanisation of oppression and marginalisation of other social groups. In the specific setting of this study, the negative national stereotypes about other Africans underlie the afrophobic practices and attitudes can be altered with a critical theory perspective.
2.4.3 Social Structures Are Not Invincible

From the perspective of social structures, critical theory advocates the interpretation that all political and social structures are ultimately alterable. Critical theory disputes the idea of the immutability of social and political structures (Roach, 2008). Arguably, critical theory disputes the idea that social and political structures are unchangeable. So, it is observed that “critical theory judges social arrangements by their capacity to embrace open dialogue with others and envisages new forms of political community that breaks with unjustified exclusion” (Linklater, 2007:46). To this end, critical theory gives room to the fact that there can always be cross-pollination of ideas that result in change of world-view. In as much as stereotypes and prejudices are socially acquired and passed on to other people, they can equally be unlearned.

Critical theory’s primary concern is therefore, on social structures, arrangements and institutions. The objective of such a concern is to expose the powers that give shape to such social orders. Sinnerbrink (2012) suggests that critical theory takes up the role of analysing historical and social conditions of crisis that occur within the society. It could be asserted that critical theory “aims to articulate an evaluation of a given social order by theorising a gap between the normative potentiality that this order harbours and the still deficient actuality of the current state of development” (Ivkovic, 2014:29). Furthermore, Kellner (1990) points out that the word critique contained in this theory is meant to emphasise the aspect of denouncing all forms of oppressive practices and attitudes that ultimately marginalise other social groups in the society. Ultimately, critical theory affirms that there are power relations in ideologies and themes that inform the social arrangements, and indeed greatly influence people’s perceptions.

Within critical theory, there is an argument that societies maintain repressive structures by advancing popular ways of thinking that predictably becomes dominant (Freeman and Vasconcelos, 2007). In accordance with this, beliefs, assumptions and stereotypes over other social groups are elevated by those who are in advantageous positions owing to their cultural, economic and social status. In emphasising the aspect of changeability of social structures, it is noted that critical theory is “confidently directed against a particular repressive or exploitative social relations based on class, gender, race and spatial location” (Dryzek, 1987:657). Regrettably, societies have a tendency of rendering other social groups to be insignificant. For Garth (1994), insignificance should not be confined to the sense of social marginalisation. Rather, insignificance may entail that other social groups are perceived as
irrelevant. It is in such context that critical theory enables the exposition of the binaries of powerful and powerlessness, and domineering and marginalised.

With regards to employment of this conception of critical theory in this study, chapter five and six discuss the structures and ideals that are account for afrophobic tendencies and attitudes. For instance, the concept of nation state can be viewed as an invincible structure that legally, socially, economically and politically demarcates a local (citizen) from an immigrant (foreigner). Besides, structures such as culture, language and access to economic resources in a public university are sometimes perceived as invincible and unchangeable. Ultimately, the perception that cultures are unalterable can be misused for social exclusion purposes. Towards the exposition of structures, Chapters five and six extensively analyse and interrogate the assumptions and beliefs that underlie structures that may give rise to afrophobia.

2.4.4 Critical Theory as Emancipatory

Perhaps the most prominent contribution critical theory makes to research endeavours is its insistence on human emancipation from repressive structures. Recalling that critical theory has its origins in the Marxist critique of capitalist system of material production, it becomes apparent that emancipation is a key tenet of critical theory. It is conceivable that critical theory had the potential to liberate the working class from capitalist oppressive structures. In its later developments as it shifted away from focusing on capitalist economies to other social issues, critical theory maintained the potential to liberate humanity from oppression.

According to Sinnerbrink (2012), critical theory offers society the possibilities of emancipation. In this regard, emancipation is realised through the practice of critically questioning the political structures that lead to oppressive social structures. Pointedly, the “the priority given to members of a political community often give rise to injustice to non-members and non-citizens” (Bohman, 2012:98). Critical theory questions both the beneficiaries and the deprived or the marginalised and the dominant of a given social system by examining the existing beliefs, assumptions, (mis) perceptions and values. In so doing, there is an assertion that oppressive social assumptions and beliefs are indeed manufactured in the given social context.

There is an affirmation that “emancipatory values are important when considering social systems wherein inequality of power exists in relation to opportunity, authority and control” (Watson and Watson, 2011:68). One of the ways in which a researcher who applies critical
theory can initiate emancipation is the identification of social obstacles, rules or symbols that deny human freedom. Significantly, the tenet of emancipation alluded here comprises the universal human interactions in which sources of prejudices are addressed. Henceforth, the elimination of nationalities prejudices within internationalised universities can be regarded as a form of human emancipation.

Contextually, the tenet of emancipation in public higher education implies that both local and African international will desist from holding prejudicial negative attitudes and nationalistic stereotypes. If afrophobia results in subtle marginalisation and unmerited dominance over others, then the tenet of emancipatory becomes necessary in South African institutions of public higher education. For example, the fact that there may be minimal or no social interactions between local and African international students in South African public higher education is an indication that students are culturally restricted to relate within nationalities cohort.

As mentioned already in the introductory part of this chapter, critical race theory as a derivative of critical theory shares common general features with critical theory. However, it is ideal to discuss critical race theory as depicted in the following sub-section.

2.5 CRITICAL RACE THEORY

The central claim of critical race theory is that the concept of race is a permanent and ubiquitous feature of any society. As discussed already in Chapter one, the concept of race is highly contestable and debatable in most nation states as it reflects the challenges associated with social diversity. From a broad perspective, “scientists seek to classify races as groups of people with distinctive combinations of physical traits that set them off from other groups” (Hurton and Hunt, 1976:335). On this view, physical appearances skin tone and hair colour, shape of the nose, eyes and lips are forms of racial categorisation that classifies people as black, white, Indians, coloureds or Africans.

Historically, critical race theory emerged from the United States of American legal fraternity where instances of racism were experienced (Marri, 2007). In this sense, race was used to oppress, marginalise and disregard people who were not of the dominant racial group. Deriving from the USA experience, critical race theory can be used as a principal tool to critique social structures, institutions, practices and values that people hold in a given society. It is of vital
importance to state that critical race theory “attempts to understand the oppressive aspects of society to generate societal and individual transformation” (Ortiz and Jani, 2010:176).

According to critical race theory, race is a notion that is socially constructed that has different meanings and interpretations for different people. Ortiz and Jani (2010) argue that race has no prefixed explanations. In other words, there is no static universally defined and conventionally accepted understanding of race. The contentions associated with the definitions of race imply that race cannot be restricted to biological factors such as skin complexion alone, but may include social group statuses. Conventionally, race is understood as a binary between black and white people. Ortiz and Jani (2010) state that race is defined by the dominant group in a particular society as a way of promoting and sustaining social stratification. It seems that “those placed outside of the dominant group are afforded fewer social resources and opportunities and less access to social goods” (Ortiz and Jani; 2010:178). Essentially, critical race theory does not reduce all forms of social discrimination to race issues, but rather instances where social dominance and submissions occurs.

In most nation states, the notion of race is continually redefined and appropriated to reflect the contextual circumstances that suit the dominant racial groupings. For Ortiz and Jani (2010:180), “this redefinition has determined which of these groups’ traits are more desirable, which are less desirable and more likely to lead to social marginalisation”. The redefinition of race is more pronounced and explicit in international immigration which has resulted in social groupings between immigrants and citizens. From a methodological point of view, I apply critical race theory to identify assumptions and stereotypes that have racial connotations against African international students in South Africa. It is argued that “because race is a relational concept, its primary societal function has been to classify people for separation and social stratification” (Ortiz and Jan, 2010:183). Essentially, race is a system of perceptions that socially privileges the dominant group against the excluded and marginalised groups. This in itself suggests that there are racial power hierarchies in the society.

As noted in the section on critical theory, the tendency to justify an oppressive ideology is critiqued in all versions of critical theory. Ideological justification serves to ‘offer’ explanation or reasons for the social situation in which other people dominate others on the basis of their social status. On this note McKernan (2013:425) argues that “only by critiquing ‘common sense’ notions that pass off themselves as value free claims can individual discern whose interests they serve and who might benefit if such notions and social structures they support
were disrupted and transformed”. Therefore, one of the objectives of this study is to critique unsubstantiated claims that are advanced to justify xenophobia and specifically afrophobia. For instance, it is often claimed that African immigrants take away jobs and other economic opportunities meant for South African citizens (Landau, 2007). This perceived competition between locals and African immigrants has often been a source of tension that sometimes leads to violent confrontation.

Critical race theory affirms that racism manifests itself in a variety of forms; hence it cannot be confined to explicit violent forms such as verbal expressions, physical attacks and confrontations. It is contended that “the task of researchers who apply critical race theory is to “unmask and expose racism in its various permutations to make it less normalised” (Marri 2003:146). It seems then, that critical race theory takes into account attitudes and stereotypes as subtle forms of racism. Ibrahim (2005) confirms the view that racism is sometimes salient, hidden and unobvious, yet embedded in the social fabric. This subtlety is important since it has a bearing on the understanding of xenophobia and afrophobia.

Moreover, race as referring to whiteness and blackness is a determining factor for either discrimination and or non-discrimination in a society (Aleman, 2009). In this sense, race is either a symbol of subordination, subservience or domination. This study holds that race should be conceptualised beyond biological or inheritable physiological factors. The perceived attitudes of superiority that are attached to whiteness and by the same token, inferiority attributed to black population are perceptions constructed through history and socialisation. To illustrate this point, I take an example that people are physically different, such as that there are short and tall people. Nevertheless, it is stereotypical to attribute certain social characteristics to all short people or generalise that all tall people are clever. In the same vein, the idea of attaching race to human states such as deprivation, superiority and inferiority is fallacious.

According to Huber (2010), there are three bases upon which race superiority or inferiority is rationalised. Firstly, a social group convinces itself to be superior over others. Secondly, such a group may conduct and ‘rationalise’ harmful acts towards the supposedly inferior group. Thirdly, race conceptualisation negatively impacts several ethnic and racial groups. Deriving from these three bases, racism is explained as “an internal frame of reference that directs a person’s opinion with regard to other individuals or groups. It is a doctrine that ascribes inferior qualities to another race and which can justify exemption from usual moral restraint” (Mentz,
et al, 2007:3). It seems that race misconceptions unfairly discriminate degrades other people’s value systems and is prejudiced based on race.

I have suggested above that afrophobia is essentially xenophobia that takes the form of social discrimination which is reinforced by perceptions of race. Consequently, these perceptions give the impression that there is a cleavage between ‘tolerable’ immigrants (white race) and ‘intolerable’ immigrants (black race). In Chapter five, I show how the black African immigrants are the prime target of discrimination on the basis of their nationalities in comparison to other white foreigners. In South Africa, black African international immigrants from nation states such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Zambia remain the most vulnerable social group that experience anti-foreign sentiments and practices. So, afrophobia categorises Africans in terms of race where the black race is relatively susceptible to discrimination in host nation states.

Gillborn (2006) maintains that critical race theory is not much of a theory in the sense of explanatory principles that can be employed to predict the future. Critical race theory then is “a set of interrelated beliefs about the significance of race/ racism and how it operates in contemporary society” (Gillborn, 2006:14). In this way, critical race theory as a methodology offers the analysis of modes where race influences social relations, social privileges and social categorisations. Additionally, the historical context of a nation state is of significance since a historical analysis may assist in tracing the process of racial conceptualisation. For instance, the history of South Africa from a political perspective is different from that of Zimbabwe. Such differences influence social relations and social perceptions of races in the respective countries.

It is crucial to note that critical race theory acknowledges that unjust social practices, beliefs and assumptions are not always explicitly manifested in physical violent confrontations between racial groups. Many times they are expressed in subtle forms (Freeman and Vasconcelos, 2010). The task of critical race theory takes into account both non-verbal and non-physical forms of racism that needs to be challenged within social structures such as public universities. The importance of critical race theory from a conceptual angle is in its power to interrogate the salient forms of afrophobia which is a manifestation of misconceptions of race.

Like all other versions of critical theory, critical race theory seeks to initiate ideological confrontations that will result in the emancipation for the socially marginalised. More importantly, critical race theory interrogates the racial set of beliefs that occasion oppression.
For this reason, Huber (2010) agrees that critical race theory challenges hegemonic tendencies inherent in oppressive ideologies with the goal of achieving human emancipation. Accordingly, critical race theory holds the “view that society is a human construction that needs reconstruction” (Freeman and Vasconcelos, 2010:7). The continual transformation of the society includes, changing negative attitudes, beliefs and misconceptions that people holding against the other who might be culturally or nationally different. In further seeking to understand critical race theory, Villapando (2004) observes that racial stratification in society may still exist even if there are punitive laws against that prohibit race profiling. Therefore, the institutional or social prohibition of racism through official laws and statutes does not necessarily translate into the cessation of subtle racially discriminatory tendencies.

Essentially, critical race theory goes beyond mere acknowledgement of power relations. Primarily, critical race theory seeks a positive change to the undesirable circumstances that that arises out of the imposition of ideology and oppressive social arrangements. In view of the practice of recruiting and enrolling international students, it could be advanced that there are salient and explicitly pronounced power relations between local and African international students. Conceivably, international universities may be misconceived as social arrangement in which international students as foreigners must culturally conform or adapt to the dominant cultural value system of the local students.

In outlining the significance of critical race towards transformation, it is observed that “critical theory changes the circumstances by detecting and unmasking beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice and democracy” (Scott and Morrison, 2007:46). This detection of limits to human freedom is meant to eventually lead to the rectification of unequal power relations. Liberating people from the sources of oppression is the positive change that critical race theory brings. If for instance, racial discrimination is examined by critical race theory, it could be discovered that both perpetrators and the victims are in need of liberation. Ultimately, critical race theory’s analysis considers race as the influential factor in societies where marginalisation and dominance coexists. To expose the centrality of race, the following subsection exposes the race connotation that is intrinsic in afrophobia.

2.5.1 Afrophobia: A Racialized Xenophobia

Critical race theory dismisses the parochial view that considers race issues as confined to biological complexional shade or physiological appearance. Consequently, afrophobia can be conceptually examined from the perspective of race. For this study to avoid committing the
straw man fallacy, I derive from neo-racism where race issues are discussed beyond biology. Neo-racism is a theory that advances the argument that practices and tendencies towards social discriminations based on cultural and national differences can be regarded as race issues. While ordinarily, racism tends to focus on biological race as a point of exclusion or inclusion, neo-racism is entrenched in the nationalistic notions of superiority and the quest for dominance over immigrants. Lee and Rice (2007) are of the observation that neo-racism privileges group cultural identities that are derived from a sense of national belonging.

The conception of superiority and dominance based on nationality, sometimes leads to discrimination. In most cases, discrimination is rationalised on the basis the idea of foreigners as outsiders while citizens are categorised as insiders. Consequently, the races of insider and outsider are established. In this way, a person of different national origin may be regarded as the other, an outsider, or is a considered a social misfit. For social discrimination that occurs in internationalised universities, international students may remain as ‘outsiders’ race in the host nation state. Analysis suggests that “whether welcome or unwelcome, international students are legally defined as aliens, as others. They are culturally ‘othered’ as well” (Marginson: 2012:501). Since the focus of this study concerns forms of social dominance and marginalisation that occur between international and local students, critical race theory is essential in analysing these affinities from an ideological perspective.

To appreciate the appropriateness of critical race theory in engaging with the issue of afrophobia, it is ideal to situate afrophobia in this conceptual methodology. Ordinarily, afrophobia as a form of xenophobia is explored from the perspective of discrimination based on national differences. In situating racism in afrophobia, Cross and Naidoo (2012:229) argue that “race represents today the generative mechanism through which other forms of difference are constituted/ reconstituted, reinforced or gain expression”. In South Africa, afrophobia should be understood as racism that takes the form of national discrimination. The label, ‘black foreigner from Africa’ distinguishes afrophobia from the generic xenophobia prevalent outside universities.

Afrophobia is underlined by the dichotomous relationship between the marginalised (victims of afrophobic expressions) and the dominant (the perpetrators) as social groups. Drawing from Soudien (2010), race categorisation should not be restricted to the binaries of white and black (skin colour) people. In the framework of afrophobia, Abdi (2011) points out that the irony of xenophobia is that there are no white makwerekwere (a derogative term that refers to foreigner
in South Africa). The suggestion in this observation is that white foreign nationals in South Africa are ‘exempted’ from mistreatment that is often meted on black African foreign national. Foreignness is assumed to be closely related to ‘blackness’. Therefore, in South Africa, there is an assumption that foreignness basically implies a non-South African citizen who is black and hails from other African nation states. The contributory perception that underlines this assumption in the broader society is given further discussion in Chapter Five. It is suffice in this chapter to note that afrophobia as a form of xenophobia is fundamentally a race issue. Thus, race becomes a distinctive feature that determines who may or may not be a victim of afrophobia. Adjai and Lazaridis argue that:

Xenophobia can be linked to new racism which is based on discriminatory treatment of the basis of other’s national origin or ethnicity. New racism is a change from the notions of biological superiority to exclusion. This shift is based on cultural and national difference” (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:192).

According to Maharaj (2002:13), the primacy of race in afrophobia suggests that “in South Africa there has been a xenophobic tendency to stigmatise immigrants, particularly those from African countries as criminals”. Consequently, stigmatisation of the black foreigners is the basis upon which the concept afrophobia is contextually appropriate rather than xenophobia. Whereas xenophobia gives the impression of anti-foreign sentiments on all foreigners, afrophobia delineates the specific target of anti-foreign practices as black African foreign nationals. Conclusively, afrophobic attitudes and practices are negative perceptions that black South Africans have towards black African immigrants. In this way, afrophobia is a race issue.

2.5.2 Summation and Appraisal of Complexities of Critical Race Theory

As a derivative of critical theory, there are complexities in critical race theory that often arise from the social, political and economic context. Critical race theory as an outgrowth of critical theory espouses the view that there are social classes in society which are determined by race as a dominant feature. According to Howard and Navarro (2016), critical race theory asserts that the notions of race in any society results in the domination and subordination of a certain sector of the society. In these circumstances, critical race theory critiques the practices of dominating other social groups which makes them powerless and vulnerable. Nevertheless, the concept of race is highly controversial. Relatedly, this study does not in any way seek to oversimplify the notion of race. By using critical race theory, I explore the social challenge of race and its resultant race biasness in the society.
A complex that often arises from critical race theory is the assumption that there are invariably dominant and subordinate groups in a society. Significantly, the benchmarks and indicators of domination or subordination are often problematic. For instance, if race is a social construct according to critical race theory then, it could be argued as well that the notion of dominated and subordinate is equally a construct that is contestable. The fact of domination and subordination are contestable may explain why subordination and domination due to race, xenophobia, tribalism or ethnicity remain controversial in society. Accordingly, some of the instances regarded as afrophobic may not necessarily be as such.

However, it is necessary to emphasise that critical race theory seeks to rectify the unequal social relation by exposing the narrative of marginalisation and oppression. In other words, it promotes social justice (Ortiz and Jani, 2010). Critical race theory attempts to challenge oppressive tendencies, practices and attitudes. Ibrahim (2015) says that racism is a socially and historically contextual and is designed to benefit the dominant group through easier access to economic, political and social goods. Subsequently, the ‘logic’ of social exclusion that proceeds from racism is that those who are characterised as outsiders of the dominant racial group are perceived as a threat to the political, social and economic goods enjoyed by the dominant group. It is along these lines that afrophobia should be rejected as peddling oppressive tendencies that need to be transformed through critical race theory.

Lastly, there is paradox that tends to arise in describing afrophobia as a race issue. As already discussed, race is often framed in terms of antagonism between white and black people. However, the concept of race within afrophobia is paradoxically a dislike between black South Africans against black African immigrants. To this end, the paradox of race as referent of black on black antagonism in afrophobia is expounded in chapter five. In the section below, I discuss the methodological procedure I have used.

2.6 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

Oftentimes, critical race theory is used interchangeably either as theoretical framework or a methodology. However, I have indicated that I use it as a methodology. Therefore, in this section I discuss the latter. In delineating the methodological procedure, I account for the core components of the critical race theory. For internationalisation of public higher education, I employ the notions of social challenges that characterise internationalised universities. In the internationalised universities, international students are often required and expected to conform and acclimatize to the dominant social grouping(s) in universities in the host nation state.
Nonetheless, as a conceptual methodological approach, critical race theory confronts social dominance arises within socially diverse internationalised universities. I remind the reader that I discuss the challenges of social diversity in Chapters five and six which culminates in the establishment of rainbow cosmopolitanism in chapter eight.

Methodically, I lay emphasise as a matter of procedure that this inquiry identifies race as central in determining the social relations between South African citizenry and the black African immigrants. So methodologically I critically analyse the concepts that build and sustain race as a factor and symbol of social dominance. In South Africa, Matsinhe (2011) points out that the race of black African immigrants is marginalised and negatively perceived. The very fact of blackness is perceived to imply economic poverty and primitiveness. In addition, there is racial cultural superiority associated with the English language, accent, skin pigmentation and accent. From a critical race theory perspective, I examine all the underlying race assumptions that surround cultural identities and national origins in Chapters five and Chapter six.

Moreover, the conceptualization the idea of nation-state as an entity that designates belonging and non-belonging, citizen and foreigner can lead to afrophobia. Nation state delineates inclusion and exclusion in the sense that the nation state’s laws and regulations stipulate illegality and legality of belonging. For instance, there are foreign nationals such as students who ordinarily possess the status of legal belonging. Regrettably, sometimes the legality of belonging does not necessarily mean that a foreign national (international student) is immunised from discrimination on the basis of his or her nationality. For the methodological purpose of this study, critical race theory is used to analyse these ideas.

Finally, conceptual research involves document analysis. Primarily, this entails analysing mission and vision statements on internationalisation of higher education of universities. While internationalised universities through mission and vision statements officially claim to socially promote and accept diversity in terms of nationalities, the fact that practices of discrimination and intolerance persist warrant document analysis. Critical race theory interrogates the connection between the notions of internationalisation as encompassed in documents and the practices of social relations between international and domestic students.

2.6.1 The Complementarity between Empirical and Conceptual Research

In most cases, there are concerted and sustained academic campaigns to dismiss and refute conceptual research especially in the educational research. Such claims suggest that empirical
research is the only appropriate methodology because it is deemed to be scientific, objective, and quantifiable, and therefore, by extension produces findings and results that are factually indisputable (Reichling, 1996). Consequently, in universities, the general ‘orthodox’ manner of doing research is empirical data collection or what is colloquially referred to as ‘going to the field’. The underlying assumption in empirical data collection is that a researcher comes into contact with observable or verifiable facts out of which meaning and recommendations can be derived through the analysis of data. As a result, the conceptions of data are limited and narrowed to interviews, ethnographic interactions and so forth. The apparent reservation against conceptual research is that it can be subjective and thereby, be based on the researchers’ personal disposition.

Nevertheless, this study advances the view that reducing and limiting research to empirical evidence suggests that the theories, ideas and values that account for practices are not attended to. Rather than simply describing observable facts as is the usual norm in empirical research, conceptual research gathers published materials on the research topic in question from journal articles, books, and dissertations to analyse the trends and patterns so as to establish facts. In this way, conceptual research complements empirical research since there is interconnection between the two. Conceptual work often analyses the empirical data to clarify terms through coherent, consistent and sustainable arguments (MacKenzie, 2008). Empirical research literature on social issues such as xenophobia, students’ social diversity, international immigration, public higher education and internationalisation of higher education are discussed throughout the study. So, this study uses empirical research to conceptually interrogate ideas. Publications on empirical research are the basis of this conceptual study.

To cite an example that can illustrate the complementarity between conceptual and empirical research, I draw on the distinction between afrophobia and xenophobia. Empirically, xenophobia is misleading by giving the impression that all foreigners are disliked in South Africa. White Europeans, Americans and white African immigrants are by default shielded from hatred associated with foreign nationalities. To this end, from a conceptual perspective, xenophobia which seems to give the impression of a dislike of non-nationals becomes therefore, a misrepresentation of the patterns of expression of xenophobia in South Africa. So, when proper concepts are not used to define a problem, it becomes difficult to appreciate the social challenge of the discrimination of non-nationals. The relevance of a conceptual distinction between afrophobia and xenophobia is that it gives the specific targets of xenophobia in South Africa.
In conclusion, a conceptual research is centred on the construction and sustenance of an argument within the study. The primary characteristics of such an argument in a conceptual paradigm are consistency and coherence. For instance, I claim from the onset that afrophobia exists in public universities in South Africa and such an argument ought to be maintained (consistency) in the study. Coherence on the other hand, implies the provision or attachment of evidence to support the stated claims of an argument. Perhaps, it is in the provision of evidence that marks a clear distinction between empirical and conceptual research. In empirical research, as already alluded to in this chapter, there is collection of primary ‘raw’ data, whereas conceptual research uses existing published data to develop an argument. To that end, the clarification of concepts becomes central in conceptual research.

A key benefit of employing the conceptual methodology is that it leads to the production of theories that may later be used in carrying out empirical studies. Badat (2017) notes to the extent that theories form the basis of all research work, assumptions, presuppositions and concepts are significant key tools in shaping and guiding research. Conceptual work is crucial in the analytical, while empirical work is crucial for the description nature of research.

2.6.2 Limitations of Conceptual Research

As noted in the foregoing section, the popular approach of methodology in educational research seems to be empirical in which data is collected, verified and analysed. To that end, the first possible weakness of conceptual research is that by using secondary empirical evidence from books, journal articles, newspapers, official documents and vision statements, conceptual research lacks primary information on the phenomenon. Primary information gathered through instruments such as interviews or observations entails a social process in which a researcher may access more information than the written text as in the case of conceptual research. Secondary information sources such as books and journals are oftentimes embedded with the researcher’s biasness.

Secondly, a conceptual researcher is or should be cognisant to the fact that objectivity in research is a contestable and debatable issue. Specifically, the use of secondary data can make the conceptual researcher to be vulnerable to biased and prejudiced data. In consonance with this, Tan (2015) observes that researchers have their beliefs, values, misconceptions and expectations before commencement, during the process of research and upon completion of the research. In most cases, the researcher’s beliefs, assumptions and values may inadvertently inform and influence the research argument and outcome.
Finally and closely connected to the question of objectivity, the process of conceptual research may be inadequate to enable the researcher to recognize his or her own biases. In view of the fact that researchers usually undertake research in areas where they have their own interests, the question of objectivity becomes highly debatable in conceptual study. The issue of objectivity in conceptual research becomes apparent when due consideration is given to the observation that the researcher may deliberately search and use literature that is prejudiced towards his or her preconceived argument. The selection of literature as secondary data could leave out data findings that negate the conceptual researcher’s preconceived argument. It is essential to incorporate literature that rejects the presence of afrophobic attitudes and practices in the public higher education in South Africa. Moreover, to minimise subjectivism that could arise due to biased selection of literature, this study develops and discusses the occurrences and patterns of anti-foreign sentiments and practices in other nation states besides South Africa.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter on methodology has argued for the relevance or applicability of critical race theory from a conceptual approach. Fundamentally, an analysis of notions of social dominance and social marginalisation as encapsulated in the critical race theory is essential for this study as it points to social inequalities. The emancipatory element of critical race theory could lead to a better conceptualisation of social diversity as well as promote the international mobility of students. Fundamentally, critical race theory assists in identifying stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes that causes afrophobia in public universities in South Africa.

In addition, this chapter has outlined the significance of conceptual research in educational issues. The significance becomes apparent when due consideration is given to the fact that clarity of concepts is of paramount importance in undertaking educational research. Conceptual research enables the clearance of ambiguities that tend to mislead research work.

The methodologies in research are contestable on the perceptions of their weakness and strength in regard to the social issue under investigation. In many ways, critical race theory as a derivative of the generic critical theory is equally controversial especially where it is applied to conceptual studies. However, without dismissing such controversies and contestations, this study deems that critical race theory is appropriate since it is seeks social change.

Besides introducing and outlining the methodological approach for this study, this chapter has advanced arguments for considering afrophobia as a race issue. In the application of critical
race theory from the conceptual perspective, it became apparent that the conceptualisation of xenophobia in South Africa is rather misleading. To that end, afrophobia which conceptually combines the practices and attitudes of dislike towards foreign nationals with racism is a succinct description of what is casually referred to as xenophobia in South Africa.

Lastly, in discussing and analysing the methodological application of critical race theory in relation to afrophobia and internationalisation of higher education, I interrogate the conceptualisation of international migration. I have argued that both afrophobia and internationalisation are determined by the perceptions held by South African students against international African students who have migrated to study in South Africa. To this end, the chapter below analyses international migration with the objective of examining it in internalisation of South African higher education.
CHAPTER THREE:
Student International Migration: A Facet of Internationalisation of Higher Education

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the concept of international student migration in an endeavour to expose its social complexities and challenges that relate to internationalisation. I argue that these challenges and complexities ultimately have a social bearing on internationalisation of public higher education. The distinct connection between international student migration and internationalisation of higher education is that international students are primarily international immigrants. Therefore, international students are equally affected by the social, political as well as economic challenge that any other cohort of international immigrants encounter in a host country. In an effort to appreciate the critical analysis of students international migration, this chapter gives an overview of the concept of nation state, international migration, as well as the social challenges that are constituents of international migration.

The migration of students across national boundaries is numerically rising. Some of the explanations towards the rise in student migration include the need to acquire qualifications from reputable universities and possibilities of securing employment upon graduation. The factors that are considered in migrating from the nation state of origin and ultimately choosing a nation state as a study destination are discussed further below.

This chapter also analyses the influences and patterns of international migration of students for in pursuit of higher education. In analysing the influences and patterns of international migration of students, sources of prejudices and negative attitudes towards other nationalities may begin to emerge. Since the international student migration falls in the broad scope of general human international migration, this chapter discusses the notions of nation state and international migration. I also explore the notion nation state in the subsection below since it is central in the debate on international migration.

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF NATION STATE IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Despite the contestations around the notion nation state, there is consensus that it is a political establishment marked by internationally accepted geographical borders (Torres, 2011; Koopmans and Stathams, 1999). For the nation state, the conventional geographical borders outline the concept of belonging and simultaneously of non-belonging. In other words, nation
state as a political entity bestows some form of collective identity which is derived from a sense of belonging. Clark (2009:27) maintains that the “the nation-state represents a cultural and political entity that provides people with a sense of national identity”. Since the notion of nation state is contested, a deeper analysis of this notion is warranted here. The objective of moving beyond the preliminary understanding of nation state is that social challenges that arise in international migration debates are partly derived from misconceptions about the nation state.

The nature of nation-state implies some form of a shared commonality in which members claim equal sense of ownership or entitlement towards the nation state. As a result, a nation state can be described as a group of people with common historical, political, economic and cultural relations who are members of the geo-political entity referred to as a country. In this regard, “nation state is a political and cultural project based on a sense of common heritage” (Walby, 2003:531). There is a sense in the common heritage that members of nation state can consequently lay claim to commonly held economic, social and political resources. In other words, the notion of nation state implicitly gives its citizens a sense of entitlement in economic, social and cultural resources that are found within its geographical borders.

In describing nation state, simplistic impressions of cultural uniformity or some degree of social cohesion are often times advanced. Walby (2003) suggests that nation states are social and political entities with centralised system of political governance. In ultimate terms, some form of collective or national cohesion is established. Deriving from Walby (2003), there is an assumption that a nation is a culturally compact, fixed and impenetrable unit. Seemingly, the geographical boundary distinguishes citizenship from non-citizenship, the ‘desired and undesired’, the legal and illegal, citizen and foreigner. In the end, it is these markers derived from nation state that may lead to anti-foreign practices and attitudes.

Moreover, the nation state is often touted as a community of people with some form of cultural, social and political ties that are bounded in some national geographical space. It is equally noted that “the nation state often suppresses claims of intra-national diversity and pursued a policy of homogenizing the population around a unified identity” (Gulap, 2013:34). This gives the perception that the strict immigration controls that nation states put in place are designed to contain the disruptive inflow of immigrants. For instance in the context of Europe, the influx of refugees from war torn nation states such as Syria, Iraqi or Libya have put tremendous
pressure on governments. Governments are pressurised to keep ‘non-nationals’ out of their nation states.

From a social perspective, nation state is regarded as an entity that bestows collective identity, a sense of belonging and permanence. On the basis of some assumed national cultural system, people identify themselves with their nation state of origin. National identity therefore, is both a marker of inclusion and exclusion as it explicitly separates the nationals from non-nationals. The nation state endows economic and social entitlements to its citizens. It is in taking into account the intimate connection between the notions of nation state and rights that Hansen (2009) argues that identity is attached to rights. In other words, those who identify themselves with a given nation state derive forms of rights from that particular nation state. For instance, to identify oneself as a Zimbabwean implies that there are certain rights that emanate from such identity. In acknowledging the concept of nation state it becomes important to appreciate that certain rights are accorded to citizens. To this end, the nation state accords the social collective identity which simultaneously excludes to non-citizens.

Due to the current increase in international migration the notion of nation state has come under increased conceptual examination. This conceptual interrogation of nation state revolves around its sustainability because of immigration inflows. Kierkegaard and Nat-George (2016) state that due to the pressures of globalisation, there has been a notable increase in the number of both legal (residential or travel permits) and illegal (undocumented migrants) across the world. In that regard, social diversity with its accompanying social challenges such as the acceptance or tolerance towards other nationalities has become topical in all societies in the world. In this view, the nation state has a bearing on international migration. However, there are suggestions that nation state should be eradicated to allow free movement of people, goods and services (Eckersley, 2007; Abowitz and Harnish, 2006). Whether this is a feasible proposition is beyond the scope of this inquiry.

Nevertheless, the contentious notion of geographical national borders remains significant since it outlines the parameters of the nation state. There is an argument that “national maps serve as one of the most common ways to transmit knowledge of national boundaries to the public” (Bucken-Knapp, 2002:207). Therefore, the map gives an impression that a nation state is a bounded entity. It demarcates the insider versus the outsider. In addition, it is noted that geographical borders have an intended effect of binding the population within its territory.
(ibid). In some sense, geographical borders instil compatriotism and patriotism as forms of national identity.

In summarising this sub-section, I highlight some critical points from the notion of nation state. Firstly, nation-states are sovereign political entities with a sense of self-governance, self-determination and political independence. Issues of self-governance shape the regulations on immigration policies which ultimately determine the inflow or outflow of migrants. In addition, the political governance of the state influences political discourses that set out a nation state as distinct unit. For instance, the voting of political leadership in the United States of America may be different from the one in Zimbabwe.

Secondly, since this study is located in international migration of students, discussing the nation state essential in the international migration debates. As immigrants, international students move across the geographical borders of one nation state to another. It is through international movement that students encounter different cultural, political, social and economic circumstances from their original nation state. With this consideration, it is necessary to include the notion of nation state as a facet of international migration.

Lastly, from a critical race theory viewpoint, the nation state bestows some form of power which is inherent in the concept of citizenship. In view of internationalisation of higher public higher education, local students benefit from the economic, social, cultural and political advantages. Consequently, international students do not have access to such advantages by the mere fact of being immigrants. As discussed in Chapter six, cultural, social and political power that local students possess as citizens is sometimes used for social discrimination against international students. For instance, the geographical location of an international university in a nation state gives advantages to local more than the international students. Consider this example; the rule of admission of an international student stipulates that the admission of an international student should not disadvantage a deserving local student.

3.2.1 Contestations of the Notion of Nation-State

The notion of nation state invokes contestations centred on social demographic composition cultural values. In other words, the debate on the notion of nation state can be reduced to possibilities of the existence of cultural and social homogeneity. For instance, is there a Zimbabwean culture that is uniform and is ascribed to by all Zimbabweans? International migration amplifies this already precarious situation particularly because the nation state gives
the impression that it is a distinctly marked out geographical and cultural entity that is occupied mainly by citizens. My view is that the nation state is a culturally fluid social space. According to Walby (2003:531), the nation state concerns “projects that are in the process of becoming something more, than they are actually realised in a stable political institution and command over territory”. Inevitably, nation states are always changing because their social demographic and cultural composition changes to interactions with foreigners.

Koopmans and Statham (1999) have argued that politically the nation state is in severe decline as it confronts the strong forces of globalisation. The nation state’s capacity to be the only political authoritative body and custodian of culture is compromised by the strong influential power that underlies globalisation (Eckersley, 2007). Whereas assertions that predict the erosion of nation state are contestable, I note that the increase in international migration has challenged the orthodox conception of nation state as an entity that is isolated from other nations. For Koopmans and Statham (1999:656), “the collective action of migrants plays an active role in the erosion and transcending of the frontiers of nation states”.

At the heart of the nation state is the supposition that there is some form of national identity that is a common denominator for all citizens of the particular nation. Greenfield (2011) highlights this contentious point that the perceived sense of equality enjoyed by the members of a nation state has makes citizens obey political and cultural authority. This equality means access to services such as health, education and other basic services enjoyed by all citizens. The narrative in most nation states is those who are de-facto members of the nation state are entitled to some privileges on equal basis. On Gulp’s (2013) account, international immigration poses some form of cultural and social threat to the nation state. Probably owing to the cultural and social threats to the nation state, social tension emerges between the local and foreigners. Arguably, these threats are stereotypes which suggest that foreign cultures disrupt the nation state. This argument is further discussed in chapter five.

Contentedly, nation states are not ethnically, linguistically, religiously or racially homogenous units. In most cases, the social composition of a nation state is made of diverse ethnic and racial groups in such a way that one could speak of multiple nationalities within the nation state. For instance, some ethnic groupings of South Africa such as Sotho, Swati and Tswana are found outside geographical boundaries of South Africa. Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana respectively are made up of these ethnic social groups. I contest the assumption that the nation state has some form of homogeneous culture that differentiates citizens from non-citizens. Here
I foreground the idea of rainbow cosmopolitanism as discussed in chapter eight. The elevation of cultural heterogeneity in a nation state can improve social tolerance among citizens. Debatably, the practice and attitudes of social tolerance within citizenry can be extended to immigrants.

In addition, nation states are centres of identity. People tend to be emotionally, politically, historically and socially attached to their nation state of origin more than any other transnational entity. Compellingly, “the transfer of authority to transnational levels has not progressed to levels it can seriously challenge the nation state’s prerogatives” (Koopmans and Statham, 1999:656). In other words, though there are regional organisations such as the SADC, the nation state has remained intact by maintaining distinctive parameters in relating to other nation states. Most probably, it is the intactness of the entity of nation state that transnational bodies such as the European Union are constantly under threat of disengaging from some member nation states. Despite the overrated force of globalisation, nation state as a bounded political community cannot be wished away. The nation state still invokes patriotism, loyalty and to some degree pride. Except in nation states under civil war, nation state usually confers and guarantees security, stability and protective rights towards its citizens. Moreover, citizens have an explicit sense of entitlement to their nation state’s economic, political, social, historical and cultural resources. It is out of the appreciation of these facts of nation state that the controversies around international migration ought to be discussed. The controversies around international migration are discussed in the section below.

3.3 A CONCEPTUAL SKETCH OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Broadly speaking, the notion of migration is synonymous with the concepts of movement, human mobility, citizenship and residential status (Adey, 2010; Samers, 2010). In the foregoing sub section on nation-state, I showed the issue of citizenship is intimately connected to international migration. Put differently, international migration occurs when citizens move beyond the confines of the geographical borders of their nation state. According to the International Organisation of Migration cited in Hoffman,

Migration is the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border wishing to settle definitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin (Hoffman, 2009:348)

The above description of international migration implies that migration involves a physical change of geographical location by moving to another nation state. International migration also
involves “the act of moving across international boundaries from a country of origin (or country of emigration) to take up residence in a country of immigration” (Samers, 2010:10). Nevertheless, since people may migrate from one foreign nation state to another foreign nation state, international migration cannot be confined only to movement from one's nation state of origin. Significantly, the immigrant’s movement may expose him or her to cultural and social values that are different from his or her own nation state of origin.

Migration can be divided into two facets, namely, the internal and international migration. In broad terms, internal migration occurs when people move and relocate to another place within their nation state. For instance, people may move from Eastern Cape to settle and work in Johannesburg within the nation state of South Africa. The important point to note here is that even, internal migrants can encounter social prejudices among the people they choose to settle with. For example, issues of tribalism, ethnicity, regionalism or racism sometimes arise in internal migration.

This study focuses on second facet of migration, which is international migration. As noted in this study, this phenomenon is usually precipitated by global economic, political and social inequalities, among other conditions. In discussing international migration, the critical subdivision of international migration is international student migration. It is central to note that international students are migrants, and may encounter social exclusion or inclusion like any other immigrant.

Having outlined some definitional issues in this subsection, the critical point to note is that international migration has increased over the past century. Some of the reasons attributed to the increase in international migration include affordability of transport costs, the availability and accessibility of information technology that enables prospective migrants to search background information about the nation state they intend to immigrate (Shneeweens, 2011; Peberdy and Crush, 2007). Though Landau and Kabwe-Seggatti (2009) argue that the exact number of international migrants is unknown, there are suggestions that approximate the number as ranging between 175 to 200 million (Knight, 2012). Given the economic, political and social disparities among nation states the traffic of international migration is set to continue rising.

From a historical perspective, international migration has indispensably been part of human social life. For example, the notions of colonialism and imperialism may also be viewed from the standpoint of international migration. People have always travelled across nation states’
geographical borders driven by the necessity to meet economic, social and political needs that may have not been satisfied within their nation states of origin. For instance, in primitive times, the patterns of migration were influenced by agricultural needs such as settling in areas that received higher amount of rains and pasture lands to feed their livestock. In contemporary times, the economic needs that may necessitate international migration have changed from agrarian needs to issues of employment, education or career development. If the argument that international migration is caused by the need to access economic resources is plausible, then the perceived economic competition between foreigners and citizens may be the source of negative stereotypes.

Through policies and legislations, nation states categorise international immigrants either as illegal (undocumented/irregular) or legal (documented/regular). Illegal immigrants either have no proper immigration documentation or have overstayed the duration legally allocated to them. On the other hand, legal immigrants have residential permission which stipulates activities that immigrants are permitted to do in the host nation state. Under ordinary circumstances, nation states are receptive to legal migrants for various reasons. In addition, legal migrants are permitted entrance in the nation state for tourism purposes where they may contribute financially to the national economy. Furthermore, many governments have put in place policies that attract international migrants such as university students. However, nation states tend to find it challenging to accommodate illegal immigrants. The difficulty of accommodating illegal immigrants stems from the fact that illegal immigration is in itself a violation the nation state’s immigration laws.

Besides the concepts of illegal and legal immigration, international migration is sometimes associated with social challenges such as xenophobia and other forms of social discrimination. The assumption that geographical borders of the nation state are fixed and secure is advanced by some governments to emphasis the frameworks of social inclusion of citizens and exclusion of foreigners. Arguably, this study maintains that social inclusion of immigrants can be enhanced in the society. For this reason, I propose cosmopolitanism in chapter seven. Cosmopolitanism highlights the forms of social commonalities of a shared humanity that may make social integration between immigrants and citizens just possible.

In concluding this subsection, I state that the social challenges of international migration raises the controversies of denationalisation as espoused in globalisation. Denationalisation implies that due to the increase in international migration, geographical borders of nation states have
become porous to the extent that the sustainability of the nation state is under threat. In addition, the physical movement of people across the borders impact the social and cultural values of nation states. Succinctly, denationalisation suggests that the entity of nation state is currently undergoing erosion and may eventually be eradicated.

Conclusively, in international migration, nation states tend to differ in terms of the volume of traffic inflow and outflow of migrants. While international migration is said to be on the increase, some nation states are recipients, and others are senders of migrants. In outlining the patterns of international migration, the following subsection focuses on classifying nation states in the broad scope of international migration.

3.3.1 Classification of Nation States According to Patterns of International Migration

Owing to the patterns of international migration, nation states may be classified as sending, transit or receiving/host nation states. The classification of nation states in view of international migration depends on factors like economics, political and social security. It is these factors that determine the in-flow or out-flow of international migrants. To the extent that every nation state receives or sends migrants, it is essential to point out that the classification is fixed. In this way, depending on the favourable or unfavourable economic, political and social factors, the classification can change.

Firstly, a sending nation state is the country that a person migrates from. In some instances, such a nation state is referred to as a nation state of emigration (Adepoju, 2009). A sending nation state is associated with the unfavourable economic, political or social factors. Conceptually, the unfavourable conditions are referred to as push factors because they act as impetus for citizens to leave their nation state of origin. Political and economic instability, war, poverty and diseases are some of the reasons that may cause a nation state to become a sending nation state. For instance, in Southern African, Zimbabwe has become a leading sending nation state due to political and economic challenges (Singh, 2013; Landau and Misago, 2009). Since the year 2000, many Zimbabweans have immigrated to Botswana, South Africa, Namibia and some as far afield as the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and United States of America. This background suggests Zimbabwe is a sending nation state of both economic and political refugees. However, a sending nation state can also be associated with instances where people leave to pursue higher education outside their nation. In this regard, students may cross the geographical borders of a nation state to study abroad.
Secondly, a transit nation state is the nation state where migrants may temporarily reside while exploring channels to reach their final destination. As the concept suggests, migrants are in transit towards a nation state they consider a final destination. Suffice it to note that a transit nation state is usually for strategic and convenient for migrants in preparation of reaching the final destination. For instance, most of the migrants from nation states such as Ethiopia and Somalia who get arrested in Zimbabwe tend to admit that there are in transit to South Africa (The Chronicle, October 2015). Logically, transit nation states are often in geographical proximity towards the intended nation state. As migrants have not reached the intended destination nation state, they usually reside for a short period in the transit nation state.

Lastly, the receiving or host nation state is a nation of intended final destination for immigrants. Some scholars consider the receiving nation state as an attractive country because of favourable political, social and economic stability (Landau, 2005). In southern Africa and the continent at large, the nation state of South Africa has proved to be a leading nation state in terms of receiving international migrants (Chikoko, et al, 2013). In view of the concept of receiving nation state, it is apparent that international migrants may choose to settle either permanently or temporarily depending on the availability of economic, social and political factors.

It is paramount to state that the classification of nation states as sending, transit and receiving is not exhaustive. Henceforth, an impression should not be made nation states deliberately that this is a deliberate design or that other nation states are permanently receiving, sending or transitory. The classification of nation states varies depending on the prevailing economic, political and social stability. Nation states do not put in place government policies that are designed to make them sending, receiving and transitory.

In summary, international migration can be perceived both as beneficial and as a negative phenomenon. In the following subsection I discuss the dilemma of international migration since it has a bearing on the conceptualisation of international student migration that I examine in Chapter four.

3.3.2 The Dilemma of International Migration

International migration is circumscribed by a dilemma. The dilemma becomes apparent when due deliberation is given to the political, social and economic controversies that arise in international migration. Possibly, the question aptly captures this dilemma could be framed as such; is international migration entirely a beneficial phenomenon? International migration is
oftentimes described in negatively like immigration crisis, influx of foreign immigrants or porous borders that need to be tightened (Sichone, 2006). Importantly, though a distinction is made between legal and illegal immigrants status, oftentimes it is rather difficult for ordinary citizens to separate the two. Furthermore, in some nation states, the acquisition of immigration legal status such as student study permits is a cumbersome process (Young and Jearey-Graham, 2015). Immigrants encounter bureaucratic challenges in attempting to acquire residential, study or work permit legal status in the receiving nation state. In some nation states, an impression is created that international migration is deliberately thwarted.

One issue that clearly demonstrates the dilemma within international migration is international trade (Mpinganjira, 2011). Globalisation has resulted in the increase of exchange of capital, goods and services among nation states. However, international trade cannot necessarily be confined to goods and services, but may also involve the movement of skilled people and expertise across geographical borders of nation states. For instance, some Western nation states such as Australia and Canada relax their immigration policies to attract skilled immigrants. It is noted that the relaxation of immigration laws is precipitated by either an ageing or are declining population (Hugo, 2006). In this view, it would appear that international migration is a desirable phenomenon.

Conclusively, the dilemma of international migration is that a certain cohort of immigrants is considered desirable. On another level, international migration seems to repel another cohort through the ‘tightening’ both immigration policies and the monitoring and control of geographical borders. Nation states put in place measures to attract skilled, educated as well as international students, while at the simultaneously, the unskilled and uneducated are hindered from immigrating. In chapter six, I discuss the possible skills gains that South Africa derives from international students. Nevertheless, I articulate that skills are not the only determining factor of this dilemma, but certain nationalities may be more socially ‘accepted’ as immigrants than others. In the section that follows, I discuss international migration from a social perspective.

3.3.3 Social Implications of International Migration

An international migrant resides and possibly interacts with the citizens of his or her host nation state. Consequently, international migration has social implications. These social implications may necessitate that an international migrant has to conform to the cultural values of the host nation state. The issues of social inclusion and exclusion are unavoidable in
analysing the phenomenon of international migration. In relation to social implication of
international migration, Alghamdi and Otte (2016:18) argue that “social exclusion is the failure
to integrate fully in the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of the foreign country”.
On the other hand, Ovichegan (2013), social exclusion is the absence of respect for diversity
in cultural values. Indeed, anti-foreign stereotypes are often caused by social misconceptions
on international migration. Social exclusion denotes that some social groups of people, usually
the minority, are constrained from participating fully in society.

On a positive note, international immigration can lead to the establishment of new society that
is characterised by new social values. Specifically, international migration can result in the
integration of social cultures. In the end, cultural integration can lead to cosmopolitanism.
Nonetheless, the social interaction of citizens and foreign nationals has always proved to be
difficult. For instance, Holtug (2010) says that international immigration sometimes leads to
increased ethnic and racial tensions. For example, the increased influx of immigrants into
Europe is now considered as an economic, social, political and cultural threat (Holtug and
Mason, 2010). The practices of social exclusion manifest in instances where immigration is
regarded as a threat to the nation state.

Furthermore, the social perspective of international migration determines the socially
‘tolerable’ and the ‘intolerable’ international immigrants. To this end, Hainmueller (2007)
argues that immigration has the possibility of creating national enclaves in which people of
different nationalities remain confined. In instances where national enclaves develop, there is
minimal social interaction among different nationalities. Enclaves within the context of
internationalisation could mean that international students may avoid socially interacting with
local students at an internationalised university.

Furthermore from a social perspective, international migrants do not abandon their cultural
norms simply because they have crossed geographical borders. In this regard, the cultural
values that immigrants bring along may conflict with those hold by citizens. Social conflicts
such as xenophobia may occur in the host nation state because of the citizens and foreigners
harbouring negative cultural perceptions for each other. Schneeweis (2011:102) suggests that
“an individual’s immutable geographic or cultural point of origin continues to determine
insider or outsider status”. For example, an immigrant’s language that is seen as foreign by
citizens can become a source of social conflict. In the same vein, foreigners may choose to
shun cultural norms of the citizens of the host nation state.
Ultimately, the social implications of international migration are embedded in the complexities associated with social diversity. Engel (2014) observes that international migration usually results in increased in social diversity. The indicators of such social diversity are manifested through increased ‘foreign’ languages. In some cases, the diverse English accents because of increase in nationalities have become an international immigration issue.

Ideally, international immigration should lead to cultural flexibility to both foreign and citizens (Ayee, 2012). In this vein, international immigration can result in social contact in which new forms of relationships, cultural value exchange and economic implications occur. For Klotz (2016:33), “migration is more than the movement of people across space; it also entails a change in political community”. The implicit suggestion in the assertion of an alteration in social composition of the nation state can fundamentally transform both the receiving and sending nation state society. For instance, the sending nation state society experiences a disruption in social relations, while the receiving nation state attempts to socially or rejects the immigrant.

In summary, the conceptualisation of the nation state is at the centre of complexities of international migration. As noted already, the nation state stipulates and designates the notion of belonging. Additionally, some nation states tend to attract more immigrants, while some experience huge numbers of outflow migrants. From these debates on international migration, the following section now focuses on the concept of student international migration.

3.4 HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENTS’ INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Deriving from broad scope of international migration, the international migration of students indicates the movement across geographical borders in pursuit of higher education studies. To that end, international migration of students involves physical mobility which may lead to an encounter with cultural diversity In line with the nation state immigration policies; an international student is usually required to obtain the requisite international travel documents. A study permit specific to the respective university is issued to the prospective international student. Furthermore, the duration of study varies from three months to a couple of years.

International student migration has become a growing global phenomenon. In 1975 there were 0.8 million and by 2011 the number had increased to 4.3 international students (Abbot and Silles, 2016; Lee and Sehoole, 2015). According to Brezia and Sourie (2011), the flow of students across national borders was five times more in 2006 than it was in 1975. The
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) cited in Finn and Darmody (2016) notes that in the period 2000 to 2011, there were around 4.5 million international students. There are further suggestions that the pattern of international mobility of students is set to reach 8 million by 2025 (Knight, 2012). To that end, the increased student mobility indicates that there is high rise in the global demand for higher education. The amplified mobility of international students suggests that the scope of internationalisation of higher education is broad. Nonetheless, the physical presence of international students in a university campus makes internationalisation tangible and visible.

Historically, the student international migration can be traced back to the development of the modern university in the middle (Rizvi, 2011). Nonetheless, it is in the last fifty years that the international migration of students remarkably grown (Garcia and Villareal, 2014). Pointedly, the perception of better employment prospects which are supposedly concomitant with the attainment of a higher education qualification has seen the growing global demand for higher education. The global trend is that students move beyond their regions and sub-continents. For instance, it is noted that 5% of international students in the Chinese universities are African international students (Lee, 2017). In the same way, there is a substantial number of Chinese students in higher education institutions in the United Kingdom, United States and other Western countries. This transmigration by international students indicates the scale of student international migration.

According to Lee and Sehoole (2015), the top five popular study nation states are United States of America, England, Australia, Germany and France. These top study destinations are considered as having comparatively better standards of education offered by prestigious higher education institutions such as the Harvard, Oxford and Cambridge Universities. In a way, higher education international students aspire to be associated with prestigious and highly ranked universities. For Australia, a nation state considered as having some of the ‘top’ universities, Clark (2014) notes that in 2011 some institutions of higher education had 15% to 48% registered international students. It is out of this growth that some scholars have coined the term ‘globally mobile student’ to depict high international student immigration rates (Bhandari and Blumenthal, 2011).

However, it is informative to note that the league chart of top hosting study destination is not static. In this regard, various social and political factors constantly shift and regulate the flow patterns of international students. Ahmad and Buchanan (2015) show that the inflow patterns
of students migration has changed with Malaysia, Singapore, Hong-Kong and Taiwan emerging as the leading global contender. As an illustration, the post-September 2001 which heightened the anti-foreign sentiments has witnessed a sharp decline in international students’ inflow into USA. Significantly, the social perceptions on international migration influence the trend of international student immigration. For this reason, citizens who have strong anti-foreign sentiments may impede the inflow of international students into their nation states.

Furthermore, there is a close relationship between the increase of student international migration and the affordability of transport costs and advancement in technology. Since travelling across nation states borders has become relatively easier, Kierkegaard and Nat-George (2016) suggest that there is an escalation of international migrants both legal and illegal. It is observed that “students have become globetrotters who traverse the world in search of higher education, degrees, academic careers and security” (Kierkegaard and Nat-George, 2016:390). Some of the concepts that make up student international migration lexicon include cross-border students’ flow of talent and r students’ globetrotters. It cannot be overemphasized that the perceived importance placed on international education can be attributed to the upsurge in the international student migration. According to Bijwaard and Wang (2016), the value attached to international education has resulted in the increase of international migration of students. Moreover, the increase in traffic volumes of international students is often determined by the national, regional as well as international political, social and economic circumstances. According to Gribble and Blackmore (2012), the development of middle classes families, technological advancement in most nation states and the relatively financial affordability of transport are some of the international economic factors that have enabled international migration of students.

In international students migration, a distinction is made between outward and inward mobility (Lee and Sehoole, 2015; Bhandari, 2009). Outward mobility refers to students emigrating from their nation state of origin. Outward mobility occurs when students leave their nation state (sending nation state) for purposes of education. In the SADC region for example, Zimbabwe has as from the year 2000 sent many students into South Africa to pursue higher education (Singh, 2013). On the other hand, inward mobility is the incoming of international students into the nation state to study at the institutions of higher education. Lastly, regions tend to have some nation states that are dominant and popular in attracting higher volumes of international students than others. Lee and Sehoole (2015) point out that in Africa, South Africa, Angola
and Morocco are popular study destinations. The popular nation states for studies are termed as regional hubs.

In accordance with students’ international migration, there are two types of international students, which are; the intra-regional and global. In the intra-regional, students migrate to study in nation states within their respective regions. Lee (2017) points out that European Union, Southern Africa, East Asia and Latin America as some of the notable examples of intra-regional centres for international education. Additionally, nation states such as South Africa, South Korea and Singapore have recently emerged as top regional destination of international study. On the other hand, global migration implies that students travel to overseas distant nation states outside their region in pursuit of enrol for higher education (Lee and Sehoole, 2015). A case that can illustrate global migration is that of students from Africa studying in the United Kingdom or United States of America.

In most cases the flow of international migration of students is often depicted as a movement from economically developing to highly developed nation state. However, sometimes students from the developed nation states that have better standards of education choose to study in less developed countries (Rouhani, 2007). Some of the reasons that influence the flows of international students from developed countries include the comparatively cheaper cost of education and living costs as well as exposing oneself to different cultures. For instance, Sehoole (2011) says that there are some higher education students from the United States of America (USA) studying in South Africa. In a way, travelling for intercultural exposure fits well into the framework of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism advocates for the ability to learn and work with people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds.

From a critical race theory perspective, the international student migration is underscored by power relations. Such power relations may also point to economic, social and political inequalities within the international arena. Moreover, a pattern that student international migration is not always linear can be drawn from what has been discussed so far in this chapter. The common trend is that nation states with stronger economies and social stability attract more international students. Furthermore social and political inequalities can explain the outward movement of students. Put differently, the phenomenon of student international migration is not power-neutral exercise. Taking into account the fact that the international student migration is one facet of internationalisation of public higher education, the following subsection discusses the conception of internationalisation of public higher education.
3.5 THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The term internationalisation has become a highly popular and attractive word that universities, like any other institutions would like to be associated with. It has now become a cliché to mention that internationalisation of public higher education is a contested term. The contestations of internationalisation revolve around these questions:

a. What constitute internationalisation?
b. Whose standards are used as referral points?
c. What are the facets of a university that need to be internationalised?

The notion of internationalisation is implicitly laden with assumptions of prestige, high standards, and efficiency in service delivery, highly qualified staff and highly talented students as well as highly ranked universities. However, despite the prestige and flamboyance associated with internationalisation, defining the concept has proven to be polemical. This is because universities seem to emphasise different facets therefore, it becomes difficult to speak of a univocal standard definition of the concept. Below I engage with different understandings of internationalisation of public higher education.

Knight cited in Kumar and Seay (2011) suggests that internationalisation has four approaches; as activity, competency, ethos and process approach. In the activity approach institutions are concerned with actions that regards to internationalising the curriculum, student and staff mobility, academic exchange programmes and the technical assistance that can be rendered for mutual collaboration. Secondly, the ethos approach emphasizes the establishment of institutional cultures that are accommodative to the both local and international students’ social norms. Thirdly, the competency approach incorporates all the programmes that are designed to inculcate the cosmopolitan values into student social body. Lastly, the process approach is the assimilation of the local and international dimensions of teaching and research. In other words, the expected outcome of the process approach is a cosmopolitan outlook to international education. It is noteworthy to take into account the fact that the four approaches discussed here are interrelated. The crucial point from the approaches is that internationalisation of higher education is a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional process.

In addition, internationalisation is sometimes viewed in terms of instituting typical practices, grading systems and accepted norms at an international level. Welch, et al (2004) argues that internationalisation is instrumental in establishing international standards. Consequently,
universities that aspire to be recognised as international will as a matter of procedure abide by certain standards in their teaching, research and community engagement. For Delgado-Marquez, et al (2013), internationalisation of higher education is closely related to the emergence of world ranking of universities. In this observation, universities are ranked in accordance to the ‘international standard’. Consequently, highly reputable universities tend to attract numerically more academically gifted students. Conversely, lowly ranked universities remain unpopular for obvious reasons that qualifications from such universities are comparatively less recognised.

For some operational definition of internationalisation of higher education, Gornitzka states that:

> Activities of knowledge production, dissemination and its use takes place across state borders – without implying that the territorial state is constitutive actor in such cross-border activities and without setting as a precondition that internationalisation implies an end state where territorial borders are irrelevant and dissolved (Gornitzka, 2008:1).

In Gornitzka’s conception of internationalisation, the geographical borders across nation states are highly accentuated. On this view, internationalisation should not be considered a threat towards erosion of geographical borders of nation states. Rather, internationalisation should be seen as espousing possibilities of different cultures interacting within the international university. Furthermore, it is stated that “most Anglophone universities espouse internationalisation as part of their mission as well as the development of intercultural skills amongst their graduates” (Ryan, 2012:55). In this way, the process of internationalisation is considered as possessing the potential of instilling necessary cultural values that enables students to live and work in multicultural settings.

While the twenty-first century has witnessed a great deal of pressure for universities to internationalise, it can still be argued that universities are by design, international institutions. The idea that universities have to, either internationalise or risk becoming irrelevant is thus misplaced. Yemini (2014) concurs that universities are by design international since they are producers and disseminators of universal knowledge. To this end, knowledge cannot be confined to geographical borders of nation states. Perhaps it is such assertion that brings out the contentious issue of universality of knowledge. The appreciation of knowledge as a universal product persuades research collaboration among universities. Moreover, international collaborative activities are inclusive of cross-border services, student and staff international mobility, regional and global services (Knight, 2013).
Like most concepts, internationalisation of higher education is constantly changing. For this reason, internationalisation at home is an emerging understanding of internationalisation in which no student international mobility is experienced. Internationalisation at home entails the incorporation of international values so that students can experience the ‘other world’. Essentially, internationalisation at home is a by-product of technological accessibility of internet communication. Internet communication enables citizens to learn from other people without necessarily leaving their nation state of origin.

Internationalisation can either be analysed from an economic or social perspective. The economic perspective of internationalisation entails that universities have to derive financial income from the projects such as recruitment of international students. Additionally, collaboration with international universities with regards to research and staff exchange, knowledge production and dissemination can all be activities motivated by financial gains. On the other hand, the social perspective of internationalisation considers internationalisation as more of a potential enabler for cultural interaction between the local and international students. Moreover, through the social perspective, internationalisation of public higher education has the potential of eradicating negative stereotypes that may lead to xenophobic attitudes and practices.

In summary, this subsection has outlined the multi-faceted nature of internationalisation. Besides policies and approaches to internationalisation, the economic, political and social circumstances in the region influence the approaches that universities adopt. Below I discuss recruitment and retention of international as an aspect of international mobility.

3.5.1 Recruitment and Retention of International Students: Complexities

The recruitment and retention of international students is an essential component of internationalisation of public higher education. Knight (2015) suggests that in using the term international instead of foreign or overseas students as has been the case previously, universities are concerned with political correctness. In other words, the term international student reflects the possibilities of social relations that may occur among students from different nation states. On the other hand, the term foreign student is perceived as negative since it denotes and emphasises strangeness, outsider or exclusion. Oorschot (2014) says that international students are those who pursue higher education in foreign nation states. More importantly, the term international signifies the weight accorded to the recruitment and retention of international students. This study adopts the term international students.
International students are legal migrants who enter the host nation state after obtaining the required study and residential permit. As a matter of principle, South African universities are required to vouch that by offering an international student a place to study, there is no South African citizen who has been displaced (Department of Home Affairs, 2002). Comparatively, there is a consensus that it is easier to obtain a South African study permit (Lee and Sehoole, 2015). In that case, the complexities of recruiting international students’ is not in the visa processing systems but the perception that international students are like other migrants who can equally pose as a threat to both the security and economy of the nation state.

Of note, the recruitment and retention of international students may occur as a government policy initiative. It is a practice that governments formulate policies and measures to attract international students to enrol and study at national universities (Maharaj, 2016). There are examples that may explicate the active role of government initiatives in recruitment and retention of international students. For instance, the Irish government embarked on a programme coded Investing in Global Relationship in 2010 aimed at increasing international students from 12 000 to 38 000. For the United Kingdom, McDonald (2014) states that due to the government’s sustained efforts in attracting international students, there were 435, 230 international students in the United Kingdom in 2013. Accordingly, nation states compete to recruit international students to enrol at their universities. In South African, the government has enacted measures to attract international students especially from the Southern African region (Department of Education, 2017; Department of Education, 1997).

Furthermore, the recruitment and retention of international students may be motivated by the economic rationales in which international students are considered as a source of revenue for both the university and the nation state. Most governments are conscious of the economic benefits that can be derived from the tuition fee and other living expenses from international students. In some nation states, the claim that international students generate income is buttressed by the argument that over the past decade, state subsidies for universities has been drastically reduced (Marginson, 2012). As financial sources, it is noted that “international students’ fees are unregulated by the government and they can pay as much as three to five times the rate charged to domestic students (Tannock, 2013:454)”. In Australia, Forbes-Mewett and Nyland (2013) observe that, international education is considered as a national export industry that earns revenue for the county. For New Zealand, higher education is a 1.5 United States billion dollar industry since 2005 (Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2015).
On the other hand, the recruitment and retention of international students may be informed by the political and social context of the nation state as well as the region. Thus, in the United States of America (USA), international students were perceived as threats in the aftermath of the September 2011 terrorists attacks (Lee and Rice, 2007). Additionally, in the USA, international students were closely scrutinised at the port of entry and put under surveillance while in the country. For South Africa, universities are obligated to report to the immigration officials once an international student has been de-registered (Department of Home Affairs, 2002). In the case of a de-registered student, he or she is expected to return to his or her nation state of origin. Apparently, it is highlighted that “in the threat mode, the nation-state focuses on its own welfare and security, assert its own interests as a right and models the international students as outsiders” (Marginson, 2012:512). The recruitment and retention of international students is therefore, informed by the nation state’s economic, social and political discourse.

Perhaps, the trend that international students remain and work in the host country upon graduation further complicates the facet of recruiting and retaining international students. For, Debatably, “many international students now consider overseas study as a stepping stone to permanent residency in a country offering a higher standard of living along with better employment and research opportunities” (Gribble, 2008:25). In nation states that face critical skills shortages, the retention of skilled graduates is recognised as a solution. However, the retention of graduate international students is undermined by the perceptions that international students compete for jobs that are meant for the domestic graduates.

Additionally, one of the challenges associated with the recruitment and retention of international students as a facet of internationalisation is that it further entrenches imbalances among nation states by creating what is colloquially referred to as brain drain. Woldegiorgis and Doevensepek (2015) argue that brain drain becomes evident when because a significant number of international students do not return back to their nation states of origin upon completing their studies. Contextually, “Africa is commonly viewed as a major sufferer of brain drain, losing its highly skilled and academic talent to more developed countries such as Western Europe and North America”(Lee and Schoole (2015:828)9. Notably, Woldegiorgis and Doevensepek (2015) point out that between 1991 and 2000, 50% of Ethiopian students who went to study outside abroad in Europe did not return to Ethiopia on completion of their studies. Pointedly, some international students undertake their studies on domestic government grants. Their non-return therefore, is a ‘dual-drain’ as it is a brain and financial drain. Equally
so, the mobility of international students which in turn translates to the movement of talented and skilled individuals has traditionally favoured economically developed nation state.

Some of the issues associated with the recruitment and retention of international students can be viewed from academic and social levels. From an academic perspective, universities usually attracts the best gifted international students who may benefit the university through research and other academic endeavours. At a social level, recruitment and retention of international students may benefit students by eradicating or minimising negative assumptions about other nationalities.

In concluding this subtopic, the points that have been raised in this discussion could connect internationalisation in terms of recruitment and retention to the transformative tenet of critical race theory. Internationalisation can transform the social composition of the university from local to international. In other words, internationalisation can alter the conceptualisation of social diversity from narrow nationalistic to international scope. Transformation can also occur at the level of tolerance to social diversity in instances where international and local students interact at a social level. In highlighting the transformative character of internationalisation of public higher education, the need to discuss an internationalised university becomes apparent. The following subsection analyses the international character of a university.

3.5.2 The International Character of a University

There are perspectives that suggest that although a university is geographically located in a given nation state, it is by nature an international institution. Notably, Ramphele (1999) argues that universities are institutions that transcend national geographical borders and embrace the social, political and cultural aspects beyond nation states. From this perspective, universities enrol both local and international students as they respond to local as well as global social, political and economic issues. By its very nature, higher education encompasses the element of transcending national, regional or continental borders. In a sense, the international character of a university is such that international students as migrants are the indispensable component to its social and academic composition.

Furthermore, most universities aspire to be recognised as ‘world class’ universities that are marked by high research output and have a considerable number of international students. While the presence of international students may not on its own be a sufficient condition for internationalisation, it gives the international aspect to the social demographic of the student
body. George-Jackson (2010) notes in internationalisation, higher education institutions are important because they can facilitate social relations across nation state geographical borders. For Garcia and Villareal (2014) universities are international organisation whose location is within a given geographical or territorial nation.

The conception of the international character of a university has given rise to notions of borderless, transnational or cross border education. Such conceptual expressions indicate the fact that universities’ sphere of influence cannot be restricted by geographical borders of the nation state (Monke, 2012). Fundamentally, these conceptions give the perception that universities have an appeal that goes beyond the national borders. The international character of a university should not give the impression that an international university is detached from its local context. On the contrary, the international character facilitates universities as convergent point of the national and international, global and local, foreigner and the citizen. Teichler (2012)’s affirmation of the international character of a university is that its structure and organisation is shaped by the national and international cultures, the regulating and credential framework and governance.

Conclusively, the hallmark of an internationalised university is the presence of international students. According to Rizvi (2011), the presence of international students within a university has become a sign of success of the efforts towards internationalisation. In concurrence, Lee (2010) suggests that recruiting and enrolling international students is also an indicator of university prestige. It is in acknowledging the link between international student migration and internationalisation of higher education that the following subtopic delves into this matter.

3.5.3 International Student Migration and the Internationalisation of Higher Education

Perhaps, as a starting point to the discussion on relating international student migration to internationalisation, it is critical to recall the concept of international student. In that regard, most universities and countries no longer use foreign but rather international student. According to the Garcia and Villareal (2014), an international student is a person who crosses an established geographical national border to study in another country. In other words, an international student is different from a domestic student because the former is a foreigner, while the latter is a citizen. Ramphele (1999) observes that the terminology of foreign student denotes strangeness, distant, alien and tends to emphasize the fact of non-belonging and exclusivity. In more explicit terms, it could be argued that the term foreigner is susceptible to negative connotations of an unwelcome stranger or outsider. To that end, the terminology of
international student is suggestive of inter-relations, integration, interconnectivity, interactions and to some extent it poses the potentiality of intercultural relations. In summary, the idea of international students captures the image of nation states interacting through the intermingling of mobile students across national boundaries.

Of central importance, the migration of international students is closely connected to shift towards internationalisation that modern universities are emphasising. A distinction is made between vertical and horizontal mobility. The vertical mobility is when students from less economically developed nation state migrate to highly advanced countries with better educational and technological facilities. A case in point could be when students from Africa or Asia move to Europe or the United States to pursue high education studies. Horizontal mobility entails student migration to nation state with more or less the same standards as in their countries of origin. It is noted that there is an increase in the demand for higher education and in instances where students realise that the quality of higher education in their nation state is comparatively poor, they tend to migrate to other countries. Knight (2012:2) argues that “student mobility is often seen as the ‘face’ of internationalisation and at times is mistakenly used interchangeably with the term”. The critical point here is that while internationalisation encompasses various other activities such as research collaboration, conferencing and staff exchange among public international universities, student international migration that results in recruitment and retention has become an explicit expression of internationalisation of public higher education.

International student migration is an essential characteristic of international education. According to Knight (2012:23), cross border education “refers to the movements of people, programs, providers, policies, knowledge, ideas, projects and services across national boundaries”. International education is considered critical when consideration is given to the fact that knowledge has a universal aspect to it. In cross-border education there is an implicit assertion that “higher education should be accountable to all humanity rather than local communities or national authorities” (Charlier and Croche, 2011:304). For instance, medical, engineering or even cultural knowledge that may be produced by a certain university located in a specific country may benefit the whole world. Consequently, living standards of humanity may be improved through the sharing of universal knowledge. Primarily, international student migration is a critical component for knowledge production through research at post-graduate level.
There is a view that “the presence of international students often suffice to claim progress on internationalisation at university campuses” (Beck, 2013:43). Beck’s assumption that the presence of many international students is indicative of internationalisation success is not sustainable. Internationalisation of higher education is more than merely recruiting and retaining international students. This study has already pointed out there are other facets of internationalisation such as research collaborations between public universities in different nation states, formation of education regional universities bodies and staff exchange.

Furthermore, there are suggestions that the rise in student international migration is intimately related to the world-wide commercialisation of higher education (Stearns, 2009). Pointedly, Urbanovic, et al (2016; 492) suggests that “higher education is now regarded in many countries and around the world as a service to be sold on the market to anyone who can buy it”. Loomes and Croft (2013) say that a concept like academic capitalism describes a state in which knowledge as a commercial commodity may be purchased by students who are financially capable. Tuitions fees and living expenses usually pose financial challenges to international students. However, the rise in international student may also point to the development of a middle class that is able to meet the financial requirements of international education. In a sense, higher education has become a commercially exchangeable public good that transcend nation states borders. Since the phenomenon of international student migration is valued for reasons discussed thus far, the following section analyses the facilitation of this process.

3.5.4 Facilitation of International Student Migration

Due to the importance of international student migration as pointed out in the foregoing subsections of this chapter, most nation states put in place measures that facilitate easier student international migration. To this end the reduction or elimination of immigration obstacles impede the mobility of students across nation states borders are removed. In this way, the facilitation of international students’ migration refers to establishing enabling conditions that support international student migration. This often leads to increased flow of international students within a region. In most cases, international students prefer to study in neighbouring nation states because of linguistic, cultural and political ties that may exist between their nation state and the destination nation state. Most governments have realised that attracting international students has potential economic, cultural, social and political benefits for the state and public universities (Marginson, 2012). Towards the attraction of international students the nation state of Denmark put in place the Action Plan for Global Marketing of Denmark. It is
noted that the ambitious Denmark programme is aimed at attracting international students with the critical skills necessary economic skills (Mosneaga, 2013). Some of these measures at governmental level include the relaxation of immigration laws which reduces the obstacles that are associated with the procurement of a study visa.

International student migration is a central in the pursuit of developing and expanding the human skills base for any nation state. Specifically for Europe, Kishun (2007) suggests that the Bologna process European higher education was established to encourage student migration in the European region. Zhao and Wildemeerch (2008) see the Bologna process as instituted to realise easy mobility of citizens to pursue higher. Apparently, this process is designed to create the European Higher Education Area (International Trends in Higher Education Report, 2015). Ultimately, the Bologna process evidences objectives that inherently promote student international migration. The concept of the facilitation of international student migration is closely connected to the concept of regionalisation of higher education. This is the subject of the next section.

3.5.5 Regionalisation of Higher Education

Regionalisation of higher education has become a popular format of internationalisation as it results in the rise of flow of international students. Abbot and Silles (2016:114) note that a region is a “group of nation-state sharing an ideologically constructed regional identity forming a strategically important middle ground in the dialectic of national and global governance”. Regionalisation is enabled through factors such as geographical proximity and comparatively lower transport costs which enable the possibility of frequent migrating back to the country of origin during the study period. Moreover, common languages among nationalities as well as social networks in the study host nation make regionalisation feasible.

For convenience sake, it is more viable for students to study and reside within in their region. To concretise regionalisation, educational protocols are put in place. In the case of Africa, Arusha Convention is regarded as the earliest protocol towards regionalisation of higher education. In 1981, this protocol was agreed upon and signed by 21 nation states (Watson, 2009). Essentially, the protocol harmonised higher education, credit transfer, facilitation of student international migration and the collaboration of institutions of higher education on the continent.
In the Southern African region, the 1997 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Education and Training was put in place (Mpinganjira, 2012). Amid other educational objectives, the protocol aimed “to work towards the relaxation and eventual elimination of immigration formalities to facilitate freer movement of students and staff within the region for the specific purposes of study, teaching, research and any other pursuit relating to education and training” (SADC Protocol on Education and Training, 1997: Article 3G). In its broad scope, the protocol aims at increasing student international migration within the region. For example, African international students especially from the SADC region are said to be the most mobile in the world (Garcia and Villarreal, 2014).

The comparative advantage of regionalisation of higher education to global migration of international students centres on skills retention. In this view, when students study within their region, they tend to get employed and use their acquired skills within the region. Ramphele (1999) states that the creation of regional higher education area is beneficial to regional countries as it contains brain drain from the region.

In concluding the analysis on regionalisation and facilitation of international student migration, I highlight the fact that this process is determined specific factors within the region. Critically, international student migration is not a linear process. In this regard, a nation state in a region hosts or sends students depending on the attractiveness or lack of higher education. The following subsection discusses the traditional model of pull and push factors in international student migration.

3.5.6 The Pull and Push Factor Model

The pull and push factors that were given due consideration in this chapter on the subsection on international migration in its broad scope, are applicable in international student migration. Lee and Schooole (2015) note that the conventional understanding of the push factor model gives the impression that student are forced to emigrate from their nation state to study because of unfavourable conditions. The pull factor model denotes the perceived better conditions for study in another nation state. Put differently, international students get attracted to a nation state whose universities have better standards and facilities. The main objective of outlining the pull and push factor model is to expose the factors that influence patterns of international student migration. In this regard, Mpinganjira (2012) suggests that international student migration is not a random pattern, but is systematically shaped by immediate factors. The section below discusses the pull and push model factors of international migration.
3.5.6.1 Pull Factors for International Student Migration

In international student migration, pull factors refer to the considerably appealing aspects of the higher education sector of a nation state. Such pull factors could be academic, political, social and economic conditions present in both the nation state and higher education sector. To this end, nation states that have favourably educational conditions draw a comparatively higher number of international students. In this subsection, I discuss four pull factors to shed light on their influence towards international student migration.

a) International students are pulled towards institutions of higher education that confer internationally recognised academic qualifications (Lee, 2017; Garcia and Villareal, 2014). The underlying motif of attaining a qualification from a globally renowned university is the perception that graduates gain competitive advantage in the job market. On this view, international recognition of qualifications is closely linked to global rankings of a university. In context of Africa, South African public universities are better ranked higher than those in other nation states on the continent (Mpinganjira, 2012). International reputation, status and image of a university are therefore, important pull factors that attract international student to migrate to study in the region.

b) The financial costs of tuition, accommodation and other living expenses in the host nation are determining pull factors (Domingues-Whitehead and Sing, 2015). Considerably, international migration involves expenses. To that end, financial costs are critical determinant that pull international students to consider choosing a nation state as a destination for higher education studies. For instance, Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck (2015) note that South Africa is considered a financially cheaper option for most African international students compared to the United Kingdom, Australia or United States of America. In this regard, nation states that offer scholarships, bursaries and other financial incentives to international students tend to pull numerically more international students in comparison to nation states where financial assistance is not availed to international students.

c) Nation states whose political, social and economic environment is comparatively stable pull more international students (McGill, 2013; McClelland and Gandy, 2012). The state of the economy is significant because prospects of employment are a considerable factor in international student migration. International students are pulled
to nation states whose economy offers opportunities for jobs, better salaries and career development upon graduation (McKenzie and Gilmore, 2017). In addition, the political stability that guarantee security plays a pivotal role in pulling international students.

d) The historical and linguistic connections between nation states are considered to be of critical importance in choosing an international study destination. For instance, Woldegiorgis and Doeven (2015) note that African students from formerly France colonised nation states are likely to migrate to France for their higher education. Similarly the United Kingdom has a high number of international students from its former colonies.

3.5.6.2 Push Factors

Students are pushed out of their nation states due to a number of unfavourable studying conditions. Push factors depict conditions that negate or impede the pursuit of higher education studies in one’s nation state of origin.

a) Students may choose to migrate to another nation state in view of the supply and demand matrix of the number of available public universities. In this regard, nation states whose number of public universities are few than the number of prospective students may force prospective students to migrate. Ideally, nation state’s public universities should be able to offer places of study to all academically deserving citizens.

b) The perception of the quality of higher education is a critical push factor in the framework of international student migration. Poor quality of higher education in the student’s nation state may push the student to explore other options beyond the geographical borders (Garcia and Villarreal, 2014). Higher education students may choose to migrate to another nation state to obtain what is considerably a better quality education. Mpinganjira (2012) suggests that student’s migration choices are motivated by the perceived higher quality of education that is provided in the intended nation state of study. Furthermore, students associate perceived quality institutions of public higher education with international recognisability.

c) There are also factors that lie outside the higher education sector which contribute to the push factors. Kierkegaard and Nat-George (2016) state that, national conflicts such as civil war and political persecution may migrate. To this end, the opportunities of
pursuing higher education in nation states that are politically stable, becomes an exit from the security challenges that comes along with civil war or political persecution. However, students who come from politically unstable nation states are in some cases viewed with suspicion as witnessed in the post-11th September 2001 terrorists’ attacks in the United States of America.

In summary, pull and push factor model in international student migration highlight the debates on sense of belonging or non-belonging in a university. Sometimes international students are ‘mocked’ of the poor conditions in their nation states’ higher education. However, internationalisation of higher education should be understood from the perspective of pull factor since universities establish measures to recruit and retain international students. Conversely, as discussed in chapter six, there impressions that an international university ultimately belongs to local than international students are sometimes expressed. On this view, such practices and attitudes may push international students to explore other study destinations. These debates are discussed in chapter six. Below I discuss the benefits of hosting international students.

3.6 THE BENEFITS OF HOSTING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

All forms of human international migration have social, political and economic benefits to both the sending and receiving countries. Mpinganjira (2009) points out that hosting international students is an essential financial revenue source for both the university and the receiving nation state. Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck (2015) say that sometimes international students are regarded as consumers, while public universities are reflected as vendors of higher education. In this view, education is perceived as a commodity of exchange between the student and higher education institution. Loomes and Croft (2013) citing the Australian Education International report of 2012 observes that international students contributed around US$ 11billion to the Australian economy. The receiving countries of international students in this regard stand to financially benefit from the presence of international students.

Even though the immigration of ordinary citizens is often regarded as burden to the host nation state, the immigration and hosting of international students is supposed to be taken as beneficial. Hosting international students has economic, political, academic and social benefits that accrue for both hosting country and the universities. However, it would appear that specifically, the economic benefits of hosting international students are far more appealing for both the hosting university and the nation state. Urbanovic, et al (2016:492) observes that
“many governments have exerted a coercive influence over institutions to recruit more students to reduce the burden of funding higher education from public budget”.

From a financial perspective, nation states stand to benefit from international students. For instance, in 2007 the United States of America realised US$13, 5 billion while in the same year Australia obtained US$7.5 billion through international students who took up their studies in the respective countries (Lee, 2010). According to Domingues-Whitehead and Sing (2013) South Africa has consistently benefited financially from hosting international students. In broad terms, public universities are exercise entrepreneurship through recruitment and retention of international students.

In most nation states, international students pay tuition fees which are higher than those paid by local students. Some o financial benefits are accumulated by stakeholders who are outside the higher education sector. For instance, house-owners around campuses tend to rent out their premises to international students. In South Africa, Lee (2011) notes that most landlords charge exorbitant accommodation fees to international students.

Another benefit of hosting international students is that “in most countries, students are required to pay for their international experience, by way of extra fees, travel costs, accommodation, living expenses and so on” (Sison and Brennan, 2012:169) . Specifically, notes that postgraduate international students are oftentimes employed temporarily as tutors or research assistants in the universities. Consequently, there are benefits in terms of enriching the teaching and research cultures (Alberts, 2016). Hosting international students is advantageous because it alleviates the problem of skills shortages. Graduate international students may choose to remain and work in the nation state in which they would have attained their qualification thereby contributing to the economy. Nevertheless, a controversial point to note is that since international students are usually employed as cheap labourer as universities try to minimise costs.

Though there is a perception that international students come from financially rich families, most of them face financial challenges in the host country. Whereas some international students get funding from their governments, some are sponsored by parents and relatives. In some cases, international students are funded by companies through scholarships and grants. Nevertheless, in some countries international students are described as an elite group that is held in high esteem both in the host and origin country due to perception that they are financially well-off (Rivers, 2010).
From a political view, international students can act as ‘ambassadors’ for their nation state of origin. As ambassadors, the possible social interaction between international and local students may assist in the development of political relationships between nation states. On this view, Alghamdi and Otte (2016) suggest that international students can improve diplomatic ties between their nation state of origin and their host nation state where they study. In consideration of the fact that international students frequently migrate back to their countries during study breaks such as holidays, there are potential benefits in terms of improving transnational relations.

From a cultural perspective, Olesiienko et al (2013) have argued that the international student migration has the potential of creating platforms for cross-cultural learning and enhanced the economic development. Cross-cultural learning is facilitated through the social interaction of domestic and international students in lectures and out of lectures. In many ways, “international education helps in promoting understanding of other cultures and languages essential qualities for modern day citizens who live and work in highly multicultural settings” (Mpinganjira, 2009:241). The advantage of cross-cultural learning lies in its potential to eliminate or minimize unfounded misconceptions of the other nation states. In this way the exposure makes them tolerant and able to celebrate human social diversity.

3.7 NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF STUDENT INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Though the international student migration is often analysed and conceptualised on positive economic, political, social and academic contributions to both the receiving and the sending nation state, it has also potential negative implications. Framed in the supply and demand matrix, the international migration of students may exert enrolment pressures on hosting nation state. Moreover, pressure on public services such as the provision of accommodation, transport and health services may disadvantage the citizens. Furthermore, the increases in competition for places at universities may disadvantage domestic students. International students with higher entry academic grades may be preferred to local students. In most cases, universities recruit, retain and sometimes fund the academically brilliant international. Ozoglu, et al (2016) succinctly represented this state of affair with the metaphorical expression that it is a recruitment of talent.

In mitigation of possible negatives of recruitment and retention of international students, most governments regulate the immigration inflow. For this reason, public universities enrol an annually stipulated number of international students. As a matter of fact it is most governments’
pre-requisite of issuance international student study permit that public university of prove that an international student does not deprive local students’ study opportunity. The enrolment of international students can also lead to competition between international and domestic students for university resources such as bursaries, scholarships and other financial aids.

In addition, student international migration can be considered as a form of brain-drain in which nation states with less developed higher education sector loose the best students. Gribble and Blackmore (2012) note that there is a trend in which many international students choose to remain and settle in their host study nation states upon completion of studies and graduation. In this connection, sending nation states lose the necessary skills own economic and social development.

Thus far, I have discussed the internationalisation of public higher education by pointing out the contestations that surround internationalisation. Internationalisation is determined by the national and regional circumstances. There are possible benefits and potential negative implications associated with internationalisation. Both the negatives and benefits of internationalisation reveal power relations that are characteristic of economic, social, cultural and political disparities existing among nation states. Below I discuss some possible misconceptions around internalisation of higher education.

3.8 MISCONCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONALISATION

There are several misconceptions that are associated with the notion of internationalisation of public higher education. Internationalisation is at times equated to the imposition of English language as medium of instruction. English is erroneously taken to be the lingua-franca of conducting business, a situation that is colloquially referred to as Englishisation of public universities. For Hultgren (2014), Englishisation of a public university occurs when English is used as the medium of instruction, language for publication, governance and communication means for students. Englishisation is also an imposition in a context where English is not the native language. For example, in the Danish universities to Englishise is an indicator of internationalisation (Doiz, 2011).

It is however, essential to state that English may no longer be regarded as a foreign language internationalised public universities. Unavoidably, the English language is considered a global language of business interactions and universities are no exceptions in this regard. In Thailand for instance, Lavankura (2013) explains that universities regard competency and fluency in
English for graduates as a sign of success of internationalisation efforts. Thus, there is an explicit ‘interconnectedness’ between proficiency in English language and the process of internationalisation. Ha and Barnawi (2015) point out that English is slowly becoming a popular language of higher education business in Middle East countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain. However, the promotion of English in internationalisation should not be at the expense of local languages. In this way, proper conception of internationalisation takes into account both the local and international languages as social values.

Another misconception is that internationalisation is only about physical movement across nation state borders. De-wit (2009) insists that internationalisation should not be limited to international student mobility. Such misconception are reinforced by the parochial definitions of internationalisation only as involving itinerant students who cross national borders for higher education (Sehoole, 2006). The correct position on internationalisation should be that “mobility is merely an instrument for promoting internationalisation and is not a goal in itself” (De-wit, 2009:12).

Internationalisation may also be misunderstood and reduced to refer to enrolling of huge numbers of international students. It is highlighted that that “many programmes continue to struggle with the integration of local and international students in and out of the classroom. Local and international students do not integrate easily and individual students seek company of their compatriots” (De-wit, 2011:14). It is possible that international and local students may live apart and avoid mingling and interacting in a university. For Asmar (2015), it is fallacious to regard internationalised universities in compartmentalised terms of international and local. This oversimplification neglects the fact that both international and local students are not a homogeneous group with respect to culture or race. For instance, South Africa or Zimbabwe there are many ethnic, linguistic and racial groups of local students who may not interact with each other based on such differences. Also, students can still avoid each other on the basis of nationalities. In many ways, such avoidance of the two groups could be attributed to the pervasive tendencies of xenophobia as students tend to prejudice each other on the basis of national backgrounds.

It is a misconception to reduce internationalisation to number of collaborative engagements between or among local or international universities. It is dismissible that the more partnership universities enter into with other universities in other nation states, the highly internationalised
such a university becomes (De-wit (2011). Additionally, because of power relations, some international collaborative engagements that public universities stand benefit more than others. From a critical race perspective, there is often an imbalance of power relations among public universities. For example, owing to poor resources, African universities lose most their talented students and highly qualified lecturing staff to the public universities in economically developed nation states of Europe. This imbalance of power relations among public universities, initiates the unintended global competition among public universities, a fact of internationalisation (Khodabandelou et al, 2015).

In summary, internationalisation of higher education is concerned with the manner in which a nation state response to the globalisation forces. Characteristically, the activities of internationalisation indicate the interdependence and interaction between and among nations. All nation states pursue and accelerate the internationalisation programs of their universities by attracting the academically talented international students. But, the pace of internationalisation depends to a larger degree on the developmental level of their higher education system. For instance, universities in nation states with advanced technology, developed infrastructure and stable financial resources are at an advantage to pursue and realise the goals of internationalisation more rapidly than countries with less resources.

This subtopic points out that internationalisation may be considered as the university’s outreach program. Ultimately, internationalisation is a university’s way of expanding itself beyond geographical borders. Accordingly, the influence of a university goes beyond geographical boundaries of a nation state. In the following section I conclude this chapter.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the phenomenon of student international migration by locating it the broader scope of international migration. International students are fundamentally itinerant migrants who move in search of better academic opportunities abroad. The recruitment and retention of international students is sometimes initiated by both the universities and the government of the nation state who put in place measures and mechanisms to pull international students. In this regard, there is a realisation that the presence of international students in a university can have political, social, cultural and economic benefits.

In international migration there can be some negative social implication associated with this phenomenon. International students as cohort of immigrants may also be exposed to social
tensions such as social discrimination. It is noteworthy to state that even though international
students are legal immigrants, they may still be socially discriminated against both in the
broader society and in the university environment. Accordingly, social discrimination,
prejudices, negative stereotypes and attitudes that non-student migrant can encounter also be
applied to international students. In chapters five and chapter six I discuss social discrimination
resulting from international migration.

The matrix of push and pull factor is central to student international migration. In concise terms,
students are pulled to nation states where the conditions of pursuing education are favourable.
It cannot be denied that the unfavourable conditions in the nation state of origin may push
students out. However, in the framework of international student migration, the push and pull
factors are not uniform, but are rather specific to the political, historical, cultural and economic
circumstances of the nation state and region. Accordingly a discussion on the push and pull
factors from a generic perspective may not adequately account for the patterns of international
student migration in any given region.

This chapter has discussed international student migration from a generic perspective exposing
the common trends associated with this phenomenon. International student migration patterns
are influenced by specific factors and circumstances that are particular to a given nation state
and region. In this perspective, the phenomenon of international student migration as a facet of
internationalisation of public higher education differs from nation state to nation state and
region to region. The following chapter turns focus to discuss the rationales and patterns of
international student recruitment and retention in South Africa.
4.1 INTRODUCTION

The recruitment and retention of international students in South Africa is determined by the historical, political, social and economic contexts of South Africa, the SADC region and broader African continent. South African public higher universities recruit and enrol many African international students. Moreover, a sizeable number of international students come outside the African continent. In this respect, the main objective of this chapter is to critically analyse the patterns and rationales of recruitment and retention of international students in the South African public universities. It is essential to note that the rationales of recruiting and retention determine the number and the nation states cohort of international students. To adequately conceptualise the rationales behind internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, this chapter begins by giving a general landscape of the South African public higher education.

4.2 SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION OVERVIEW

The post-1994 government of South Africa inherited a racially and ethnically fractured higher education sector. It is noted that “higher education system in apartheid South Africa was characterized, in the main, by racial and ethnic separation, a fragmented and uncoordinated higher education system and unacceptably low participation rates by Black students” (Wangenge-Ouma, 2012:482). With this background, the post-1994 transformation initiatives of higher education were underlined by the primary objective of building up a non-racial, non-sexist and non-discriminatory higher education. To this end, multi-racial and multi-cultural public universities were established as opposed to mono-racial universities that characterised the apartheid dispensation (Cross, 2004). Resultantly, the social composition of public universities changed dramatically as it became possible for white, black, coloured and Indian South African students to study together in a public university.

Notably, the South African higher education sector is comparatively larger than that of other nation states on the African continent. It is stated that;

   South African university sector is the largest and strongest higher education in Africa, with 23 public universities across these institutional types; traditional research,
comprehensive and technology universities to meet a wide range of tertiary educational needs from the advance research to skilled workforce (Lee and Sehoole, 2015:827).

Drawing from the above citation, Lee and Sehoole (2015) observe that the South African higher education sector is highly developed in terms of infrastructure, technology and research opportunities. In addition, academics who lectures in the South African higher education are better qualified than those in other African nation states. However, it is essential to point out that the historical legacy of apartheid which divided higher education along racial and ethnic lines; public universities in South Africa differ in terms of resources and the infrastructural state of development. The historically black universities such as university of Venda or Fort Hare may not be as highly resourced in comparison to the historically white universities such as universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand or University of Johannesburg.

In terms of number of enrolment, in 2013 there were around 983 698 students in the twenty four South African public higher education universities (HESA, 2014). The numerical increase of enrolment is attributed to the process of transformation of higher education that was embarked upon in the post-1994 era. Chief among its objectives, transformation sought to increase the accessibility to public higher education for the previously disadvantaged races. It is spelt out that the student demographics of higher education should reflect the social composition of the broader society of South Africa (DoE, 1997). Therefore, public universities in South Africa recruit and enrol South African students without regard to race and ethnicity as was the situation under apartheid.

In line with its expansiveness, the South African higher education sector offers variety of academic, vocational and technical qualifications compared to most public universities in other nation states in Africa. Zvavahera (2014) notes that in Zimbabwe, university places for programmes such in Engineering and Actuarial Sciences are limited. Consequently, many Zimbabwean prospective students who cannot find university places for their desired educational programmes are pushed to explore alternatives in the South African public universities.

Finally, in giving this overview, there is an observation that there are fewer disruptive student and staff protests in South Africa (Lee and Sehoole, 2015). Though the 2015/2016 student protests over the rising tuition fees disturbed academic calendars of most universities, there is relative stability within the higher education system. Essentially, student demonstrations in South Africa are regarded as an expression of student democratic constitutional right, a
situation which is not so common in most African nation states (Kwaramba, 2012). Besides the relative stability of universities, there is a favourable political stability in the South African nation state. In this view, African international students who may originate from nation states with politically repressive governments are pulled to study in South Africa. In some cases African international students feel more secure to pursue their higher education studies in the Western European nation states because of political instability in their own nation states (Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2015). Nevertheless, both the South African nation state at large and its public universities are comparatively stable politically and guarantee a sense of safety to African international students.

The foregoing overview of the South African public higher education sector sums up the historical context as well as the current political, social and economic circumstances that shape this sector. In summation, it has become ostensible that South Africa is an attractive study destination in Africa. Some of the distinctive features of the South African higher education landscape include the highly developed infrastructure, higher number of public universities, better quality of education and the relative political stability. The information and technological services such as computers, printing services and better stocked libraries often act as pull factors for African international students. On the contrary, most public universities in other African nation states are underfunded, under-resourced and have dilapidated infrastructure.

There are two notable points that could be drawn from the discussion on the South African higher education landscape. Firstly, in socially transforming higher education, the post-apartheid dispensation sought to use education as a tool for the process of nation building through eradicating systemic and social discrimination. The social demography of student body reflects the multiculturalism and multiracial that characterise the South African broader society. Drawing from this, it could be argued that the informal national myth of rainbow nation is incorporated into the broader agenda of social transformation of higher education. Secondly, the collapse of apartheid which had restricted immigrants from other African nation states resulted in many African international students ‘flocking’ into South Africa.

From a critical race theory perspective, there are two interlinked points that can be drawn from the discussion on the social context of the South African public higher education. Firstly, social transformation of public higher education which begun in the post-1994 era is designed to eliminate unequal social relations evident under apartheid. Social transformation of public higher education endeavours to rectify the imbalance of power relations. Critically, power
relations manifest in the acknowledgment that all racial, ethnic and tribal groups as well as gender categories represented in the student social body are socially equal. In other words, there is should be no inferior or superior race.

Secondly, in the post-apartheid era, through increased recruitment and retention, the African international students became a visible race in the social composition of the student body of South Africa. Contentedly, the ‘visibility’ of African international student race, an indication of the processes of internationalisation, necessitates the interrogation of discourses of South African internationalisation. Moreover, the increasing number of African international students demands a conceptual interrogation of applicability of social values of rainbow nation myth to African international students. It is in consideration of the numerical increase of African international students that the subsection below critically discusses internationalisation discourses at South African public higher education institutions.

4.3 INTERNATIONALISATION DISCOURSES IN SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

By taking into account the patterns of recruitment and retention of international students in the South Africa, it is possible to delineate the overarching discourses on the process of internationalisation of public higher education. Given the general orientation of South African public universities towards internationalisation, it is essential to critically analyse the underlying discourses. Internationalisation of public higher education is a priority area towards nation building in the post-1994 political dispensation. In South Africa, there is a realisation that the nation state’s higher education needs to respond to both national and global challenges (DoE, 1997). In this scope, the discourses are underscored by the recognition that there are economic, political and social benefits that may be derived from the internationalisation process. Drawing from gazetted government documents on education and the general literature on higher education, the subsection below categorises South African public higher education into four discourses that characterise internationalisation.

4.3.1 Internationalisation: Reconnecting South African Higher Education to the World

The discourse of reconnecting the South African higher education sector to the world is historically informed by the fact that apartheid isolated the South African nation state. Consequently with the end of the apartheid, higher education needs to reconnect itself to the international higher education landscape. In this respect, one of the imperatives of social transformation of higher education explicitly spells out that higher education need to respond
to both national and global challenges (Department of Education, 1997). A nation state’s education system that responds to global challenges cannot be regarded as isolated but rather as connected to other international educational systems. The South African higher education is expected “to be able to compete successfully in a rapidly changing international context” (Cloete and Bunting (2000:5). The need for reconnection is necessary because it enables research collaborations, student and staff exchange and networking through conferences participations.

In as much as the post-1994 nation state sought to rebuild ties with other nation states, public universities begun to develop working relations with universities on the African continent and beyond. It is stated that higher education need to be at the forefront of “advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship, and in particular address problems and demands of local, national, southern African contexts and uphold rigorous standards of academic quality” (Department of Education, 1997:114). In this perspective, internationalisation is underpinned by notions of interconnectedness, interdependence and interrelatedness of the higher education sectors that exist between public universities in South Africa and those in other African nation states and beyond the continent.

Moreover, the formation of International Education Association of South Africa (IESA) in 1997 is an indicative of the commitment to internationalisation on the basis of inclination towards reconnecting to the world. Reasonably, the primary objective of IESA is to “advance, encourage and maintain internationalisation of higher education by providing a professional forum for institutions and individuals to address challenges and develop opportunities in international education” (Dunn and Nilan, 2007:267). Furthermore, the vision statement of IESA clearly spells out that higher education should broaden South African students to the world by reconnecting with other people and their cultures beyond the geographical borders of the nation state of South Africa (IESA, 1997). Public universities’ internationalisation discourses are informed by the need to correct the historical legacy that had isolated the South African higher education sector from the international community of universities. I turn my attention to discuss the philanthropic discourse in internationalisation.

4.3.2 The Philanthropic Discourses in Internationalisation

Philanthropic discourse is underpinned by the social values of developing and assisting other nation states, especially those within the SADC region. Philanthropic discourse is necessitated by the realisation that in neighbouring African nation states, educational infrastructure and
capacity is comparatively lower. There is a sense of South African philanthropic duty towards other African nation states, especially those from the SADC region (Department of Education, 2017, McLellan, 2009; Department of Education, 1997). According to the National Plan for Higher Education NPHE (2001) recruiting international students from the SADC region is regarded as an imperative. Recruiting African international students “would contribute to the broader human resource development needs of the region, which is critical if the SADC is to become a major social and economic bloc” (Department of Education, 2001:2:5).

In line with the superior quality of South African higher education, it is stressed that “in Africa, South Africa has assumed custodianship of other countries, particularly in the Southern African development and their regions” (Hay and Monnapula-Mapesela, 2009:10). In outlining the philanthropic discourse, the disparities in terms of higher standards of South African higher education in contrast to those obtaining in other nation states in Africa are notable. There is an observation that “given the existing high standard of some South African universities, South Africa is theoretically in a strong position to provide distinctively African academic leadership in the sub-Saharan region” (Dunn and Nilan, 2007:268). The South African public universities are highly ranked and occupy the top ten universities in Africa. Furthermore, it is noted that most neighbouring nation states have fewer universities than South Africa. Therefore, it becomes necessary for the South African universities to recruit international students from such nation states (Department of Education, 2017). However, it may also be important to state that the notion of brain drain is equally inherent in the philanthropic discourse. Brain drain implies that South Africa stands to benefit from the skills of graduates who may not choose to return to their countries of origin especially those from other African nation states.

The philanthropic discourse is apparently more pronounced in relation to African international students especially those from other SADC region. The implicit supposition in philanthropic discourse infers that African international students would be welcome to study and reside in South Africa. The embedded tenet in philanthropic discourse is that African international students would find South African public universities to be socially and financially accessible. For instance, in line with regional protocols, most South African universities charge African international students tuition fees that are equivalent to those paid by the local students. Nevertheless, the philanthropic discourse may still be contested since African international students are still charged exorbitant extra fee such as international fees. Besides, in South African public universities, access to financial bursaries and scholarships is limited for African international students (Muthuki, 2013). According to Domingues-Whitehead and Sing (2015),
by limiting financial bursaries and scholarships for international students, the cohort of African international students is usually the most affected as they encounter severe financial challenges in pursuing their studies and residing in South Africa. Despite the contentions that may be raised against the philanthropic discourse of internationalisation of higher education, it is apparent that the South African higher education sector has been putting in measures to attract talented students from the region and beyond.

4.3.3 The Regional Obligation Discourse in Internationalisation

Regionalisation of higher education is an essential component of internationalisation of higher education. As pointed out already in chapter three, to achieve the objectives of regionalisation, protocols on education which are supposedly obligatory are put in place. Nation states are expected to align their internationalisation discourses accordingly. It is in this context that the discourse on regional obligation for the South African public higher education emerges. Specifically, in relation to regional obligation as a discourse for South African public universities, the 1997 SADC protocol on education and training as a regional protocol underlines the South African internationalisation of public higher education.

The SADC regional block is a collection of fifteen nation states who share geographical borders, except for island nation states like Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles. Besides South Africa and Mauritius, the member nation states are economically underdeveloped and have poor infrastructure. Nonetheless, in spite of the vast economic disparity levels of nation states within this region, there have been constant efforts towards regional integration. The SADC protocol on Education and Training was signed upon in 1997 in Malawi (Lee and Sehoole, 2015).

The protocol outlines a number of areas to enhance educational collaboration in the region. For this study, I highlight four principles that are closely connected to the regionalisation agenda:

a) The intra-regional mobility of international students is highly significant. In an endeavour to promote intra-regional mobility of international students, the protocol states that member nation states need to facilitate the easier movement of staff and students across national boundaries (SADC Protocol on Education and training, 1997). The Protocol suggested that prohibitive immigration policies be eliminated to allow free movement of both staff and students. A point is made that “since SADC 1997 initiative to promote regional cooperation in the education sector, educational mobility
in the region has notably increased” (Lee and Sehoole, 2015:832). Though the protocol envisaged a pattern of intra-regional mobility in which all member nation states can pull equal number of students, South Africa has emerged as the nation state that pulls most regional students.

b) Besides the reservation of places for international students, the protocol also notes that international students from the region should pay tuition fees that are equivalent to those paid by local domestic students (SADC protocol on Education and Training, 1997). Notably, the SADC protocol does not seem to priorities the economic rationale of recruiting international students as the case in places such as Australia or United States. In reference to the SADC protocol, “students originating from member countries are treated as local students for tuition fees and are charged similar fees as local students” (Mpinganjira, 2012; 263). The SADC protocol on higher education and training therefore, has inherently a contra-position to most regions in which international students are treated as sources of revenue to boost the financial status of universities.

c) To promote increased communicational interaction of international students and staff, the protocol promotes English and Portuguese as regional languages for instructional purposes (SADC protocol on Education and Training, 1997). Language is a critical issue in internationalisation. As noted already, language is a critical determinant factor in the choice of study destination. Language of instruction at university is an issue of access to education. In other words, international students consider enrolling in universities that lecture in languages they are conversant in. Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck (2015) point out that Portuguese and English language determine the pattern of inflow of international students in SADC. In this consideration, Angola has emerged as the top study destination for students from former Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique, while South Africa mainly attracts English speaking African international students. Therefore, in regionalisation of higher education in SADC, Portuguese and English are the ideal languages for internationalisation because of the colonial historical patterns of the region. Besides the colonial legacy, it may have been assumed that adopting these languages could assist in minimising xenophobic tendencies and practices in higher education in the region.
d) Though the immigration policies do not directly fall within the ambit of public higher education, they can either promote or stifle student international migration. In cognisance of centrality of immigration policies towards student international migration, the protocol states that the immigration policies and prohibitive bureaucratic formalities for student and staff mobility should be eliminated (SADC Protocol on Education and Training, 1997). However, the obtainment or renewal of student study permits has continued to be a cumbersome process within the SADC region. According to Sichone (2006), the renewal of study permits in some SADC nation states is complicated to the extent that some African international students are sometimes forced to drop out of their studies.

From the above four notable points from the SADC Protocol on Education and Training, it could be argued that the South African higher education internationalisation highly informed by the highlighted principles of the Protocol. For instance, South Africa is one of few nation states that have implemented the clause of charging SADC students tuition fees that are equivalent to those of local students. Kwaramba (2012) notes that in South African tuition fee categorisation, international students are either SADC or non-SADC. Equally so, most public universities in South Africa reserve the 5% allocation to the SADC students in their recruitment policies. McLellan (2008) highlights that the South African public universities have increased their intake of SADC students especially, post-graduate studies.

While drawing regional obligations from the SADC protocol is ideal, there have been some challenges arising from the institutionalisation and implementation of SADC Protocol in South Africa. Since the end of apartheid, the higher education sector has experienced pressure towards increasing the access of higher education to the previously disadvantage population especially the local black population. This trend has led to the challenge of mass enrolment of local students in public universities. Combining the pressure to increase enrolment of local students with the upsurge in the number of international students can strain the universities human, financial and infrastructural resources. Rouhani (2009) observes that the presence of international students at South African universities is a political issue. The high number of African international students may suggest that international students deny South African local students places in universities. Lee (2017) observes that international students from other African nation states are perceived as potential competitors for resources such as finance or accommodation with domestic students.
Conclusively, the SADC regional protocol’ imperative to charge international students fees that are equivalent to those paid by local students can be problematic. As indicated in chapter three, the economic perspective of internationalisation stipulates that public universities can derive financial revenue from international students. To that end, the ever-increasing enrolment of African international students may not correspondingly translate to the revenue generation for South African public universities. The 2015 and 2016 nationwide student protests against rising tuition fees highlights the precariousness of charging SADC international tuition fees that are equivalent to local students.

4.3.4 The Intercultural Discourse in Internationalisation

Even though South Africa is a highly socially diversified nation along race, ethnicity and religions, the discourse on intercultural interaction constitutes part of internationalisation of public higher education discourse. International students are supposedly valued for enriching the social diversity of the public universities by exposing South African students to other ideas and cultural norms (Rhodes University, 2016). Intercultural discourse is fundamentally oriented towards the social tolerance and accommodation of different cultural and nationalities groupings in a university.

The significance of intercultural discourse is encompassed in the South African ‘version’ of explicating internationalisation of higher education. It is spelt out that internationalisation is “the process of integrating an international, intercultural and global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of higher education bearing in mind South Africa’s international development challenges and its responsibilities towards the development of higher education in the region and the continent” (SAUVCA, 2004:4). The tolerance of social diversities through interacting with African international students is a critical aspect of internationalisation of higher education. As discussed in the following subsections of this chapter, South African public universities insist on their African character.

In summing up the discourses on internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, there is a need to emphasise that discourses emanate from the specific context and historical, political and social circumstances within the region. As a result, discourses of internationalisation may be viewed as the higher education’s response to the regional needs. In South Africa, these discourses have resulted in the increase of the number of African international students. In overall terms, the discourses on internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa encompass notions of intercultural, interrelatedness and
In applying the critical race theory, I contend that discourses discussed indicate that internationalisation of higher education is not a power neutral concept. Rather, internationalisation discourses reveal the economic and cultural power and influence of superior nation states over the ‘weaker’ nation states. Internationalisation activities such as recruitment and retention of international students and research collaborations are determined by the obtaining economic, social and cultural power relations. South Africa as a regional hub of higher education exercises some form of power and dominance in the SADC region. The fact that South African public universities are comparatively ranked higher than most in the SADC region gives them some power leverage. As pointed out already, most public universities outside South Africa cannot compete with the standards, resources and research outputs of South African universities.

Having outlined the discourses of internationalisation of higher education in South Africa, I focus on universities imaging in relation to internationalisation. Public universities’ visions, mission statements and internationalisation policies are important in conceptualisation the international image.

4.4 SOUTH AFRICA’S UNIVERSITIES’ INTERNATIONAL IMAGE

While the discourses discussed in the preceding subtopic are generally applicable to all South African public higher education, the international imaging is often university specific. In international imaging, the specific public university individually endeavours to portray itself as international university. Different universities’ have objectives that they seek to achieve in relation to internationalisation. Furthermore, international imaging is inclusive of the values and standards that a public university seeks to include in in its international reputation. So, this subtopic analyses some of South Africa’s universities mission statements on internationalisation to draw their purported image.

4.4.1 The University of Stellenbosch International Image

The University of Stellenbosch identifies itself as a leading research institution in Africa. Accordingly, it states; “we strive to serve out continent contributing to the knowledge base, showing relevance, serving various stakeholders and contributing to the realisation of global development goals” (University of Stellenbosch, 2017). There is an explicit expression of
intension to serve the African continent through the creation and dissemination of new knowledge. Arguably, the university is aware of the advantageous position in terms of resources in relation to most other universities on the African continent.

4.4.2 The University of Cape Town International Image

Regarded as an English liberal university during the apartheid era, the University of Cape Town considers itself as; “a premier point between South Africa and the world” (University of Cape Town, 2017). The University of Cape Town considers itself a junction point of South Africa and the world. In addition, the mission statement of the University of Cape Town outlines that the university is a comprehensive African university. It seeks to promote excellent academic achievement, discovery that ultimately promotes the establishment of a stable social order. In connection to this, the mission statement notes that; “we seek to advance the status and distinctiveness of African scholarship through building strategic partnership across the continent, the global south and the rest of the world” (University of Cape Town, 2016b). Therefore, it could be stated that the vision statement of the University of Cape Town prioritises relationship and connection to the continent of Africa.

4.4.3 The University of Witwatersrand International Image

Geographically located in Johannesburg, an economic city that attracts many African immigrants, the University of Witwatersrand is regularly ranked as the second best university in Africa. In view of its position in Africa, the University of Witwatersrand describes itself as the intellectual hub of Africa and prides itself as one of the top destination for students from other African countries (University of Witwatersrand, 2016). Since it is endowed with world class facilities and wide variety of academic disciplines, the University of Witwatersrand annually enrol a considerably high number of African international students.

4.4.4 The University of Rhodes International Image

In assessment of the African continent, the University of Rhodes seeks to establish special relations with universities in Africa. The connection to other African universities is informed by the need to improve the standards of teaching and learning on the African continent. Taking into account that xenophobia impedes the process of internationalisation of public higher education; the University of Rhodes constantly condemns xenophobic cases whenever they arise (Rhodes University, 2015).
4.4.5 The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University International Image

The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) through its 2020 Strategic Plan envisions itself as a dynamic African university. The dynamism of this university is a response to challenges afflicting South Africa and the African continent (Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2016). The NMMU further notes that students on the African continent, especially those from the SADC region should always constitute the majority of its international student body. Therefore, there is a deliberate policy of attracting international students from other African nation states.

4.4.6 The University Of KwaZulu-Natal International Image

The University of KwaZulu-Natal identifies itself as the Premier of African scholarship (University of KwaZulu Natal, 2016). Though the university admits to the complexities of defining African scholarship, it reiterates that there should be an enculturation of the local and global. To exemplify the essence of ‘Africanness’, the university states that isiZulu as a dominant African language in the geographical region in which the university is situated, should be developed and given due preference in university business communication. By extension, African international students are encouraged to learn isiZulu during the course of their studies.

4.4.7 The University of Johannesburg

The University of Johannesburg was established in 2005. It is a product of the merger of Technikon Witwatersrand, East Rand and the Soweto campus of Vista University (Khotseng, 2010). Before the 1994 political dispensation, the University of Johannesburg was known as Rand Afrikaans University and enrolled only white students of Afrikaans linguistic background. With the collapse of the apartheid system, the University of Johannesburg transformed itself in line with the broader transformation of higher education goals.

Besides aligning itself with the national goals of transformation, the university equally redefined itself along the international standings. In this regard, the university considers itself to be a “truly internationalised premier African university” (University of Johannesburg, 2016). The University of Johannesburg presents itself as the university at the service of Africa. In essence, the university imagines itself as a cosmopolitan university with a strong outlook towards the African continent. With a vision statement that combines the African continent and cosmopolitanism, it is conceivable to imagine the rainbow cosmopolitanism.
4.4.8 University of Western Cape International Image

Located in the Western Cape province of South Africa in which there are other two international universities (Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch), the University of Western Cape has put in place policies and measures to attract African international students. Towards the goal of internationalisation, the mission statement of the University of Western Cape notes that the university is a centre of global, African and South African excellence (Western Cape University, 2017).

4.4.9 Cape Peninsula University of Technology International Image

The mission statement of Cape Peninsula University of Technology says it is “the heart of technology education and innovation in Africa” (Cape Peninsula University, 2016). In addition, the university claims that social values such as Ubuntu and mutual respect are the guiding principles that underline social interactions in the university community.

4.5 AN ANALYSIS OF SOUTH AFRICA’S PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES INTERNATIONAL IMAGE

In line with conceptual research in which concepts are not taken for granted, there are two possible interpretations that can be drawn from the explicit identification with Africa expressed in the most vision statements of South African public universities. Firstly, Africa signifies the geographical and cultural context in which these universities are located. To that end, there are contentious debates on Africanisation of the curriculum (Botha, 2013; Horsthemke, 2009). Most of the public universities aspire to be relevant by seeking to respond to the needs of the continent. It is the case that these universities are geographically located on the African continent. Nonetheless, there is an indication that the pressure of African identification and representation stems from contextual issues such decolonisation as a method of eliminating Western European hegemony in education. During apartheid, the South African public universities were caught up in the systematic politics since they were forced to align their policies of recruitment in tandem with apartheid dictates. Essentially, the identification with the notion of Africa symbolizes the transition to the post-1994 democratic era.

Secondly, even though most universities in South Africa strongly identify themselves as African universities, the term African is ambivalent, equivocal and politically controversial in both the apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. The historical legacy of apartheid makes the notion of ‘African’ a highly political concept that perpetuated social stratification along races in South Africa. According to Maphosa (2016), the term African officially refers to the
population, distinguishing it from the white, coloured and Indian populations. In the public universities, student demographic race populations are divided as African, white, coloured and Indian. To that end, there is a category of students referred to as South African African, as distinguishing from South African white, Indian or coloured (HESA, 2014). Furthermore, the notion of African languages refer to ‘indigenous’ languages such as isiZulu, Sotho, Pedi, Venda and other ethnic-linguistic groups of South Africa.

The importance of contextual description of the concept African in South Africa is significant since it has a bearing on international students. Informed by the agenda of transformation of higher education in the post-apartheid era, the notion of African is used to correct the past injustices and unfairness to access higher education. The concept of African is sometimes used to refer exclusively to black South Africans and not necessarily Africans from other nation states. For example, Lee and Sehoole (2015) note that African students made up 63% of the total university student body in South Africa. It is critical to state that the 63% referred to here is black South African and not Africans from other African nation states.

In the addition, the international image that has strong African inclinations and pronouncements can also be an imperative indication to be associated with definitive African cultural values. It is spelt out that “universities by definition are institutions that are rooted in a universal cultural experience, although overtime, they have developed individual and national characteristics and traditions that are preserved and marketed extensively” (Sichone, 2006:38).

Pointedly, most public universities in South Africa portray their universities as African universities. Arguably, the South African public universities’ proclamations and image branding as African universities has contradictory bearing towards social challenges that African international students encounter.

In the above cursory survey that covered only nine universities out of twenty-four universities’ mission statements or logos, it is evident that most South African universities portray themselves as African universities. Furthermore, the fact that all public universities are affiliated to the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA) could be an indication of an expression of common African aspiration. The IEASA is a collective formed in 1997 with the objective of the promotion of internationalisation of public higher education with disposition towards the African continent.

In addition, the vision, mission statements point to the fact that South African universities strive to be recognised as international. Although they prioritise responding to the immediate national
needs, they equally aspire to reach a student constituency that is outside its geographical borders. Understandably, there is an implicit acknowledgement of the superiority of South African public universities when contrasted to universities in other African countries. Understandably, there is a notation that “given the existing high standard of some of South African universities, South Africa is theoretically in a strong position to provide a distinctively African academic leadership in the sub-Saharan region” (Dunn and Nillan, 2007:267). The identification of South African universities’ vision and mission statements as academic leaders in Africa is based on its comparatively advanced higher education. This Africaness is a strong motivation found in nearly all public universities in South Africa.

In summary, the international image of public universities has a bearing on their recruitment and retention of international students. The underlying depiction of universities as international with a pronounced preference for the African needs is sufficient motivation for African international students to pursue higher education studies in South Africa. On the argument that the discourses of internationalisation and international image of universities play a central role in the recruitment and retention of international students, the subsection below analyses the in-bound international students in South Africa.

4.6 MIGRATION TRENDS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The number of international students in South African public higher education has continued to rise since the end of apartheid in 1994. In 1992 there were only 4,600, and by 2007 the number had risen to 53,000 international students in South African public universities. Thus the period of 2000-2007 saw a 33% increase in the number of international students studying in South Africa (Aloyo and Wentzel, 2011). By 2012, there were 66,181 and by 2013 the number had risen to 73,859 international students (HESA, 2014). These statistics indicate that South Africa is associated with many pull factors for international students. Indicatively, over 80% of these international students were from the SADC regional; Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland (Kwaramba, 2012). Besides the SADC region, there are many international students from nation states outside the African continent such as United States, Netherlands, France, Germany and some Asian nation states.

According to du-Plessis and Fourie (2011), the fact that South Africa is ranked as ninth top study destination in the world is revealing of South Africa’s attractiveness. Lee and Sehoole (2015) and Mpinganjira (2012) point out that the nation state of South Africa has emerged as a regional hub for higher education alongside countries such as Malaysia and South Korea.
Nearly all the public universities in South Africa have a considerable constituent of international students. Notably, the universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand and Pretoria have a higher enrolment compared to the less prestigious public universities of South Africa.

From above, it is clear that South African public universities are popular study destinations for African international students. A higher education qualification from most South African public university is held in very high esteem vis-à-vis those obtained from universities in most African nation states. Whereas the 1997 SADC protocol on education and training facilitates African international students to access higher education in Southern Africa (HESA, 2014), South African students do not migrate to other African nation states. Conversely, as shown in chapter five, international students are sometimes perceived as part of the immigrant influx into South Africa. The nuances around the immigrant influx point to the social tensions between migrants and citizens. In view of African in-bound international students in South Africa, the subsection below focuses on the pull factors that explain international student migration to South Africa.

4.7 PULL FACTORS: INTERNATIONAL STUDENT INTO SOUTH AFRICA

There are several reasons that pull African international students to study in South Africa;

a) With twenty six universities, South African public higher education sector is the largest in Africa (Department of Education, 2017). In terms of accessibility to study, it is possible for such a large sector to absorb a huge number of both local and international students. Bearing in mind that in some cases international students are pushed out of their nation states because of the failure to secure a study place in their home nation states, South Africa provides an alternative. In comparison, SADC nation states such as Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland have one public university each. It is obvious that there is not enough room in most SADC public universities to accommodate all the prospective students. This suggests a problem.

b) One factor that seems common to pull international students is the standard of higher education. On this view, public universities in South Africa are considered to have higher standards of education in contrast to those in other African nation states. In addition, South African public universities are comparatively better resourced than those in most African nation states (Zvavahera, 2014; Chimucheka, 2012). This means
that most South African public universities attract and engage highly qualified lecturing staff and students. Furthermore, the high standard of infrastructure of most public universities in South Africa is a pull factor for African international students. Infrastructure includes library facilities, technological facilities such as computers, boarding facilities as well as water and sanitation that entice international students to choose to study in South Africa. To underline the significance of infrastructure, I cite the example of the University of Zimbabwe that suspended its teaching programme in 2008 for almost six months because of the unavailability of water. This and many other problems cause Zimbabwean students migrate to study in universities in South Africa, United Kingdom and United States (Newsday 12th January 2014).

c) English is supposed to be the official language of instruction at public universities. In South Africa, English as language of instruction is another key pull factor that attracts African international students. Most nation states in the SADC region use English as their official language in education. So, most African international students are supposed to be able to study and to socially interact with their South African counterparts using the medium of English.

d) Fourthly, South African public universities are usually stable and free from violent student disruption. However since October 2015, there have been sporadic nationwide student protests due to free tuition. In most cases these student protests have led to the suspension of lectures and examinations the protests have been violent and affecting of public universities properties such as cars and buildings (Sowetan, November 2016). Nevertheless, the political context of other African nation states is that higher education student protests are often confronted with brutal response from governments (Waghid, 2007). For instance, higher education students who tried to protests against the rise in graduate unemployment in Zimbabwe were reportedly arrested and tortured by the state security (New Zimbabwe.Com, November 16, 2016). Conclusively, it could be argued that the student protests in South Africa are an expression of the democratic constitutional right that South African students have.

South Africa is now considered a key regional exporter of higher education in Africa (Kwaramba, 2012, Mpinganjira, 2011). This highly developed higher education sector, makes South Africa to be a regional hub of higher education in the sub-Sahara Africa. The possibility of a regional sector is realised through geographical proximity,
language, historical and political ties within the SADC region (Lee and Sehoole, 2015).

e) Lastly, there is an observation that international student migration is intimately connected to possibilities of getting employment in the host nation state upon graduation (Marginson, 2012). Incontestably, South Africa is considered to offer better opportunities of employment upon graduation in comparison to other African nation states (Mail and Guardian, 03th July 2015). The possibilities of securing employment after graduation may be the rational explanation to the common trend in which nation states with better advanced economies attract higher numbers of international students. Since South African economy is considered to be relatively strong in Africa, it can be inferred that African international students are strategically positioning themselves for employment in South Africa. To that end, international migration of African students is an initial step towards securing employment and advancement of career. Furthermore, African international students may be pulled by opportunities of participating in research activities upon graduation. To a lesser extent, African international students may also be pulled into South Africa to experience new cultural values.

The pull factors for African international students into South Africa discussed in this subsection point to the fact that the standard and quality of higher education in Africa is unequal. In this regard, the African international students who can financially afford to study in South African public universities migrate from their nation states. The benefits that African international students derive from studying in the South African public higher education include the attainment of quality higher education and career advancement. Similarly, there are also benefits the host nation state derives from receiving and hosting immigrants. This is the subject of following subsection.

4.8 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

South African public higher education stands to benefit from the presence of African international students. From an economic perspective, public universities derive financial benefits from recruiting and retaining African international students. International students pay tuition, residential and international fees to the university. At the nation state level, financial expenses such as out-of-university accommodation, food, travel and health services are monetary benefits that the broader economy of the nation state can gain. Nonetheless, African
international students struggle financially in South Africa (Domingues-Whitehead and Sing, 2015). Despite the financial challenges of African international students, South Africa stands to benefit from hosting these students. Furthermore, hosting of international students has long-term benefits as it can provide the critical skills for the economy. Aloyo and Wentzel (2011), note that in South Africa, graduate African international students may alleviate critical skills in areas such as science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

At a social level, the “recruitment of SADC students enriches the educational experience of South African students and broaden their understanding of the social, economic, political ties that underpin the peoples and countries of SADC” (DoE, 2001:25). The increase in social diversity of student body through enrolling international students is an intercultural benefit. Besides, graduate international students who return to their nation states of origin may share the good experiences they would have had in South Africa. To that end, other prospective international students may in turn be influenced to apply to study in the country.

At the educational level, South African higher education accrues academic benefits. In this regard, some of the international students, especially those in post-graduate studies take up research and tutorial work during their studies. Therefore, South African students are, exposed to other forms of study and teaching methodologies that comes through interacting with international student tutors. Above all, as a cost-saving approach, universities employ African international post-graduate tutors.

In concluding this section, it should be stressed that the recruitment and retention of international students is of value to the South African higher education. Since international students are legal migrants, it is difficult to point out the negative side of international student migration.

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined that the recruitment and retention of international students as a facet of internationalisation of higher education is given due significance by South African public universities. Imperatively, the historical legacy of apartheid is corrected through reconnection with universities in other African nation states. The highly developed higher education sector of South Africa attracts and accommodates a substantial number of international students from Africa. So, nearly all public universities have a significant number of African international students who come to study for various reasons.
The South African public higher education internationalisation objectives are founded on the premise of extension and influence into Africa and world. Africa occupies a central place in the discourse of internationalisation. African international students come to study in South Africa’s higher education because of the high standard and quality of higher education of South African universities.

As a result of the discourses of internationalisation of higher education in South Africa, African international students are the largest cohort of international students. However, from the social perspective of international migration, African international students are most likely to encounter anti-foreign practices and attitudes in South Africa. Thus, as a precursor to afrophobia in higher education, the following chapter discusses the patterns and trends of afrophobia within the broader society of South Africa.
CHAPTER FIVE:

The Paradoxical Patterns of Afrophobia in the South African Society

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter on South African rationales for international student recruitment specifically exposed the social complexities that are associated with international student. One of the challenges associated with international migration is the practices and negative attitudes by citizens that are directed towards non-citizens which are often referred to xenophobia. In line with pursuing conceptual clarity, this chapter reveals the forms of afrophobia in the broader society of the post-apartheid South Africa. As already hinted in chapter one, afrophobia refers to anti-foreign practices and attitudes that are specifically directed to African foreign nationals. A discussion on xenophobia in the broader society is of significance because public higher education universities are geographically and socially located in the nation state of South Africa. In this chapter, the practices and attitudes that constitute afrophobia are analysed from a critical race theory. Power relations and race are central in analysing afrophobia in South Africa. Since afrophobia is a derivative of xenophobia, this chapter begins by discussing xenophobia, and later on conceptually explores afrophobia in the South African society.

5.2 A CONCEPTUAL EXPOSITION OF XENOPHOBIA

Though there are diverse and contentious causes, explanations or theories on the reasons behind the practices and attitudes of xenophobia, there is agreement that xenophobia constitute negative attitudes and practices against foreigners (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013; Tafira, 2011; Landau, 2011; Hoti, 2006). Non-nationals are often regarded as undesirable and social misfits, hence the hostilities towards them. It is pointed out that that hostility should not only be understood in terms of physical confrontation, but rather “a negative and devaluating attitude towards immigrants which is based on emotions such as fear and aggression” (Hoti, 2006:236). The ‘logic’ behind xenophobic hostility is that foreigners are essentially outsiders of the host nation state. Therefore, foreigners do not deserve to be tolerated in the host nation state’s social spaces. Therefore, xenophobia seems to delineate between foreigners and citizens.

According to Pain (2007), xenophobia is an expression of social intolerance towards those that foreign nationals. A foreigner is considered an outsider because of his or her national background, ‘does not fit in’. He or she is regarded as an undesired immigrant (Matsinhe, 2011). Xenophobia identifies and socially excludes foreigners. Arguably, foreigners are
‘identified’ through accent, skin colour or language. On the other hand, citizens are ‘socially identified’ with markers like speaking local languages, skin colour/ pigmentation or race are identifiers of citizenship. It would appear that there are markers of identity that bestow a sense of belonging, while conversely, markers or indicators of foreignness that confer the idea of non-belonging. However, Pain’s (2007) definition raises some complications. For instance, what exactly does it mean by to tolerate or accept a foreigner? As it were, xenophobia does target anyone who is a foreign national.

Whitaker and Giersch (2015) describe xenophobia as aggressive practices and attitudes towards foreign nationals. Disputable as it may seem, the fear of foreigners is founded on the assumption that foreigners pose some form of threat to the social, cultural, political and economic well-being of citizens. For some, “xenophobia is the irrational fear of the unknown, or specifically the fear or hatred of those with different nationality (Steenkamp, 2009:439). Xenophobia relies heavily on the circulation of myths and stereotypes about foreigners. The practices or attitudes of anti-foreign sentiment may be manifested either through violent confrontations or salient exclusionary practices against foreign nationals. Contentedly, Hoti (2006) explains that not all nation states express xenophobia through physical confrontation against foreigners. Xenophobia may therefore, be expressed through subtle ways such the ill-use of a local language in the presence of a foreigner who does not speak or understand that language. Using language in this way may deliberately exclude the foreigner.

The conceptualisation of causes of xenophobia in terms of cultural norms such as linguistic differences or physical appearances is an oversimplification since most nation states are multicultural and multiracial. Primarily, social conflicts such as racism or tribalism also indicate the complexities of social diversity among citizens. For instance in Zimbabwe, Shona speaking Zimbabweans may discriminate against the Tonga speaking Zimbabweans or vice-versa. Accordingly, the challenges of social diversity not only emerge in the form of social polarisation between a foreigner and citizens. Equally so, polarisation can occur along race and ethnic conflicts among citizens. Therefore, one should not reduce social discrimination to polarisation that occurs only between foreigners and citizens. However, xenophobia is distinctly the social intolerance of national differences. There negative stereotyping and practices that sustain xenophobia.

It is of paramount significance to state that the xenophobic attitudes and practices seem to be ubiquitous in all nation states. According to Demmers and Mehendale (2010), in the nation
states of German, Netherlands, United States of America and Russia, citizens have on several occasions openly expressed strong anti-foreign sentiments. On the backdrop of the influx of foreign nationals from places such as Middle East and Africa, the European citizens have expressed anti-foreign sentiments. For example, Mukomel (2015) reports the 2002 xenophobic cases in which Russians proclaimed the nationalistic slogan of ‘Russia for Russians’. Nevertheless, there is an observation that “Russians are relatively tolerant only towards people who come into Russia from nation states such as Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus who do not stand out visually in contrast to the receiving community” (Mukomel, 2015:39). Apparently, that xenophobia can be selective because not all foreigners are mistreated on the basis of their nationalities. The selective character of xenophobia is central in the study as it ultimately reinforces the notion of afrophobia.

Besides Russians, the Japanese are equally known for openly expressing strong anti-foreign sentiments. For Richley (2010), xenophobia in Japan is founded on the perceptual myth that Japanese are a special and unique people who are highly intelligent. Consequently, the emphasis on the assumed intellectual differences has meant that the Japanese society has for over a long period of time treated foreigners as separate and ‘unusual’ race of people. Hoti (2006), basing on a survey conducted in Switzerland, points out that the general populace express high reservations towards granting certain rights to foreigners. The contention is that “immigrants should not be entitled to the same rights as Swiss nationals. The immigrants should have fewer rights, while most of the privileges should be accorded to locals” (Hoti, 2006:240). This suggests that non-nationals are a threat to the economic, cultural and social well-being of locals. To that end, foreign immigrants’ inflow is strictly regulated.

As mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, the causes of xenophobia are contentious. Hale (2011) and Pain (2007) suggest that xenophobia is linked to the foreigner’s inability to socially integrate in the dominant culture of the host nation state. For instance, the lack of social integration could suggest that foreigners lack understanding of the host nation state’s languages, dress codes, religious and cultural beliefs. Moreover, there are also claims that foreigners are targeted because they are physically noticeable and odd.

In view of critical race theory, the minority groups are socially judged to be ‘inadequate’ in by the dominant or powerful cultural and racial groups. However, in reference to a dominant cultural group, there is an assumption that a nation state has a uniform culture in which all foreign nationals should conform to. Nevertheless, McDonald (2014) asserts that the host
nation state is not a culturally homogenous entity. In most cases, the host nation is social made up of different language codes, accents, slang and other terminologies. In South Africa, it is not unusual to come across locals who would say that a foreigner is distinct through his or her English accent, yet there are many ‘versions’ of English due to isiZulu, Afrikaans among other accents. The implicit assertion that there is a common way in which South Africans speak English is rather incorrect.

In consideration of the foregoing discussion, this study employs the descriptive definition of xenophobia as “attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude and often vilify a person based on the perception that they are outsider/ foreigners to the community/ society/ or national identity” (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:192). Primarily, Adjai and Lazaridis definition is all encompassing since it underscores the concept of social rejection of non-nationals. In this regard, attitudes and practices are informed by the ‘aim’ of socially rejecting foreigners. McKnight (2008) suggests that the practices and attitudes of social rejection that vilifies foreign nationals are ‘justified’ by citizens’ sense of entitlement. Citizens regard themselves as the ‘appropriate’ owners of the nation state’s cultural, political and economic resources.

On the account of critical race theory, the notion of rejection as encapsulated in xenophobia denotes marginalisation of the powerless group of foreign nationals. In that sense, citizens are a social group that rejects foreign nationals. The citizens’ cultural, economic, social and political power is regarded as superior in relation to the foreigner’s cultural insignificance. Ultimately, the forms of cultural, economic and social power are deduced from the conception of nation state through appropriation and entitlement. For instance, the citizen has linguistic, cultural and economic power which is officially recognised and instituted by the nation state. On the other hand, the cultural powers of foreign nationals are regarded as unofficial thereby, carries less power. Paradoxically, the nation state systematically delineates notions of belonging and notions of non-belonging. However, while there are some implicit connections between conceptualisation of nation state and citizenry power relations over foreigners, the existing theories of xenophobia needs to be conceptually interrogated in an endeavour to adequately understand the practices and attitudes of xenophobia. Conclusively, the main purpose of the following subsection offers explication of xenophobia.

5.2.1 THEORIES OF XENOPHOBIA

To develop a deeper understanding of the concept of xenophobia and its associated complexities, a discussion on theories suggested by some scholars is vital. Theories may not
always be exhaustive in terms of explication; they however, offer some rational explanations
to the patterns and ideas that cause particular practices and attitudes. By rationally explaining
the ideas and patterns of xenophobia, theories may point out the reasons such occurrences.
Moreover, theories can assist in the prediction of xenophobic recurrence. I discuss three
theories of xenophobia, which are the isolation theory, scapegoating theory and bio-cultural
and how they explain xenophobia in South Africa.

5.2.1.1 The Isolation Theory
The isolation theory claims that a social issue like xenophobia occurs when the citizens of a
given nation state have been socially and politically secluded from interacting with other nation
states. Primarily, citizens who have minimal social contact with other people, have no
experience of other cultural values. In concurrence with this theory, Tella (2016) says that the
long isolation of South Africa from the rest of the world during apartheid, might explain the
emergence of xenophobia. In addition, Steenkamp (2009) argues that the elongated isolation
period under apartheid implied that South Africans could not meet and interact regularly with
foreigners especially those from the rest of African continent. An observation is made that t
“while there was a considerable inflow of white immigrants during this period, black African
immigrants to South Africa was extremely limited” Tella (2016:143). Disputably, isolation
theory claims that lack of or minimal social and political contact with other nationals may
increase the level of strangeness, intolerance and negative stereotypes. In connection to
internationalisation of public higher education in which there is sudden interaction between
South African and international students, isolation theory could be used to seek understanding
of subtle forms of anti-foreign immigration.

5.2.1.2 The Scapegoat Theory
The scapegoating theory advances the argument that immigrants are a threat to the social,
-economic, political and cultural well-being of the nation state and its citizens (Hiralal, 2015).
According to the scapegoating theory, foreigners are blamed for the economic, social and
political challenges that a nation state may be going through. In South Africa, “foreigners are
seen as a direct threat to development, social services and national stability. The foreigners in
South Africa are sometimes regarded as freeloaders who undeservingly benefit from South
Africa’s resources and offer nothing in return” (Tella, 2016:144). There are two inferences
that can be derived from the scapegoating theory in relation to the South African context. Firstly,
to a larger extent, this theory offers rational explanation for the common trend in which Somali
and Pakistan shops are usually destroyed in xenophobic attacks (Matshinhe, 2011, Landau,
There is an un-interrogated assumption that the establishment of such small business denies the South African citizens the opportunities to venture into such entrepreneurship and earn economic benefits as the ‘rightful’ people. Secondly, the scapegoating theory gives some rational explanation of the selection criteria of xenophobic targets. Theoretically, the higher the number of immigrant cohort from a particular nation state corresponds to the higher incidences victimisation. For instance, because Zimbabweans constitute a high number of foreigners in South Africa, the reported high number of attacks is Zimbabweans. Contrastingly, there are fewer reported xenophobic cases against minority foreign groups such as those from Botswana, Lesotho or Namibia. Therefore, from a scapegoat theory, the higher number and visibility of an immigrant group becomes a threat towards the ‘limited’ economic and social resources that are meant for the citizens.

Furthermore, scapegoating theory explains the tendencies of accusing foreign immigrants for the higher crime rate in South Africa. The ever-growing number of African immigrants, especially the undocumented, is attributed to the increase in crime. To cite an example, at the background of incidences of increased armed bank robberies, the Minister of Police publicly claimed that Zimbabwean former soldiers are responsible for such attacks. The minister of police stated that the former Zimbabwean soldiers work in cahoots with syndicates to perpetrate armed criminal activities in South Africa (SABC News, June 2017). The scapegoating theory asserts that because immigrants from certain nation states are viewed as economic threats, the government officials tend to lay blame on them for economic competition that may exists between citizens and immigrants. Koopmans and Strahams (1999) agree that international immigrants are considered a threat to the perceived intactness of the nation state and poses.

5.2.1.3 The Bio-Cultural Theory

The bio-cultural theory seeks to locate xenophobic causes in the physiological appearance differences between citizens and foreign nationals. McKnight (2008) observes that, in South Africa, there is a perception that the skin pigmentation of an average South African citizen is fairly lighter than the African foreign nationals. African foreign nationals are ‘distinguishable’ by deep dark skin. The bio-cultural theory also states that there is a difference between cultural norms of foreign nationals and the citizens’. Ultimately, the bio-cultural theory expresses the perceived differences in culture and biological physical outlooks between South Africans and foreigners from other parts of Africa. According to bio-cultural theory, language, dress codes and physical appearances are markers of foreignness in South Africa (Tella, 2016). However, the bio-cultural is a complex issue in South Africa. For instance, in the 2008 xenophobic
violence, around 28 South Africans were killed because they did not physically ‘appear’ South African enough. Physically appearing ‘like’ a typical South African is perceived to have light skinned complexion and be able to be conversant in isiZulu, the dominant language. Consequently, owing to such misconceptions, some dark-skinned South Africans were killed for resembling foreign nationals from other African nation states.

To further highlight the conceptual complexities that are inherent in the bio-cultural theory, the derogatory term *kwerekwere* is in some cases applied to refer to non-IsiZulu speakers. In 2008 therefore, some South Africans of Shangaan, Venda or Xitsonga language speaking groups were molested or even killed during the xenophobic attacks (Klotz, 2016). However, as the theory suggests, cultural differences that exists and are evident between foreign nationals and citizens are a source of social conflicts which ultimately indicate the power relations.

The outline on theories of xenophobia as discussed in this subsection does not seek to purport that the three theories are disconnected and distinct from each other. On the contrary, these theories are interrelatedness since they all seek to explain practices and attitudes of xenophobia. One common understanding that could be drawn from the three discussed theories is that practices and attitudes of xenophobia have underlying system of beliefs, myths and unsubstantiated claims towards foreign nationals.

In application of the critical race theory, the three theories discussed above are laden with power relations and conceptualisations of race. Scapegoating theory denotes that the citizens lay blame on the marginalised and vulnerable populace of foreign nationals. Consequently, foreign nationals can be blamed for issues of crime, diseases and lack of employment. In biocultural theory, xenophobia is an expression of power that is inherent in dominant or majority social groups. In other words, bio-cultural theory is centred on the perception that citizens’ cultures are more valuable than the cultures of foreign nationals. Additionally, conceptualisation of race is embedded in both bio-cultural and isolation theories. Bio-cultural affirms that citizens as a race group are superior to the race group of foreign nationals. On the other hand, isolation theory impresses upon that the non-contact with other people’s cultures creates racial profiling and negative attitudes.

The foregoing subsections have explored the concept of xenophobia. Theories have also been analysed in as far as they attempt to offer some rational explanations and predictions of recurrences of the patterns and targets of xenophobia. To understand xenophobic practices and attitudes, there is a need to analyse the political, economic, social and cultural context of a
nation state. The following subsection gives an overview of the xenophobic practices on the African continent. The goal of discussing xenophobia in Africa is to avoid creating an incorrect impression that xenophobia is uniquely a South African social issue.

5.3 OVERVIEW OF XENOPHOBIC PRACTICES IN AFRICA

Xenophobia as the hatred of foreign nationals is common on the African continent, though the confrontational intensity and frequency of recurrences differs from one nation state to another. Kersting (2009) explains that xenophobia in Africa is mostly expressed through violent confrontations and in some cases, results in mass expulsion of foreigners from other African nation states. In 1981, a large number of Rwanda and Burundi nationals were expelled from Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) by the then president the late President Mobuto Sseseko. The foreign nationals were accused of taking away resources such as land and jobs from the citizens. In addition, Whitaker and Giersch (2015) point out that in Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo and the Ivory Coast, there have been incidences of hostilities against foreign nationals from other African nation states. Kersting (2009) also notes that at some point in Gabon, the government encouraged the citizens to attack and expel foreign nationals from West Africa on the pretext that they were denying locals their economic and social privileges. Similarly, in 1960, the Ghanaians nationals who were living in Nigeria were ordered to leave the country at the height of anti-foreign violence in Nigeria. As historical retaliation, the government of Ghana passed the Alien Compliance Order that enabled the expulsion of thousands of Nigerian foreign nationals in the late 1970s (Choane et al, 2011). With the same token, the Nigerian government reacted by expelling many Ghanaians who had settled in Nigeria. In both cases, the perception that the presence of foreign nationals hindered citizens from easier access to economic resources and other social services caused the expulsion of foreign nationals from other African nation states. From this perspective, the African citizens consider foreign nationals as burden to the nation state.

More instances of xenophobia in Africa can be drawn. In this regard, the Burkinabe nationals in Ivory Coast were attacked by the citizens, while Somalis in Kenya are constantly harassed and accused of plotting terrorist attacks on the Kenyan populace. In the case of Botswana and Namibia, there have been reported cases of harassment and arbitrary arrests on Zimbabwean, Congolese and Mozambican immigrants (Matsinhe, 2011; Nyamnjoh, 2008). Arguably, Vandeyar and Vandeyar (2014) observe that in all African nation states that have experienced xenophobia, attacks are ‘rationalised’ on the basis of competition over economic resources
between foreigners and locals. African foreigners are either stereotyped as criminals or as people who do not deserve to benefit from the economic resources of the host nation state. Moreover, African foreign nationals are accused of unnecessarily exerting pressure on social services such as housing, health and the provisions of water and electricity. Yet white foreigners are seldom attacked in the framework of xenophobia.

Though politicians in Africa occasionally implicitly or explicitly incite xenophobic insinuations, state institutionalisation of anti-foreign sentiments and practices are uncommon. Perhaps, because of regional, continental and United Nations diplomatic protocols and agreements, nation states do not usually incite xenophobic practices and attitudes. In most cases, xenophobic practices and attitudes proceed from ordinary citizens as xenophobia from below. In explaining xenophobia from below, Landau (2010) suggests that foreigners as outsiders are seen as disruptors of the government social and economic programmes towards uplifting the standard of living for the citizens. Deriving from the commonly held notion that nation states are expected to economically cater for their nationals, foreign nationals are accused of applying pressure on social and economic services meant for the citizens (Adjai and Lizaradis, 2011). From the examples of xenophobia discussed in this subsection, it can be concluded that the common form of xenophobia in Africa is citizens of an African nation state expressing antagonism against foreign nationals of African origin.

The fact that in many African nation states, xenophobia is often an antagonistic expression of citizens against foreign nationals from other African nation states needs to be interrogated. There are some rational explanations towards the xenophobic patterns in which African nation state citizens attack foreign nationals of African origin. Firstly, it could be that African foreign nationals tend to immigrate into another nation state in excessively large numbers. This makes them a foreign noticeable cohort. In reference to the scapegoating theory, the high concentration level of foreign nationals in the host nation state is sometimes associated with competition of economic resources between foreign nationals and citizens. Ironically, the minority cohort of white foreign immigrants such as Europeans may not be so ‘noticeable. Furthermore, minority foreign social groups are not perceived as a threat to the economic, social and political well-being of the host nation state.
There is an economic perception in determining targets of xenophobia. To this end, foreigners from Europe are usually regarded as economic investors and tourists since they originate from economically wealthy nation states. On the other hand, black African foreigners are often alleged to be originating from economically poor nation states so they siphon off the economic riches of the host nation. Kersting (2009) points out that in Gabon, foreigners are derogatorily termed as ndingari a word in the local language that metaphorically means a tick that sucks blood from the cattle. The term aptly captures and represents economic migrants. In the 1970s when Zimbabwe used to be a recipient of immigrants from neighbouring nation states such as Zambia and Malawi, citizens used to stereotype foreigners by derogatorily calling them Nyasarand or bwidi. These terms are derogatory as belittle foreigners as people without rural homes. A rural home in Zimbabwe is a symbol of stability and is an indicator of reliable economic agricultural investment.

There is a claim that the isolationist experiences of colonialism and apartheid in Africa socially impacted Africans to develop hatred towards anything represented by being black African (Matsinhe, 2011). Under colonialism and apartheid, in the policy of divide and rule, black Africans were systematically marginalised and geographically confined to the poor township suburbs and rural areas. Historically, the concept of alien that construes strangeness and marginalisation of Africans can be traced back to colonial and apartheid dispensations. In this view, the notion of African represented rural, primitiveness and less educated populace (Landau, 2010). Consequently, it can be argued that xenophobia in which African citizens attack African foreign nationals is a continuity of African hatred started during colonialism. In this way, black South Africans are socially internalised not only to hate themselves, but all other black Africans.

An overview of the practices and attitudes of xenophobia in Africa discussed in this subsection signpost the prevalence of this social phenomenon on the continent. The trend shows that the xenophobic practices and attitudes are commonly expressed against foreign African nationals. A survey of anti-foreign cases in Africa suggests that black African foreign nationals are more vulnerable than their European or Asian counterparts. The next subsection gives a critical analysis of the patterns of anti-foreign practices and attitudes in South Africa.

5.4 THE CONCEPTION OF AFROPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are fundamental questions that arise in attempting to understand the patterns of xenophobia such as: Why do xenophobic practices and attitudes occur in this particular
context? Who are the perpetrators of the xenophobic practices and attitudes? Which cohort of foreign nationals is the target of xenophobia? In answering these questions, it is possible to identify the patterns of xenophobic practices and attitudes in South Africa, and conclusively argue for context specificity as the determinant.

South Africa is a nation state that witnessed a huge influx of immigrants especially from other African nation states, since the end of apartheid in 1994. Smit (2015) drawing from the United Nations Higher Commission on Refugees notes that from 2008-2013, the nation state received 869, 100 refugees. The economic collapse and political instability of Zimbabwe since 2002 saw a huge number of Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa as economic refugees (Sing, 2013). The number of Zimbabweans in South Africa is contestably suggested to be approximately around two to three million out of which some are illegal immigrants. Besides immigrants from neighbouring nation states such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique or the Democratic of Congo, South Africa is a recipient of foreign nationals from further afield such as Nigeria, Ghana and Ethiopia. Moreover, outside the African continent, immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and China are visible in South Africa in considerable numbers. It is essential to state that in South Africa there some white immigrants from Eastern Europe and Latin America.

In analysing the patterns of xenophobia in South Africa, there is a note that “black South African citizens in particular exhibit high levels of xenophobia towards fellow Africans subjecting them to different forms and degrees of prejudices and discrimination” (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:192). The specific targeting of black Africans can be identifiable in instances of xenophobia in South Africa. This has led to some observers to argue for the concept of afrophobia as aptly capturing and adequately representing the contextual scenario in South Africa (Landau, 2010). Afrophobia is a form of xenophobic attitudes and practices that selectively target foreigners from specific African nation states. As discussed in chapter one, afrophobia is a derivative from the generic form of xenophobia.

In further developing the concept of afrophobia in South Africa, Klotz (2016) notes that foreign nationals from other nation states in Africa are the most undesirable foreigners in South Africa. In the cohort of foreigners that include Europeans, Americans, Asians and Africans, it would appear that black Africans are the least favoured. Empirical “survey towards immigrations asked questions about foreigners from specific countries. The results indicated that South Africans viewed immigrants from North Americas and Europe more favourably than foreigners
from Africa” (Gordon, 2016:4). Furthermore, in the same study that Gordon draws from, it is documented that 55% of adult population of South Africans regarded African foreigners as undesirable. Black South Africans recommended that the government should impose a total ban on immigrants from other African nation states. The massive numerical figures that seem to suggest an influx of African immigrants into South Africa are contestable. However, what may not be highly disputable is the fact that the incidences of anti-foreign practices and attitudes have indicated that black African immigrants are usually targeted. Klotz (2016) argues that nationalities from Zimbabwe, Somalia and Nigeria are often the target of both violent and subtle forms of anti-foreign incidences. It is with regards to the systematic targeting of foreign nationals from other African nationals, that this study advances the argument that in South Africa, the concept afrophobia is more appropriate than the generic concept of xenophobia. This study adopts the concept of afrophobia as a conceptually preferred representation of anti-foreign sentiments and practices.

In outlining the distinctive characteristic of hatred against foreign nationals in South Africa, there is an affirmation that:

The differential application of discrimination to different migrant group is a stark feature of South African xenophobia, with African black foreign national being the prime targets, whilst ‘white’ immigrants are largely spared from discrimination. The racialised dimension of South African xenophobia suggests afrophobia (Young and Jearey-Graham, 2015:396).

The citation above indicates the distinguishing feature of the kind of anti-foreign attitudes and practices as afrophobia. If xenophobia is a general dislike of foreigners as a collective social group, then it may be conceptually misleading to characterise anti-foreign events in South Africa as xenophobia. It is argued that, “if we really hated and feared foreigners, then we would not be targeting blacks only” (Mail and Guardian, 2015). The concept of afrophobia in South Africa becomes appropriate when consideration is given to the historical patterns of violence against foreigners.

The social issue of race is embedded in the notion of afrophobic practices and attitudes in South Africa. From a critical race perspective, race is a central element that delimits between the ‘tolerable’ from ‘intolerable’ foreign nationals in the South African context. As it has been shown above, European, United States of America and other white African foreigners are exempted from the ill-treatment that African international migrants encounter. Tafira (2011),
says that *foreigner* is a term that is used to mean black non-South African citizens from other nation states in Africa.

The racial paradox of afrophobia in South Africa is that it constitutes aggressive practices and negative attitudes perpetrated by black South Africans against black foreign nationals. In notation, Lee (2017) states that though the majority of South African citizens are black people, they exhibit dislike for other black people from other African nation states. Paradoxically, “despite sharing the majority race as black, the black Africans of this study reported that they felt unwelcome, particularly from black South Africans” (Lee, 2017:882). The darker one’s complexion is, the higher the chances of experiencing afrophobia in South Africa. Mosselson (2010) points out that the notion *alien* in the popular discourse in South Africa refers to black African immigrants.

It seems then that the concept of afrophobia discussed here aptly captures the paradox of anti-foreign sentiments in South Africa. Taking into account the fact that this study uses conceptual methodology, it is imperative that concepts are interrogated to eliminate ambiguities. In this regard, I have explained why the concept afrophobia in contrast to xenophobia is preferable to explain anti-foreign practices in South Africa. Furthermore, the notion of race is the core determining factor in the practices and attitudes of afrophobia. To this end, black foreigners from other African nation states are marginalised and powerless, while European or Asian and even white immigrants from other African nation states are not targeted for ill-treatment. In the section below, I discuss the history, patterns and trends of afrophobia in South Africa.

5.4.1 Historiography of Afrophobia

The primary aim of this section is to give a historical discourse of afrophobic attacks in South Africa. In this chapter, it has already been pointed out that while afrophobia is common in many African nation states; its manifestations and frequency are often context specific. While I acknowledge that afrophobic practices and attitudes have been present in the South African society during the apartheid era, I divided the historiography of afrophobia as Pre-May 2008, April-May 2008 and the April-May 2015 events. These three divisions of historiography trace the patterns of afrophobic practices and attitudes. However, I emphasise that the period April-May 2008 and April-May 2015 highlighted the enormity of afrophobic practices and attitudes. The 2008 and 2015 incidences clearly demonstrate the selective targeting of black foreigners of African origin. In both cases, African foreigners were attacked, maimed and in some cases
killed. In subdividing the historiography of afrophobia, I am trying to avoid falling into the straw man fallacy in which I create and imagine incidences.

In addition, my acknowledgment to the fact that historiography of afrophobia in South Africa goes way back before 2008 is intended to highlight the point that the violent confrontational of 2008 and 2015 were culmination of salient forms of daily afrophobia. Accordingly, the “violence against foreigner by black South Africans is nothing new. There were consistently aggressive attacks on foreigners in the country ranging from verbal abuse to physical assaults and murders from 1998 to 2008” (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:196). With regards to this, the attack on black African foreign nationals has been the indispensable character of anti-foreign expressions in South Africa. For instance, in 1998 there was a case in which three foreigners of African origin were thrown out of a moving train from Pretoria (Misago, et al., 2016). Owing to the publicity of the 2008 and 2015 events, this study uses the three historical incidences to point out the distinctive and selective character afrophobia.

5.4.2 Pre-May 2008 Incidences

Afrophobic incidences in the pre-May 2008 era were isolated and intermittent. For instance, some foreign nationals from Mozambique and Senegal were thrown off a moving train in Pretoria. However, the most noticeable anti-foreign activity in the pre-May 2008 era was the operation coded Buyela ekhaya in 1998 (Landau, 2011). *Buyela ekhaya* is an isiZulu language expression that literally means ‘go back home’. This operation was a direct exhortation towards African immigrants to return to their nation states of origin. African immigrants were advised to return to their nation states because they alleged to cause unemployment and increased infection rate in communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Moreover, their presence was seen as putting a strain on social services such as health and water supply.

5.4.3 The May 2008 incidences

Thus far, the May 2008 afrophobic violence in South Africa can be regarded as the epitome of the manifestation of afrophobia. The defining characteristic of the May 2008 incidences is that black foreigners from other parts of the African continent were targeted and victimised killed, raped, property looted and displaced (Klotz, 2016). These attacks begun in Alexandra, a township in Johannesburg, then quickly spread to KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Northern and Western Cape. When the violence was finally brought to an end, 62 people had died. Thousands were displaced from their homes, and property destroyed (Mosselson, 2010).
The victims of 2008 were black African foreign nationals from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia and Zimbabwe. Most of these were ‘easily’ identified through bio-cultural features such as the inability to fluently speak local languages. According to Hayem (2013), the commonly applicable aspect of the victims was the pejorative label of *Makwerekwere*, a term that denotes the strangeness of foreign African languages. Since afrophobia is underscored by the objective of identifying and eliminating the ‘undesirable’ foreigner, *Makwerekwere* signifies the state of not belonging. *Makwerekwere* are considered as outsiders to the established political community of nation state which supposedly share a ‘common and familiar’ spoken language. In highlighting the social issue of language as a marker of either belonging or non-belonging, there is an assertion that;

*Makwerekwere* has other undesirable meanings apart from being an African immigrant who lacks competency in the local South African languages and being dark-skinned, it also refers to one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward to South Africa (Singh and Manik, 2013:3).

The citation of Singh and Manik carries an implicit assumption that in South Africa there is a language that could be universally termed South African. While English is one of the official local languages of South Africa, African foreign nationals were identified by their inability to express themselves in an ‘African’ South African language such as Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa and other ‘African’ language. A foreigner who may be competent and fluent in English but not proficient in an indigenous ‘African’ language was at risk of being attacked. Conversely, the underlying assumption is that competency in communicating in English is inadequate and can still make an African foreign national prone to afrophobic attacks. In addition, the derogatory term of *Makwerekwere* may point to the negative attitude towards African languages, spoken by Africans from African nation states.

The 2008 issue of using language as an identity marker showed the social complexities in South Africa. The complexity of language as a marker of belonging arises when issues of social diversity are taken into account. What constitute the language of a nation state given the multiple cultural and linguistic diversities in South Africa? Is it the language of the dominant group that becomes the *lingua-franca* of a nation state? Controversially, Landau (2010) states that some foreign Africans were killed because of their failure to converse fluently in isiZulu language. IsiZulu is a language spoken by the majority of black South African citizens. However, Tafira (2011) observes that some South Africans who were not conversant in isiZulu were victimised. Of the 62 people who perished, about 18 were South African citizens.
In further highlighting the controversy of language during the 2008 incidences, Young and Jearey-Graham (2010), note that some South Africans of Vendas, Shangaans and Pedi ethnic social groups were victimised because they were not regarded to be South African “enough”. The afore-mentioned ethnic social groups are minorities, whose languages may not have national appeal and dominance like isiZulu. In applying the critical race theory, the situation in which minority social groups are considered as outsiders indicates an unequal social structure. Furthermore, in some informal circles of the South African society, foreigners from African nation states are derogatorily referred to as Shangaans (Tafira, 2011). The paradox of this is that Shangaans are an ethnic group that is indigenous in South Africa. While this observation may further complicate the social phenomenon of afrophobia in South Africa, it nonetheless, illustrates the afrophobic character of identifying those who are considered as outsiders. Flockemann, et al (2009), asserts that by attacking fellow Africans, afrophobic biases affirm that the attacked group are outsiders of the social group, nation or country.

Conclusively, the May 2008 highlighted the primacy of race in afrophobia. To this end, Chigeza, et al (2013), say that the May 2008 incidences testify to the presence of afrophobia where African (black) immigrants were the primary target in South Africa. Furthermore, it is observed that race was principally a manifestation of the internalised perception of white supremacy, a historical legacy of apartheid (Vandeyar, 2014; Flockemann, 2009). The connection between social structures and race are analysed in connection to the May 2008 afrophobic practices and attitudes.

5.4.4 The March 2015 incidences

There are disputes surrounding the cause of the March 2015 anti-foreign violent activities. Contestably, it is said that the speech of the King Goodwill Zwelithini on the 21st March 2015 in which he insinuated that foreigners should leave South Africa, might have caused the eruption of afrophobia. Contestably, it is stated that the anti-foreign (African immigrants) “followed on Zulu King Zwelithini’s public exhortation that foreigners in South Africa need to pack their blankets and go home” (Holdcroft, 2015:13). The Zulu King Zwelithini’s speech is said to have intimated that foreign immigrants are metaphorically ants that need to be eradicated from the South African society. It is fundamental to state that the human rights commission that carried out investigation pronounced that the King’s speech could not have triggered the March 2015 anti-foreign violent acts (News24, April, 2015).
Regardless of the controversies on the source that activated the 2015 incidences, it is noteworthy to point out that there were acts of violence perpetrated on foreign nationals. This recurring violence begun in Durban where seven people were killed, shops looted and property that was owned by foreigners was vandalised (News24, April 14, 2015). According to Holdcroft (2015), 9000 people were displaced and sheltered in temporary tents in Durban and the surrounding areas. Like the 2008, the victims of the March 2015 who were targeted were black Africans from Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique.

5.5 SYNOPSIS ANALYSIS OF PRE-MAY 2008 AND MARCH 2015

The distinctive characteristic of the three periodic divisions of afrophobia discussed in the above subsection is that the South African form is anti-African immigrants. Contestably, “South Africa’s negative attitudes towards non-nationals are largely orientated towards other Africans” (Landau, et al, 2005:4). In relation to critical race theory, there are three elements that this synoptic analysis highlights:

a) The centrality of race as a basic tenet of critical race theory is evident in the afrophobic practices and attitudes in South Africa. From a conventional perspective, the concept of race usually refers to biological appearances of the skin colour. Accordingly, people are formally categorised as black, white and coloured (mixed race). Nonetheless, the concept of race is not static; it is contextual and fluid. It is through the acknowledgement of the fluidity of the notion of race that, for instance, the category of Indian are officially recognised as a racial group though, ordinarily it should refer to a geographical nation state in Asia. In this regard, the conceptual analysis of the notion of race leads to the broader understanding in which race should not be limited to biology, but rather to classification of social or national groups. In this assumption, the black African immigrants are distinctly grouped as a homogeneous racial group that is distinct from South African black people. The perceived distinction is aptly captured by the notation that “the biological-cultural features of hairstyles, accent, vaccination marks, dress and physical appearance signify differences” (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:193).

From the context of apartheid and colonialism, the racial group of black was structurally marginalised and regarded as inferior through political establishment. In the post-apartheid era, afrophobic practices and attitudes may be considered as the continuity of hierarchy of races. In relation to this, race is an underlying generative principle that determines the kinds of social relations between black African foreign nationals and
black South African citizens. Afrophobic practices and attitudes thrive on the belief that blackness encapsulated in black Africans is inferior to the black of South African.

b) Afrophobic practices and attitudes reflect the tenet of an unequal social structure as encompassed in the critical race theory. In this consideration, though the South African society is socially composed of foreign immigrants in addition to the citizens’ diverse races, ethnic social groupings and linguistic backgrounds, there seem to be a hierarchy of cultural and social superiority. Hence, during the 2008 May afrophobic violent activities, some minority ethnic groups such as the Venda and Shangaaan were victimised either for not ‘looking’ South African ‘enough’ or for their lack of adequate knowledge to converse in the dominant language such as isiZulu. In terms of the cultural hierarchy that shows the unequal social structure, some ethnic groups are considered as inferior and consequently get marginalised.

Within the generic conceptualisation of race, there is a perception that the biological race of whiteness is superior and dominant over and above the black, coloured and Indian race. The assumptions of superiority or white supremacy are often couched in stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes. Some stereotypes is that claim that white people are well organised and have a better culture and speak dominant languages. Similarly, the state of unequal social structure in South Africa is propagated by stereotypes and negative attitudes that take the form of cultural hierarchy. This hierarchy stratifies cultural and social groups; the black African foreign nationals are perched at the social margins because of the colour of their skin and their status as immigrants.

c) Afrophobic attitudes and practices suggest the need for transformation and emancipation. As discussed in Chapter two, critical race theory as a derivative of the critical theory suggests that a theory should not only be descriptive of the social inequalities, but must develop alternatives that seek to rectify anomalous social situations. In this regard, afrophobic attitudes and practices perpetuate the prejudices and stereotypes of social discrimination that have their origins in apartheid political dispensation. For instance, the isolation theory can be used to explain the phenomenon of afrophobia as a social outcome of the apartheid immigration policies that restricted African foreign nationals. Consequently, there was limited social contact between black South Africans and African foreign nationals. However, in the post-apartheid era in
which there is an increase in African immigrants, there is a need for social transformation of negative attitudes and stereotypes. The pursuit of transformation of attitudes is discussed in chapter eight of this inquiry.

In overall terms, this synoptic analysis has shown the significance of the notion of nation state as a central determinant of either social inclusion or exclusion. In this way, afrophobic practices and attitudes could be attributed to the misconception of the nation state as a culturally, economically and socially closed entity. The following section explores the relationship the nation state and afrophobia.

5.6 THE NATION STATE AND AFROPHOBIA

The geographical borders of the nation state set the distinction between foreigner and local, non-national and national or citizens and non-citizens. Kersting (2009) states that the concept of national state is endowed with such characteristics as national solidarity, shared identity and an imagined collective history as well as some perceived common destiny. In addition, features such as official languages, ethnic, tribal, racial social groupings, national flags give some perspective of semblance of nationhood. Debatably, the nation state gives citizens some ‘distinction’ from foreign nationals. For example, it would be assumed that people in a nation state called Zimbabwe are different from those of a nation state called Zambia. One sometimes comes across people who would say, you behave like a Zimbabwean, as if there is a distinct Zimbabwean manner of behaving. In a way, such assertions are a sign of the perceived distinctiveness that can be associated with the notion of nation state. Therefore, there is an assumption that there is some cultural uniformity that the members of a nation state collectively share.

From a political perspective, there is a conventional rule which dictates that nation states should be responsible for the economic welfare, security of their nationals. The challenges of increased social and cultural diversity that international migration brings may all be narrowed to the contestations around economic resources of the nation state. The notion of nation state has already been alluded to in chapter one, paradoxically denotes inclusion and exclusion, belonging and non-belonging. From its negative perception, nation state designates the dominant and marginalised social groups. In this regard, the nation state is inclusive of the citizens while the foreigners as non-nationals are excluded and marginalised.
The nation state regulates the international immigration of goods and persons through border facilitations and the issuance of necessary legal documents to non-nationals. Documentations such as study permit, temporary residential, asylum and refugees permit give legitimacy to the foreign nationals within the host nation state. Subsequently, documentation from the nation state is an endorsement that the foreign national is permitted to stay temporarily or permanently. Accordingly, a document can determine the legitimacy or lack of residential status of foreign national. In this regard, the Mayor of the city of Johannesburg emphatically stated that undocumented immigrants are engaged in criminal activities in the city (News24, 16th December 2016). Furthermore, there is an observation that in South Africa, unlike in other African countries, foreigners are not confined in refugee camps as a national policy. They live among South African citizens.

It is critical to state that this study does not in any way dismiss or belittle the significance of the notion of nation state in the modern world. On the contrary, and in spite of its inherent weakness, the nation state gives some sense of order, identity and in politically, socially and economically stable nation states, citizens are guaranteed of some form of protection and security.

**5.7 THE COMPLEXITIES OF AFROPHOBIA**

In discussing the concept of afrophobia it is vital to state that this is a complex notion that cannot be reduced to a simple reflection of a binary between South Africans and African foreigners. In other words, there are specific nationalities of a given race and linguistic background who are the usual victims of afrophobia. For instance, black foreigners from African nation states such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Somalia, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Malawi are frequently attacked whenever there are afrophobic outbreaks (News24, April, 2015). White immigrants from Zimbabwe, while they are contestably Africans, are usually exempt from afrophobic attacks. So, it is reasonable to suggest that race is a central characteristic of afrophobia where black foreigners are likely to be attacked than their white compatriots. Perhaps, this could be debated as an issue of numbers in which it may be argued that they are relatively fewer white African immigrants than blacks. In addition, it may be difficult to identify and isolate white immigrants from white South Africans from the physical complexional appearances, but both the above positions have their inherent weakness which I do not pursue here.

The complexities of afrophobia are brought to the fore when consideration is given to the fact that besides race, language is a prominent factor in determining discrimination. As noted
already, during the 2008 xenophobic attacks, the perpetrators could identify African foreigners by their failure to speak or pronounce certain Zulu words. The assumption is that there is a common language that an average black South African should be able to converse in using the ‘correct’ accent. However, there are African foreigners from Swaziland (Swati-speaking) and Zimbabwe (Ndebele-speaking) who understand and speak the Zulu language, but are neither Zulu nor South Africans. Besides, African foreigners from nation states like Botswana and Lesotho are fluent in the Tswana and Sotho languages respectively, which are also some of the official languages of South Africa. The derogatory term of kwerekwere as a reference to foreign languages from other African nation states becomes rather complicated. The linguistic distinction represented by the concept of Kwerekwere cannot therefore, be representative of all foreign languages that are spoken by black African immigrants.

One of the complexities of afrophobia is the fact that negative stereotypes are often held by both black African immigrants and black South Africans. In this regard, it need be stated that black African immigrants hold their own stereotypes against black South Africans. For instance, some black African immigrants negatively perceive black South Africans as violent and lazy people who are not physically fit enough to do heavy manual labour (Tafira, 2011). This of course is baseless. However, taking into account the tenet of marginalisation and dominance within critical race theory, discriminatory practices are manifested and practiced by the dominant group against the marginalised and excluded. In this case, foreign African nationals cannot openly attack South Africans though they harbour stereotypes against them.

Lastly, one of the complexities of afrophobia is to categorically classify and identify the exact practices that can be referred to as afrophobia. In pointing out this complexity of classification of afrophobic practices, this study takes into account other forms of social discrimination such as ethnicity, tribalism and classism that occurs within and among South African citizens. Furthermore, the complexity of classification should not give the impression that discrimination in the form of tribalism for instance, is of less importance to afrophobia. The complexities associated with afrophobia in South Africa point to the fact that practices of discrimination against foreigners cannot all be simplified and reduced to afrophobi. It would appear that there are some categories of black African immigrants who are likeable than others among South African populace. However, while the determining factors of the degrees of hatred towards black African foreign immigrants tend to differ, the general dislike of black African immigrants may not be easily dismissible in South Africa.
5.8 CONCLUSION

It has become indisputable that the type of anti-foreign attitudes and practices in South Africa is basically expressions of hostility towards African foreign immigrants. This chapter has exposed the conceptual difference between xenophobia and afrophobia. Xenophobia is a general dislike of immigrants irrespective of their nation state of origin; while afrophobia is a dislike of black immigrants from other African nation states. Furthermore, the historiography in this chapter has outlined that given the hostility towards black African foreign nationals in South Africa, afrophobia is the appropriate concept in South Africa.

A discussion on the manifestations of afrophobia in South Africa has been necessitated by the annotation that public universities often reflect its broader society’s social values and beliefs. Along the same thought, public universities can also perpetuate prejudices that emanate from the broader society. In other words, there is some intimate connection between public universities and the broader society. So, the fact that students and staff who study and lecture in public universities are members of broader society, stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes tend to be imported into the public universities. In applying the concept of afrophobia rather than the generic xenophobia, it becomes imperative to critically discuss the discourse of afrophobia in the public universities of South Africa. This is the subject of the chapter below.
CHAPTER SIX:
A Critical Exposition of Afrophobia in South Africa’s Public Universities

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Informed by the background on the manifestations of afrophobia in the broader society as provided in Chapter five, this current chapter critically explores and analyses the patterns, characteristics and underlying assumptions that constitute afrophobia in the South African public universities. The objective of this chapter is to interrogate and expose the forms of afrophobia in public universities. The importance of exposing patterns of afrophobia in universities is necessitated by the perception that public universities are social sites that are free from afrophobic tendencies which occasionally erupt in the broader society. Such claims are reinforced by the un-interrogated view that there are no recorded cases of violent confrontations between local South African and African international students. Furthermore, it is claimed that afrophobia is stereotypically associated with the uneducated, unemployed and economically poor masses who reside in shanty townships. Thus, this claim seem to paint public universities as social spaces that are disconnected and removed from the broader society with regards to tensions between local and foreigners. Public universities are generalised as places of intellectuals who are vaccinated against forms of prejudices such as afrophobia. It is within the matrix of these debates that this chapter, drawing from empirical evidence found in published academic journal articles, books, newspapers and dissertations and thesis, outlines the discourse of afrophobia in public universities in South Africa.

To adequately conceptualise the forms in which afrophobia manifests itself in South African public higher education, this study firstly gives a general international overview of the practices of social discrimination against international students. In this respect, the challenges of social diversity that arise in the broad scope of internationalisation appear to have some common trends. It is contextual to recall that international migration as discussed in chapter three has some associated social implications. Basically, these implications are inevitable when nationalities cultures converge in a given social space. The following sub-section discusses an international synopsis of xenophobic patterns towards international students.

6.2 GLOBAL XENOPHOBIC EXPERIENCES FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

International students tend to encounter some forms of xenophobic experiences in their host nation state of study. Sawir (2011) notes that given the fact that international students are
usually a culturally and linguistically distinct social group from local students they tend to experience different forms of social discrimination. The way the host nation state perceives and treats social diversity of international students is crucial in the processes of internationalisation of public higher education. Brown and Jones (2013) point out that the social reception and tolerance of international students by citizens is critical in the promotion of social interactions between international and local students. This is to say that while the concept of international rather than foreign student is a good conceptual gesture that signals social tolerance of national diversities, international students are like any other foreigner, vulnerable to anti-foreign sentiments that an ordinary foreigner encounter. Contendly, “once international students enter the university, ‘gaps’ between the local and international students are likely to be highlighted” Zhao and Wildemeersch, 2008:55). International students are more likely to experience xenophobia on the basis that though they are an essential component of the student social body, technically they are outsiders of the host nation state. For instance, Zimbabwean students at the University of Johannesburg form part of the student social body of the university but still remain legally non-nationals in South Africa.

In highlighting xenophobia experienced by international students, the observation is that “like all immigrants, some will be welcomed, whereas others will be shunned or marginalised, viewed as a burden on society” (Gargano (2009:338). Considerably, the distinguishing criterion between acceptable or unacceptable immigrants is determined by stereotypes or attitudes that are attached to the particular nation state of origin for the international students. Furthermore, it could be argued that xenophobia is not a random hostility towards foreigners, but is rather selective. Winder (2014) observes that international students have to deal with being negatively labelled as social misfits. Moreover, international students are sometimes perceived as people who have fled the political, social and economic problems in their nation states of origin. Subsequently, some international students are labelled in the same category of economic migrants as in the case for ordinary foreign nationals. In higher education, the conveyed perception is that international students take away educational resources that are supposed to be used by the domestic students (Ramphele, 1999). However, the prejudice that international students compete and take away economic resources that are meant for local students is often selectively applied to international students from nation states that are considered economically poorer than the host nation state.

In describing the selective application of xenophobia towards international students, there is need to state that social prejudices, discrimination and alienation experienced by international
students are often derived from stereotypes attached to their nation state (Lee, 2017). In the United States of America, for instance, international students from Africa and Asia are usually racially ridiculed by local students. Stereotypically, African international students viewed as less intelligent than the average United States American student (Constantine, et al, 2005). Consequently, the negative stereotyping which suggests that African international students are not academically capable creates barriers for social interaction with local students in and out of lecture halls. On the other hand, international students from places such as Europe, Australia or New Zealand are less likely to be targets of xenophobic practices and attitudes (ibid). From a conceptual perspective, the forms of social discrimination which are based on negative stereotyping on other nation states can be understood as xenophobia underlined by racial undertones.

Furthermore, to illustrate the pervasiveness of race in the practices and attitudes of social discrimination for international students, it is noteworthy to state that not all international students are discriminated against on the basis of their nationality. In other cases that illustrate racial undertones, Lee (2007) notes that in the USA, students from the Middle East, Africa, East Asia, Latin America and India endure pronounced unfair social discrimination in comparison to students from Europe and Canada. For Constantine, et al (2005) students from Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana were exposed to salient racism and social isolation. Lee (2007) refers to these social discriminative practices as neo-racism. Accordingly, neo-racism encompasses social identification markers such as skin colour, language, culture and national origin. Inevitably, the selective xenophobic attitudes and practices in higher education entrench and perpetuate unequal social relations. For instance, international students who come from nation states that are negatively stereotyped may find it challenging to socially interact with local students. Additionally, international students may experience prejudices owing to hostile political relations that exist between their nation state of origin and their host nation state.

In concluding the illustrations of xenophobia in higher education, perhaps the Malaysian recruitment and retention of international students is a typical example that demonstrates the extent of selective application of xenophobia. The nation state of Malaysia has invested substantial financial amount in marketing efforts that are designed to pull international students to its public universities. In this connection, the Malaysian Ministry of Higher Education is targeting around 200,000 international students by the year 2020 (Daniels, 2014). However, in spite of this ambitious programme, black African students from nation states such as Nigeria and Ghana who are studying in Malaysia have experienced explicit incidences of racism.
Daniels (2014) reports that Malays students harbour negative prejudices and stereotypes against black African international students. From an empirical study, it is concluded that “outside class, very few African international students engage in friendly interactions with local Malaysians” (Daniels, 2014:859). Furthermore, intolerance to black African international students manifests itself in cases where Malay students form exclusive study groups in which they only speak in indigenous languages. Apparently, the Malay students do not mingle and sit next to black African international students in class.

This section has discussed the conceptual and philosophical intricacies that are inherent in the practices and attitudes of xenophobia towards international students. The anti-foreign practices and attitudes are rather biased towards some nationalities, while sparing other nationalities. In this regard, pattern and intensity of xenophobic attitudes and practices tend to depend on the nationality from which an international student originates from. Hypothetically, if xenophobia is a concept that universally refers to negative attitudes and practices towards international students, then the examples cited in this section suggest that foreign nationals are categorised. For instance, in both examples of United States of America and Malaysia, African international students are more vulnerable to xenophobic practices and attitudes than any other cohort of international students.

An analysis that can be deduced from inherent conceptual intricacies in xenophobia is the distinguishing criterion for either hostility or receptivity. Primarily, anti-foreign attitudes and practices towards internationals students are underlined by perceptions of economic status of the nation state that international students come from. Social notions such as race, political and linguistic cultural ties that may exist between nation states may determine the forms of social relations between international and local students. The international students who come from perceived economically poorer nation states are usually discriminated against possibly on the assumption that they may be future competitors in the job market. On the other hand, language is used as a form of discrimination in cases where it is deliberately spoken to exclude the non-speakers of the respective language.

The conceptual examination on the patterns of xenophobic practices and attitudes in higher education indicates the tenet of power relations as constituted in critical race theory. To this end, one of the resultant aspects of internationalisation of public higher education is the fact that it turns to augment cultural social inequalities that are accentuated by power relations. Cultural social inequalities occur when some cultural social groups to which international
students belong to are considered as superior, while others are regarded as inferior. For example, Western cultures such as English language, race, habits or music taste are often held in comparatively higher esteem than those held by black Africans. Nonetheless, languages and other cultural expressions from places such as Africa or Asia may be considered as inferior and of marginal significance. Subsequently, the tenet of power relations adequately offer rational explanation to the scenario in which local students are hostile to some international students, and yet are socially receptive to others.

Having given a summary of the trends and patterns of xenophobia from an international perspective, the following section focuses on the South African context. While this section has used the concept of xenophobia in reference to the international perspective, the following sections will revert to afrophobia in reference to South Africa. Chapter five has already developed, outlined and argued that the form of xenophobia in South Africa should be conceptually referred to as afrophobia. In as much as this study’s primary focus is on critical examination of the patterns and trends of afrophobia in public higher education, the following section is an analysis from the schools level. Schools are part of the educational institutions in a society and higher education students are products of the schooling system.

6.3 AFROPHOBIA IN SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICAN

While South African schools do not actively engage in recruiting and enrolling international learners, the growth in international immigration has resulted in the increase of African immigrant learners in South African schools. In this sense, some forms of internationalisation occur since the Department of Education and the School Governing Boards (SGB) often recruit Mathematics and Science teachers from other African nation states such as Zimbabwe or Uganda (Vandeyar and Vandeyar, 2011). Notably, there is a shortage Mathematics and Science teachers in the South African education.

The upsurge of African immigrants at the end of apartheid, witnessed an ever rising trend of African immigrant learners into South African schools. Apparently, the adult parent African immigrants sometimes immigrate with their school going children (Vandeyar and Vandeyar, 2011). Subsequently, the schools’ learner social body are now composed of learners from other African nation states such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon (Crush and Tawodzera, 2014). However, in enrolling their children, African foreign parents tend to encounter some bureaucratic hurdles imposed by schools. In this perspective, entry requirements such as demand for study permit,
birth certificate, language competency tests are some of the administrative demands that parents encounter (ibid). In all fairness, it may be rather an exaggeration to perceive such requirements as expressions of afrophobia. In most nation states, there are laid down basic standard requirements for registering and enrolling foreign learners.

Despite the contentions on school enrolment practices, there are some cases that explicitly manifest afrophobia in schools. Young and Jearey-Graham (2015) observe that both African immigrant teachers and African immigrant learners encounter afrophobic discriminatory practices and attitudes. Although a number of South African learners hold African immigrant teachers in high regard because of their perceived professional working ethic, African immigrant teachers are often scorned because of their accent and pronunciation of English. Like in the broader society, African immigrant teachers and learners are also derogatorily termed Kwerekwere by both learners and counterparts South African teachers (Vandeyar, et al, 2014). The term kwerekwere negatively denotes the foreign or unfamiliar languages that are spoken by African immigrants. Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014) maintain that African immigrant learners are in some cases are mocked as Grigamba — an offensive term. Grigamba is a colloquial negative term that portrays African immigrants as having unusually dark pitch skin colour and huge body framework that makes them look like some alien animals.

From both African immigrant teachers and learners, their unfamiliar dress code, ‘strange’ surnames and lack of South African identity documents are critical markers of foreignness. Consequently, an unfamiliar surname of an African learner or teacher is usually a cause for social discrimination. To ‘minimise’ the strangeness, some African immigrant learners and teachers change their surnames in the process of acquiring illegal residential permits in South Africa. It is also important to state that schools are geographically located in broader society in which locals tend to stereotype and prejudice African foreigners. As pointed out in chapter five, African foreigners as perceived as criminals, disease carriers or people who take away jobs that are supposed to be for citizens (Gordon, 2015). So, it is challenging for parents and local learners to distinguish, for instance, between hardworking honest Nigerian teachers from a criminally convicted Nigerian drug lord.

Contentiously, the prejudices and negative attitudes aimed at African foreign nationals in the broader society are usually ‘transported’ into the schools environment. In this observation, African immigrant learners are ridiculed by some South African learners as children of criminals or children of parents who undeservedly took away a job meant for a South African
(Young and Jearey-Graham, 2015). The derision towards African immigrant learners is often expressed in disparaging remarks through negative comments that display hatred and dislike.

Additionally, afrophobia manifests itself through language as a tool for social and academic exclusion. In this regard, some African immigrant learners report that South African teachers sometimes read a text in English then explain it in indigenous dominant languages such as Sotho, isiZulu or other indigenous languages (Vandeyar and Vandeyar, 2011). It could be argued that when teachers deliberately explain a text in a language that some learners are not familiar with, their intention is to exclude other learners academically and socially. Likewise, South African learners prefer to converse in their indigenous languages during break time which results in minimal social interactions with African immigrant learners (ibid). The implication of language exclusion in schools is that proficiency in English as the official language of instruction can still remain a disadvantage for African immigrant learners in schools. So, African immigrant learners are ‘forced’ by circumstances of social and academic exclusion to learn and understand the dominant indigenous language besides English.

Furthermore, empirical researches conducted at several schools by Vandeyar and Vandeyar (2011) identify forms of afrophobic attitudes and practices experienced by African immigrant learners. As a result, African immigrant learners often times conceal their national states of origin for fear of victimisation from their South African counterparts. Learners who are ‘uncovered’ as to be immigrants from African nation states such as Zimbabwe, Malawi or Nigeria are made fun of by local learners. In some cases, African immigrant learners are told by South African learners to go back to their nation states of origin. In addition, afrophobia also manifests itself in schools through the remarks of superiority that local South African learners have over the African immigrant learners (Mthuki, 2013). The sense of superiority that local learners have over African immigrant learners can be critically analysed from the critical race theory. In critical race theory, some social groups are perceived as superior by the mere fact of being members of a majority social groups or citizenship status. Resultantly, the African immigrant is regarded as a mediocre social group because of stereotypes attached to them.

The unequal social cultural structures in which African immigrant learners are marginalised are initiated and sustained by assumptions and prejudices. In schools, assumptions and prejudices are tailored to portray other African nation states as underdeveloped and primitive. Crush and Tawodzera (2014) note that African immigrant learners are teased by their local
South African counterparts for not having school facilities such as swimming pools and technological gadgets like computers and pianos in their nation states of origin. Deriving from instances of teasing African immigrant learners, it becomes apparent that the ultimate goal of afrophobia is to socially exclude, marginalise and make African immigrant learners feel unwelcome at school. Some of the stereotypes and prejudices towards African immigrant learners are that foreign learners do not bath properly and speak *kwerekwere* language. Moreover, African immigrant learners are teased for a dark skin colour, ‘strange’ English pronunciation of English which is ‘too African’. Zimbabwe learners are perceived as ‘big’ food eaters because there is no adequate food in Zimbabwe (ibid). The stereotype of dark skin is underlined by the conceptualisation of race in which black race is ridiculed. Conversely, the white complexion is supposedly associated with comparatively better forms of life such as civilisation and astuteness. Perhaps, the conceptualisations of binaries of race that are designed to marginalise the black race are informed by the historical political context of apartheid and colonisation. The point of racial conceptualisation under apartheid and colonialism has already been alluded to in this chapter.

Besides the above discussed forms of afrophobia in schools which are mostly interpersonal, there are implicit suggestions that schools put in place afrophobic institutional practices. As an illustration, most African immigrant teachers complain that as passport-holders from their nation state of origin, they are sometimes denied opportunities to participate in further training courses that are meant to upgrade their teaching professions (Vandeyar et al 2014). Additionally, African immigrant teachers complain that they are usually employed on continual temporary basis which is intermittently renewed. On the other hand, some less qualified South African teachers are offered permanent jobs and better salaries (ibid). Furthermore, the impression of institutional afrophobia is created through the immigration laws which requires schools as public institutions to act as vanguards against illegal foreign learners (Crush and Tawodzera, 2014; Department of Home Affairs, 2002). On this view, schools are expected to detect and report any illegal learner to the Department of Home Affairs. Once noted as an illegal immigrant, the illegal African immigrant learners are automatically de-registered.

From the brief overview of afrophobic attitudes and practices in South African schools, it is evident that schools as social institutions are reflective of the patterns of anti-foreign sentiments and attitudes that occur in the broader society. The cultural power relation between African immigrants and citizens in the broader society is equally replicated in the schools. In schools, African immigrant learners experience stereotypes that are similar to those that non-schooling
adult African immigrants encounter in the broader society. To that end, there is a close connection between social discrimination in schools and the broader society. Having discussed the school context, the following sub-sections discuss the manifestations of afrophobia in the public universities which is the central focus of this study.

**6.4 AFROPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES**

Before outlining the specific forms of afrophobia within the South African public higher education, there is need to expose some of the debates on the phenomenon. In view of the economic benefits of internationalisation of public higher education, most public universities brand themselves as cosmopolitan and have both staff and students who are supposedly tolerant to social diversity. Therefore, public universities disassociate their institutions from afrophobia. An impression is often made that they are free from all forms of social discrimination. However in South Africa, public universities cannot claim to be immune from the scourge of afrophobia which is pervasive in the broader society (Department of Education, 2008). Mthuki (2013) highlights that the relation between the broader society and the public universities is that public universities are not insulated from afrophobia.

Furthermore, an empirical study conducted indicates that about thirty five percent of African international students in South Africa reported instances of afrophobia (Chimucheka, 2012). In the same line of thought, xenophobia is constantly singled out as a social issue of concern at South African universities. It is spelt out that, “a significant majority of international students indicated that locals did not like them and are not friendly”, (Maundeni, et al 2010:83). These empirical research findings suggest that there are anti-foreign sentiments and tendencies at public universities. Afrophobic attitudes and practices are sometimes expressed by both the South African staff and students towards African international students. It is emphasized that “given the pervasive xenophobic sentiments apparent across South Africa, the experiences, then, of non-South African black African students in South African universities both at the level of staff and students cannot be assumed to be positive” (Dominguez-Whitehead and Sing, 2015:87).

The presence of afrophobia in the South African public higher education exposes a dilemma that is inherent in the internationalisation of higher education discourse. This dilemma is evidenced with the finding that “international students and in particular those from Africa are in a contradictory position. This is to say that on the one hand they are welcomed and encouraged to study in South Africa by universities and government institutions, while on the
other hand they face the possibility of xenophobia” (Bolsmann and Miller, 2008:216). As noted
in Chapter four of this study, South African public universities are also driven by the
philanthropic purposes in recruiting international students towards African international
students. The dilemma is that on one hand, there are deliberate institutional drives towards
attracting and recruiting, while on the other hand, the social and academic spaces of universities
have afrophobic practices and attitudes. In an empirical research on afrophobia in public
universities conducted by Sichone (2006), African international students are likely to
experience anti-foreign attitudes and practices from public universities and government
institutions such as police and immigration offices.

This section has affirmed that there is afrophobia in public higher education universities in
South Africa. Empirical researches confirm that afrophobic practices and attitudes in higher
education universities occur in many ways. Afrophobia is a social issue of power relations in
which social relations are influenced by the binaries of foreignness (international students) and
citizenship (local students). Furthermore, afrophobia influences social relations between local
and international students by setting exclusive boundaries along nation states lines.
Consequently, afrophobia entrenches polarisation in the student body along social diversities
of nationalities. In the sub-sections below, I specify the forms in which afrophobia manifests
in public higher education universities.

6.4.1 Conception of Foreigner in South African Public Universities

Concepts that are used in the internationalisation of higher education discourse are essential as
they can either signpost social receptivity or exclusion. With In recognition of the importance
of concepts attached to international students, most international public universities have
branded their institutions with concepts that portray hospitality towards local and international
students. Stearns (2009) observes that the term international is regularly preferred to foreign
student since it decreases the aspects of strangeness.

International students face ‘twin-challenges’ of understanding cultural values the public
university and the broader nation state. In this way, it is important for public universities to use
concepts that denote social inclusivity. In view of the importance of concepts that describe
international students, this study notes that afrophobia is expressed through use of concepts in
South African public universities. The use of either international or foreign students can also
perpetuate or else combat afrophobic attitudes and practices.
In some South African public universities, there is a conceptual distinction between foreign and international students. The statement of this conceptual distinction is that black African students are referred to as foreigners, while those from Europe and the United States of America are international students (Dominguez-Whitehead and Sign, 2015). This study does not seek to dispute that international students are foreigners. Rather, the point to observe is that the conceptual distinction between foreign and international is a vital indicator of the social relations that may or may not exists between international and local students. Most universities are adopting the concept international rather than foreign student. Therefore, it is afrophobic to refer to black African international students as foreigners, while white European students are known as international. Notions such as interconnectedness, interdependence, interrelations and social integration are conceptually contained in the term international students. On the other hand, the concept of foreign student symbolizes the separation and strangeness. In the specific context of the broad society of South Africa, the term foreigner is laden with negativity.

The conceptual significance of the distinction between international and foreigner is evident in the broader South African society. Contextually, a foreigner is negatively conceived as a black immigrant from other African nation states, especially Zimbabwe, Nigeria or Ghana (Matshinhe, 2011, Mosselson, 2010). It is observed that there are stereotypes and negativities associated with the concept of foreigner. To this end, a foreigner speaks strange language, is primitive. Moreover, foreigners are perceived as originating from economically underdeveloped African nation states. Insultingly, foreigners are accused of emitting bad bodily odours since they do not bath (Matshinhe (2011). This is the negative context in which the concept of foreign is understood.

Inadvertently, the application of the concept of foreigners to students from other African is laden with negative connotations. Contemptuously, the concept foreigner is deliberately used to exclude, and marginalises African international students by stressing the social differences between South African and students from other African nation states. The concept of foreigner in the South African public universities is therefore, afrophobic since it is derived from the broader society.

McLellan (2009) observes that white students from Europe and United States of America are referred to as internationals students, which creates a positive impression of social tolerance. The debates on the pervasiveness of race and racial cultural hierarchy have already been raised and analysed both chapter five and in the above sections of this chapter. However, it is
indispensable to state that the conceptualisation of foreignness is loaded with racial undertones. White students from nation states such as Turkey and Netherlands reported that they are made to feel much welcome in comparison to their fellow non-South African black students from other African nation states (Matsinhe, 2011). So, the negativity of foreignness is associated with African international students. On the other hand, the positivity that is conceptually embedded in the term international students is ‘applicable’ to white international students. Such a conceptual distinction depicts subtle manifestation of afrophobia.

Indisputably, the conceptual negativity attached to the notion of foreign student essentially contradicts the broader social objectives of internationalisation. Internationalisation encapsulates values that promote social interrelatedness, social tolerance and social relations across nation states. In South Africa, the conceptual paradox is evident since African international students are the majority group in the cohort of international students. In other words, concepts that are depict hatred, dislike and strangeness of the other nationalities; are fundamentally oppositional to internationalisation. Such concepts deter possibilities of social interactions as well as the establishment of social friendships between local and international students.

Furthermore, the concept of foreign symbolises marginalisation and social exclusion of a minority group in public higher education in South Africa. From a critical race theory perspective, the marginalisation embedded in the conceptualisation of the term foreign denotes the implicit presence of a dominant group which is the South African domestic students. Likewise, in identifying race as a central tenet of critical race theory, the notion of foreign student conceptually represent a black African race. The black race is held in negative terms (Matsinhe, 2011). So, the concept of foreignness is used to represent an undesirable race and a marginalised minority group of African international students. Lastly, a critical point that emanates from the debates on conceptualisation of foreignness is that internationalised higher education universities should be sensitive to cultural-nationalities diversities that are represented in the student body. To that end, concepts, symbols and the institutional cultures need to avoid alienating or marginalising other nationalities.

6.4.2 The Use of Local Indigenous Language in Official Settings

The deliberate use of local languages in the official settings of public universities such as lecture halls and other administrative offices in the public universities in South Africa is a manifestation of subtle afrophobia. The use of local indigenous languages in official settings
contradicts the language pull factor for South African public universities. Notably, most public universities in South Africa officially claim that English is the primary language of academic lectures and interaction. Resultantly, African international students from English speaking nation states are attracted to pursue their university education in the South African public universities on the assumption that studies are conducted in English (Lee and Sehoole, 2015). In addition, it is spelt out that, “the country uses English as the primary language of instruction. The use of English attracts many students from other African countries for they will not be forced to learn any other language as the case with other countries” (Chimucheka, 2012:225). For convenience sake, it is always common that international students from English-speaking nation choose to study in South Africa. To exemplify the significance of language in determining patterns of international student migration, the African continent is linguistically divided. In this view, African international students’ choice of study is that Portuguese-speaking African students study in Angola, French African speaking choose Morocco while and English African speaking are pulled to South Africa (Woldegiorgis and Døevenspeck, 2015). Nevertheless, the pattern of subdividing African international students is not often as rigid as it seems. In South Africa, there are many students from French-speaking African nation states such as Democratic Republic of Congo or Cameroon. Additionally, students from Portuguese speaking countries like Mozambique or Angola are enrolled in South Africa. However, many African international students in South Africa have basic understanding of English that gives them confidence to undertake their studies in public universities.

Nevertheless, as a manifestation of afrophobia in public higher education in South Africa, the dominant local language is often used to socially exclude African international students. It is common that local students use their local language such as Sotho, Zulu or Xhosa during the academic sessions in the presence of international students from Africa, who may not be conversant in these languages (Singh, 2013). In a study in which afrophobia is highlighted, there is an observation that “a significant majority of international students indicated that locals did not like them and are not friendly. Students have a tendency to use their local language in group discussions” (Maundeni, et al, 2010:83). Language can be used to socially exclude rather than embrace others. In instances where local students employ it for academic discussions, then such a practice qualify conceptually to be considered as subtle afrophobia.

Furthermore, in an empirical study done at the University of Limpopo, Singh (2013) reveals that foreign students from Africa are sometimes excluded because lecturers use Sepedi to communicate during lectures. Sepedi is one of the official languages in South Africa spoken
by the majority of local people in the region in which University of Limpopo is located. The implication of the use of local language is that foreign students cannot properly participate in lectures. Through use of local dominant indigenous language, African international students can neither properly contribute their ideas nor receive the information from the lecturer.

African international students may be negatively prejudged based on their English accent that comes through the pronunciation of certain English words. Waghid (2007) proffers an example in which undergraduate Faculty of Education students at Stellenbosch University resisted the idea of being taught by a Malawian doctoral student. Their reservations were influenced by their judgement that his accent was foreign. It noted that the students claimed that they could not comprehend the English spoken through Malawian accent. It is could be instructive to recognise that English is spoken with the background of a person’s first language accent. For instance, a Shona, Sotho or Zulu’s accent will be explicit when he or she speaks English. This aspect of accent is ordinarily applicable when English is spoken whether by a Spanish, French, Shona (Zimbabwean language), Chewa (Malawian language) or a local South African language such as Sepedi or Afrikaans. In South Africa, there are diverse varieties of English accent which is influenced by the person’s first language. The point of tolerating different English accents underpins the establishment of rainbow cosmopolitanism as discussed in chapter eight.

The African international students’ incompetency to converse in the dominant indigenous languages makes them vulnerable to afrophobic salient attacks. An observation is made that “foreign black students, with whom we have worked with, typically report that their failure to speak isiZulu, in our context the dominant indigenous language, provides the focal point for hostility” (Singh and Francis, 2010:305). African international students encounter hostile attitudes from local students and staff on the basis that they cannot converse in the local language. On the other hand, white English speaking international students are ‘exempted’ from ill-treatment for their failure to converse in local languages. In an empirical study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Muthuki (2013) brings out the language dilemma that African international students encounter. It is reported that “according to the foreign African students, one of the ways in which they experience xenophobia was local students and sometimes staff members would speak to them in local language such as isiZulu” (Muthuki, 2013:114). By deliberately speaking in local languages to African international students, the social tolerance that is supposed to be characteristic of internationalised public universities may be compromised.
An excerpt from an empirical study by Singh (2013) records an African international student mentions that “my South African classmates show great dislike of my presence, which is often characterised by local comments and words which I have come to learn are abusive, inhumane to such an extent I can’t write them, let alone imagine them” (Singh, 2013:100). It is paramount to acknowledge that while South Africa is a highly socially diverse nation state there is always a dominant language in a given social area. For instance, while Stellenbosch University is located in Cape Town where there are many different language groups, Afrikaans may be considered the dominant language. In Eastern Cape where Fort Fare is located, isiXhosa is the dominant language. This scenario is true of all the public universities across the country.

African international students encounter a dilemma when it comes to the issue of dominant language that may be used by supporting staff and lecturers in both formal and informal settings. The dilemma is that their experiences of being socially and academically excluded imply that knowledge of English is not adequate for an African international student to socialise and adequately engage in academic and social discourse in the university. The insinuation is that an African international student has to learn another indigenous language besides English.

The intricacies associated with language are evident considering that African international students are not a socially homogeneous group. There are many African students from Francophone Africa who have little competence in English but are fluent in French (Tati, 2010). Equally so, there are students from African Portuguese speaking countries like from Mozambique, Angola and Equatorial Guinea (Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2015). In addition, there are African international students from nation states that speak some of South African indigenous languages such as Swati (Swaziland), Setswana (Botswana) or Afrikaans (Namibia). It appears that those African international students, who besides English, can converse in another local language, are likely to navigate and minimise instances of afrophobia in public higher education universities. However, most South African universities require that African international students who come from non-English speaking nation states take up English elementary language courses that are offered in places such as University of Witwatersrand Language School. At the backdrop of this, it becomes rather cumbersome when subtle suggestions are made that besides English, the African international students will still need to learn ‘dominant’ languages such as Zulu, Sepedi and Sotho to navigate both in and outside the lecture hall.

Attached to the use of local dominant language within the official settings of the public universities, is the fact that derogatory terms such as Kwerekwere are used in reference to
indigenous languages of African international students (McMillan, 2009). On the contrary, languages of European international students like France, Turkey, and England are not derided as Kwerekwere. It is significant to state that there is nothing discriminatory when public universities adopt one of the local indigenous official South African black African languages such as isiZulu, Venda or Sotho. For instance, the University of Johannesburg considers Sotho as one of its official language that can be employed for lecturing purposes (University of Johannesburg, 2017). Nevertheless, the use of a language becomes subtle afrophobic when it is deliberately spoken for purposes of socially excluding African international students.

Linguistic characterisation of a nation state is important since languages can point to collective identity of citizens. In South Africa, it is observed that “African students in particular were most likely to experience neo-nationalism once it was evident they did not speak one of the local black South African languages” (Lee, 2017:880). A Zimbabwean international student states that “some of the locals judge internationals by their ability to speak their language. This can prove difficult as there are eleven official languages and most internationals speak English and at least one language from their home” (ibid). From a critical race theory, languages are invested with power. Non-speakers of a dominant language may be ‘forced’ to learn the language for the purpose of minimising social exclusion. Moreover, languages are part of social structures in which those who speak a certain language of a particular social group develop a sense of identity. However, in internationalisation of public higher education, the issue of languages of instructions remain controversial given the dominance of English.

The challenges associated with using indigenous languages as a form of discrimination against African international students may be understood contextually in global dominance of English in education. Debatable as it may be, English is the indispensable feature of internationalisation. In this regard it is noted that “English has become the tertiary education language par excellence and play a key role as a commodity of globalisation” (Doiz, et al, 2013:1407). Most students from the SADC region are conversant in the English language. Given this state of affair, it is a complicated scenario when African international students are derided either for their incapability to speak in any indigenous African language of South Africa or mocked for speaking English with a ‘foreign’ accent (Waghid, 2007).

Indisputably, part of social integration in the broad scope of internationalisation of higher education is that African international students should voluntarily learn any other indigenous language in South Africa besides English. Since there are chances that some African
international students may choose to stay and work in South Africa upon graduation, learning languages is ideal for employment and integration in the broader South African society. However, during the study period, it is reasonable that the local and international as well as the lecturing staff engage in the official language of instruction. In critical race theory, the dominant language group tends to marginalise the minority. In this regard, the notions of dominance can be sustained and perpetuated through the use of language for socially exclusion. In this way, language use can be considered a manifestation of afrophobia.

6.4.3 African International Students Perceived As Economic Migrants

The above two forms of manifestations of subtle afrophobia may be considered as social and cultural concerns. However, afrophobic attitudes and practices are sometimes expressed in economic terms within public universities. In most instances, African international students are perceived negatively as economically poor while international students from Europe are considered as potential tourists (Matshinhe, 2011; Ramphele, 1999). The negative economic perception on African international students implies that they are regarded as a socially inferior group. On the other hand, white international students from economically developed nation states are held in high regard. The labelling of African international as economically poor is to all intents and purposes underscored by the negative nationalities stereotypes. For Bayaga (2011) there is a general perception that South Africa is not ‘really’ an African nation state because of its relatively advanced and stable economy. The disassociation with Africa is precipitated by the negative image of Africa as a poor and primitive continent.

As mentioned in chapter five, the high influx of African immigrants into South Africa in search of economic opportunities tend to create generalised stereotypes about all African immigrants. (Singh, 2013) notes for some South African education students; there is no difference in push factors between African international students and their non-student African immigrant counterparts. It is advanced that “South African students tend to think that African international students left their countries because of civil wars, hunger, poverty and unemployment” (Monke, 2012:49). The notion that African international students are economic migrants is reinforced by the observation that they tend to encounter severe financial challenges to during their study period in South Africa (Domínguez-Whitehead and Sing, 2015). Yet, European and American international students may not face severe financial challenges owing to their stronger financial currency in comparison to the South African rand. In addition, Muthuki (2013) observes that African international students complain that there are few bursaries and
scholarships available for international students. In the same view, Lee and Sehoole (2015), note there is a view that African international students deprive the economic resources that are meant for local students.

The interpretation that African international students are economic and political refugees tends to trigger and perpetuate afrophobic attitudes and inclinations in public universities. Incontestably, most African nation states are not as economically advance as South Africa. For that reason, many African international students come from economically poorer nation states. Nonetheless, afrophobia cannot be justified on the basis of nation states economic disparities. According to Monke (2012), African international students are made to feel inferior as they are reminded by locals that they are undeservedly benefiting from the economic privilege of studying and residing in South Africa. The implication of negative stereotyping other African nation states is that African international students are not supposed to study in the highly developed South African public universities. Undoubtedly, such afrophobic pronouncements contradict the fundamental objectives of internationalisation of higher education.

In addition, the unsubstantiated claims from the South African broader society that black African immigrants take away jobs from South African citizens, also permits the subtle forms of afrophobia in public institutions of higher education. Subsequently, “some South African students complain that African students steal their jobs, but the same is not said of students from Europe or America” (Lee, 2017:880). In this empirical study conducted by Lee (2017), higher education students from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Uganda and Malawi raise their concerns about afrophobia. In the same study, European and American international students attest the warm reception they receive from both white and black South Africans on and off campus. However, some black American students experience rejection on initial encounters. Once it is noted that though they are black they are from America, then the reception changes from negative to positive (narrative from a black American student).

The discussion of economic classification of nation state as a basis of afrophobia is relevant within the framework of critical race theory. The economic inequality among citizens often leads to social conflicts. Contextually, afrophobic attitudes and practices in South African public higher education are misinformed by the perception of African international students can economically prolong the unequal social structure that was put in place under apartheid political dispensation. In this argument, it is perceived that African international students compete for the resources that the government intend to use for citizens’ accessibility to public
education. The scapegoating theory of afrophobia points out that African international students unfairly benefit from state funds in public higher education.

6.4.4 Threat Perception

Afrophobia, as a derivative of xenophobia hinges on the assumption that the presence of foreigners threatens the economic, social and cultural setup of a given nation state. In this regard, immigrants both legal and illegal may be perceived as threat to the economic resources that are exclusively ‘meant’ for citizens. In a study workshop to discuss xenophobic perceptions among University of KwaZulu Natal students, a point raised is that “the prevailing attitude is that they are a threat, that they are a drain on the state and get preferential treatment from the government officials” (Singh and Francis, 2010:305). This aspect of threat is significant because in afrophobia it is only the black African international students who are perceived as an economic threat. Students from economically developed nation states such as the United States of America and Europe are not considered as an economic threat. Ramphele sums this point well, thus:

Foreign students who have difficulty making ends meet and who compete for local resources are a source of tension between sections largely black South African students from neighbouring African countries. The South African students fell deprived and invoke their citizenship or South Africanness. They stress the foreignness of their competitors and seek to remove them from the equation (Ramphele, 1999:37).

As pointed out in Chapter four, African international students are more inclined to pursue their higher education studies in South Africa than in any other African nation state. However, the inclination towards South Africa is closely connected to the job opportunities. In this line of thought, Alemu (2014) notes upon completion of their studies, many African international students do not return to their nation states of origin. Inevitably, the pattern of not returning to nation states of origin creates tension as international students are considered potential job snatchers.

Identifying a certain group of international students as economic threat is not peculiar to the South African higher education landscape. Boafo-Arthur (2014) observes that in United States of America, African international students are stereotypically viewed as a burden on the resources. The trend that most international students from less economically developed nation states do not return back to their nation states on completion of their studies already sets them up as future employment competitors with the locals. This perception can only increase tensions between local and African international students. According to Ackers (2008),
international student migration should also be viewed as a pointer to the unavailability or limited employment opportunities in their nation state of origin.

Moreover, the threat perspective of hosting international students is that “many international students now consider study as a stepping stone to permanent residency in a country offering a higher standard of living along with better employment and research opportunities” (Gribble, 2008:25). In South Africa, afrophobic attitudes may be nurtured by the belief that international students from developed nation states in Europe or America return to their nation states of origin. On the other hand, African international student from economically poorer countries remain to compete for employment opportunities.

Likewise, the threat perception is encompassed in the sense of superiority that is often exhibited by local students towards the African international students. It is said that “the foreign African students felt that South African students exhibited a sense of superiority towards them” Muthuki (2013:117). The sense of superiority may be informed (misinformed) by prejudices that portray other African nation states as economically poorer, rural and impoverished than the host South Africa in this case (Matsinhe,2011). In as much as non-international student immigrants are perceived as taking away jobs and other resources, South African students equally regard international students as persons who drain state resources (Ramphele, 1999).

Perhaps, the threat perception in the scope of afrophobia points to the necessity for continual conceptual interrogation of the notion of internationalisation of higher education. In this line of thought, there is a need to probe whether internationalisation is carried out for the benefits of the public university alone or such benefits can cascade to the broader society. Hypothetically, if the processes of internationalisation of public higher education can benefit both the public university and the broader nation state, then perceiving African international students as a threat could be a signal of the misconception of internationalisation.

From critical race theory, internationalisation of public higher education should be considered as transformative as it can facilitate social interaction among nationalities. Internationalisation of public higher education can transform the levels of social diversity tolerance. Moreover, the negative attitudes towards other African nation states can be transformed through social interaction that can only be possible through internationalisation. Aboveall, the internationalisation can transform the economic inequalities in the nation state of South Africa through the supply of graduates with critical skills. The section below examines funding opportunities for international African students.
6.4.5 The Limited Funding Opportunities for African International Students

Since both African international and South African graduates can alleviate skills shortage in South Africa, the access to funding opportunities can be a revelation of institutionalised afrophobia. The South African immigration Act of 2002 clearly stipulates that before an international student is granted study permit, he or she is supposed to give proof that they can financially sustain themselves during their study period in South Africa (Department of Home Affairs, 2002). An international student in South Africa is thus, expected to be able to afford to pay tuition fees, accommodation, medical and other living expenses. The immigration Act of 2002 further, states that in instances where an international student fails to financially afford living expenses during the period of undertaking studies in South Africa, he or she should be deemed as undesirable and forthwith be deported (ibid). Some explanation for possible deportation of a financially bankrupt international student is offered. It is explained that the South African government has no moral, social or economical obligation towards the financial upkeep and sustenance of an international student (DHA, 2002). It is vital to state that the South African approach towards financial sustainability of an international student is arguably the approach of most nation states. In other words, it is a global trend that international students should be financially self-sufficient.

Contestably, it may be argued that due to the restrictive stipulations of the Immigration Act of 2002, the number of bursaries or scholarships available to international students is limited in most public universities (Lee and Sehoole, 2015). Moreover, international students especially those from outside the SADC region are charged exorbitant tuition fees and in some cases the amount is double the figure paid by local South African students (University of Pretoria, 2017). Before 2015, most public universities required international students to pay their tuition and international fees in total before registration and commencement of their studies. Owing to the expectation that international students are supposed to be financially self-sufficient, there can be some subtle expressions of afrophobia. The idea of limiting financial assistance to African international students reinforces the notion that the host nation state has to reserve its economic resources for local students.

In South Africa, there is a distinction between unfair and fair discrimination. The former refers to unjustifiable discrimination, while the latter implies that there are some instances in which it justifiable and permissible to be discriminatory. The distinction between unfair and fair discrimination is informed by the objectives of rectifying the legacy of apartheid social
inequalities. To this end, limiting scholarships and bursaries to international students is seen as fair discrimination since the nation state has no obligation to financially sustain international students.

While charging international students higher fees and strict immigration regulations are common practices found across the world, the permutations of such practices tend to be perceived as systematic afrophobia in South Africa. Ramphele (1999) observes that South African students invoke the ‘card’ of citizenship in instances where they perceive that they compete for financial resources with African international students. It is instructive to take into account that in South African public universities, international students are usually placed into three categories, namely, SADC, non-SADC African and international for tuition fees (University of Witwatersrand, 2017). In this regard, international students from SADC region pay tuition fees which are equivalent to domestic South African students. Therefore, in this context that South African students complain that it is unfair for government to subsidise international students from SADC (Ramphele, 1999). It should also be borne in mind that in the three categories, students from nation states such as Europe and the United States, may not financially struggle since their currencies are stronger currency than the South African currency (Mpinganjira, 2011). Unlike international students from Europe and United States of America, African international students who originate from nation states with weaker currencies, are sometimes forced to scramble for the available scholarships and bursaries within the public universities (Domingues-Whitehead and Sing, 2015; Mpinganjira, 2012). For instance, the National Research Fund (NRF) has some financial allocations that can be accessed by post-graduate international students. Consequently, tension emerges between African international students and their South African counterparts which ultimately results in afrophobic attitudes and practices within the public universities.

From a study conducted by Lee (2017), most African international students note that they are regarded as people who drain up financial resources that are legitimately meant for South African domestic students. A Ugandan student reported that “the general public’s perception towards international students is not good. The general thinking among most locals is that international students are using their government resources as well as taking their jobs” (Lee, 2017:880). To a large extent, there is a connection between the perception in the broader society that African immigrants compete for resources with locals and the perception that international students drain higher education resources. With hindsight, the 1997 SADC Protocol on Education and Training that stipulates that universities are supposed to charge international
students from SADC region tuition fees that are equivalent to locals. Therefore, it could be contended that the government subsidises African international students.

The discourse on the perceived competition for economic resources between locals and foreigners is deeply entrenched in the post-apartheid South Africa as already noted and discussed in Chapter five. Nonetheless, the issue of race pervades such perceptions which result in afrophobic attitudes and tendencies. As noted in Chapter two, race issues are central within the scope of critical race theory analysis. For economic resource competition in South Africa, black race is assumed to represent economic inferiority. Therefore, the black race is a threat to the social structure. On the other hand, white race, is representative of economic prosperity, and by this fact international students from Europe are not perceived as threat towards job competition upon graduation. It is through such analysis of the prevalence of race in informing the debates and discourses on economic competition that afrophobia manifests in public universities. In this regard, international European students may not be regarded as an economic threat in comparison to black African international students.

6.4.6 Covert Hostility

Covert hostilities manifest in subtle manners that suggest the foreignness and the non-belonging of the African international students in South African. In public higher education, there is an observation that “xenophobia may not be manifested in the form of physical violence, but in more subtle forms of making the non-nationals feel so unwelcome and despised in an environment that is made psychologically hostile” (Mogekwu, 2005:10). In this regard, covert hostilities are primarily attitudes and subtle acts that seek to socially exclude the African international students. Chimucheka (2012) observes that the social interaction between local and African international students is extremely limited. While this may be due to divergent cultural backgrounds, afrophobia occurs when social interactions are deliberately limited or avoided on the basis of nationalities. Additionally, “the foreign African students expressed that black South Africans were largely hostile to their presence” (Muthuki, 2013:117). A hostile social environment may arise in instances where a local indigenous language is used deliberately for social exclusion as already noted in this chapter.

In delineating the covert hostilities, I state that one of the constituents of afrophobia is the element of hostility towards those who are regarded as outsiders to both the public university and the nation state (Hale, 2011). In this regard, African international students frequently experience attitudes of hostilities and social exclusion from the South African domestic
students since they are viewed as outsiders. African international students are likely to feel unwanted compared to those from Europe and United States (McMillan, 2009). Furthermore, African international students are of the view that their local South African students are unfriendly and unsociable towards them (Lee, 2017). Judging from these subtle cases, it is apparent that defining afrophobia strictly in terms of violent physical expression is rather parochial. Accordingly, the subtle ways of social rejection in public higher education should equally be attended to and eliminated to enhance internationalisation of public higher education.

Furthermore, at an institutional level, public universities tend to be rather implicitly unfriendly in outlook towards African international students. An relevant point is made that “unfortunately, universities in South Africa continue to remain powerful mechanisms of social exclusion and injustice that succumb to external conditions of the wider society” (Dominguez-Whitehead and Sign, 2015:85). In addition, Pithouse-Morgan, et al (2012) point out that African international students find university structures such as the Student Representative Councils as unreceptive towards them as they often convey the impression that they are mandated to give priority to issues pertaining South African students. In the same vein, African international students find it difficult to report cases of afrophobic practices and attitudes since offices like Student Representative Council (SRC) are usually manned by local South African students (Kavuro, 2014). The perceptions and negative attitudes towards African international students seem to be the key factor in determining the service provisions from administrative establishment in the public universities.

In the same regard, the presence of subtle forms of afrophobia is sometimes openly acknowledged by both the student body as well as the public universities managements. For instance, the international students from African nation states of Zimbabwe, Ghana and Zambia collectively wrote a letter expressing complaints of afrophobic tendencies in one of the public university (Vuvuzela, October 29, 2015). In this article of Vuvuzela (October, 2015), African international students criticize the hateful utterance that was directed towards them from the other members of the student body at meetings that were intended to address issues related to student protests against annual tuition fee increases. From an institutional management perspective, there is an “indication of continuing antagonism from South African students towards foreign (particularly African) students and a pervasive sense of ‘outsider’ amongst foreign students (xenophobia) (University of Johannesburg, 2017). This study argues that subtle afrophobia is an existent phenomenon in public universities. From this study, it cannot
be debated that African international students experience afrophobia from local South African students and staff.

The covert hostilities as manifestations of afrophobia raise the contentious debate of the understanding of nation state in view of an international discourse such as internationalisation of higher education. In line with this, internationalisation ideally advances the ideal that though a public university is geographically located in a given nation state, both international and local students should have a sense of equal belonging. In other words, there is an assumption that a public university belongs to all enrolled and registered students as well as the lecturing and supporting staff. To that end, attitudes and practices of hostilities towards a particular nationality social group in the public university contradict the basic tenet of equal belonging that is incorporated in the conceptualisation of internationalisation of higher education. Additionally, afrophobic covert hostilities are indisputably incongruent with the tolerance towards social diversity. In accordance with a need for social diversity in which both explicit and covert forms of hostilities are eliminated, the following chapter of this study explores the philosophical ideals of cosmopolitanism in public universities. Henceforth, social diversity management is an essential and indispensable constituent of ideal internationalisation of public higher education. In view of social diversity in internationalisation, the following section deliberates on the social and cultural heterogeneity in the cohort of African international students in South Africa.

6.4.7 The Case of Francophone and Portuguese African Students

One of the complexities of afrophobia in the South African public higher education is the social and cultural heterogeneity of African international students. The fact that African international students are not a socially homogeneous group entails that the degrees of afrophobic tendencies experienced vary according to nation state that a student originates from. African international students in South African public higher education come from different cultural, social, political and linguistic backgrounds. In this regard, owing to the colonial legacy, African international students come from English, French and Portuguese speaking countries (Knight and Woldegiorgis, 2017). The African international students with a French linguistic background originate from formerly French-colonised nation states such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Cameroun or Madagascar. On the other hand, the African international students with a Portuguese linguistic background come from formerly-Portugal colonised nation states such as Mozambique and Angola.
Given the background of social diversity in public higher education, Meier and Hartell (2009) observe that the opening of doors to racial, ethnic and national diversities does not spontaneously lead to mutual tolerance and integration in the student social body. Put differently, the more diverse a student social composition is, the more challenges arise that are related to social discrimination. Within the social composition of African international students, it could be argued that those who come from non-English speaking nation states are likely to encounter more social challenges in South Africa than those who originate from English speaking nation states. According to Lee (2015) English has become a global language. The incapacity to converse in English may make international studies difficult. Additionally, the inability to speak a language in cases where it is used as a language of instruction in a given nation state creates not only academic challenges but can lead to social exclusion. While most African international students in South Africa are fluent in English, this is not the case for students from Francophone nation states.

In South Africa where languages of instruction have remained a sensitive issue since apartheid, the lack of competency in speaking and expressing oneself in English can elicit afrophobia. On this view, African international students from Francophone nation states encounter this specific form of discrimination in South African public higher education. In an empirical study conducted at a South African public university, African international students from Gabon and Democratic Republic of Congo expressed discrimination because they are constantly mocked by their South African counterparts during class presentations. Francophobe international students state that they were derided because their English accent which is heavily laden by a combination of their indigenous languages and French background (Pintech and Mulu, 2016). Additionally, Francophone students are sometimes mocked because of the manner in which they struggle to express themselves in English (ibid). Under apartheid, language was socially used to discriminate other people. With this in mind, deriding at international students with limited knowledge of English could be considered as an expression of afrophobic attitudes. As pointed out in this study, white international students from nation states such as Turkey do not experience that mistreatment though they may equally struggle to express themselves.

The main point in specifying the Francophone international students in the manifestations of afrophobia is to highlight the varying degrees of afrophobia that seem to be determined by other factors. In line with this argument, one varying factor that has already been noted in this chapter is that African foreign students who originate from nation states where one of the South African indigenous languages is spoken, such as Botswana or Lesotho are less likely to
experience higher levels of afrophobia. Matshinhe (2011) says that language and accent are essential indicators of foreignness and exclusion. The conception of English accent seems to suggest that there is a South African English accent that is more familiar and acceptable in comparison to the Francophone or Portuguese background English accent.

**6.5 SUMMARY: AFROPHOBIA IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES**

The above discussions on manifestations of afrophobia in public universities in South Africa have established its subtle form that is often overlooked. In most cases, studies on afrophobia tend to focus on the violent and confrontational forms as experienced in the broader society. Crucially, “although xenophobic violence is an important component of any study on the African continent, it is important to remember that anti-immigrant sentiments does not only manifests itself in violent acts and that it has many manifestations” (Gordon, 2016:76). In addressing the subtle forms of afrophobia, the phenomenon can be addressed through inculcating of values that promote social interaction within the scope of internationalisation. Ultimately, the subtle form of afrophobia gives the incorrect impression that public universities are exempt from the hostilities that are often encountered by African immigrants in the broader society.

In this analysis, it is vital to take into account the fact that African international students come into South Africa with the full awareness of the prevalence of afrophobic violent acts. Pithouse-Morgan, et al (2012) aptly observes that African international students get the information on afrophobia through print and electronic media while they are still in their nation states of origin. Nevertheless, the pull factor of perceived better quality of higher education in South Africa prevails over than the threat of afrophobia. However, since afrophobia is often defined in its violent confrontations, the absence of such dramatic events in public universities may give prospective African international students the impression public universities are relatively afrophobic-free social spaces. Arguably, the African international students feel more secure within the confines of public universities to the extent that they are more fearful of touring South Africa (Lee, 2017, Lee and Sehoole, 2015). I contend that the subtle forms of afrophobia in public higher education can be identified and eliminated to promote the social ideals of tolerance and acceptance of national diversities as envisaged in internationalisation of public higher education.

Finally, although the more pronounced afrophobic attitudes are held and perceived by South African students, African international students are also inclined to harbour negative
assumptions towards South African students. Such negative assumptions seem to suggest that South African students are lazy at academic work, spend more of their time drinking alcohol and indulging in orgies of sex as well as the assumption that they are prone to aggressive and violent behaviours (Vandeyar and Vandeyar, 2014; Tafira, 2011). Nonetheless, in employing the critical race theory tenet of unequal power relations, afrophobia stratifies the social composition of the student body. Thus, the cohort of African international students as the minority group has less social, cultural, political and economic power. Consequently, African international students may not openly express hostilities towards the dominant group of local students. In this regard, power relations that characterise afrophobia are derived from the fact of citizenship in the nation state. Accordingly, Newsome (2016) suggests that international students loose the social and economic advantage they would otherwise have enjoyed have they pursued their studies in their nation states of origin. To that end, one of the citizenship privileges that African international students loose in South Africa is that they do not belong to the local majority and dominant group. The implication of not belonging is that the negative attitudes which African international students have towards the South African students may, but remain unexpressed negative stereotypes, attitudes and prejudices. In terms of critical race theory, African international students have less social, cultural and economic power and the necessary dominance to express hostilities towards both South African students and staff.

In summary, afrophobic attitudes and practices in the South African public higher education point out to the fact that internationalisation of higher education should not is limited to recruiting and enrolling of African international students. The social composition of the student body that has both international and local students need approaches to combat social discrimination forms such as afrophobia.

6.6 CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AFROPHOBIA IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Afrophobia is an issue of access by African international students to the higher education in South Africa. Essentially, access is more than admittance, enrolment, registration and occupying a seat in the lecture hall to assume studies. Equally, it is more than getting a university student card, using the university facilities such as library and other activities on the university campus. Rather, access fundamentally involves the sense of socially feeling at home as an integral part of the university in its totality. Access is about being in commune with the social, academic and cultural life of the university despite social diversity differences such as
nationality, race, sex, religion or ethnic groupings. Contradictorily, afrophobia is a subtle denial access to a given categorised social group such as African international students.

Moreover, afrophobia is basically a threat towards the ideals of social tolerance that are inherent and embedded in the broad scope of internationalisation of public higher education. In this regard, it is asserted that “increased nationalism, religious and ideological conflicts challenge the original ideas of international cooperation and exchange in higher education as promotion of peace and mutual understanding of global engagements” (Altbach and de Wit, 2015:5). So, afrophobic attitudes and tendencies in South African public universities fall into the category of anti-immigration sentiments which ultimately contradict the phenomenon of international migration. In other words, afrophobia contradicts the ideals of hospitality, care, tolerance and acceptance of the cultural and social diversity that is resultant of internationalisation of public higher education. The more internationalised a public university is, the higher diverse is its social and cultural composition. Fundamentally, internationalisation of public higher education is tended towards social inclusion while, afrophobic attitudes and practices are basically underscored by negative ideas of social exclusion.

Additionally, afrophobia negates the potential that South African public universities have in inculcating social values, practices and positive attitudes for social diversity. In Africa with its historical challenges of genocide, xenophobia and political intolerance, internationalisation of public higher education has the possibility of instilling social values, practices and ideals of tolerance towards social diversity (Waghid, 2007). In most instances, there is always a tendency to allocate blame on historical periods of colonialism and apartheid for cases of tribalism, racism or xenophobia in Africa. To that end, this study is a paradigm shift from the tendencies of locating sources of social challenges only in political history, but rather highlights the opportunities and role that international education can play in seeking some form of social cohesion that is not limited to nation state. Taking into account the fact that nearly all African nation states have students in South Africa, public universities can play a pivotal role in eliminating afrophobia.

There are two theories that may be used to analyse, interpret and draw some meanings out of the systemic patterns of practices, tendencies and negative attitudes that characterise afrophobia. According to Lee (2017) these theories are neo-racism and neo-nationalism. Neo-racism is a further development of traditional understanding of racism in which biological race, either black or white, was a determining factor in social rejection or inclusion. Neo-racism is
discrimination on the basis of race as well as cultural values (Lee, 2017). More importantly, neo-racism encompasses forms of social discrimination such as tribalism, ethnicity, religious affiliations as well as sexism. In this regard, neo-racism is an all-embracing term that denotes forms of social discrimination. Arguably, neo-racism points to the fact that race conceptualisation is contextual as it keeps changing in response to specific challenges of social diversity in a given social settings. In this context, afrophobic instances in public universities are informed by the conceptualisation of race issues that seem to give superiority to some, while neglecting and marginalising other people of races considered socially inferior.

On the other hand, neo-nationalism “explains the divides by nationality within the same race and is attached to conceptions of statehood” (Lee, 2017: 870). For instance, while black race is found in most nation states in Africa, a further distinction could be made when there is categorisation of black South Africans, black Zimbabweans and black Nigerians. Basically, neo-nationalism entrenches conceptions of exclusive nationalism that may consequently underlie negative practices and attitudes such as afrophobia. I argue that both the perspectives of neo-nationalism and neo-racism can concurrently be used to understand afrophobia in public universities. Accordingly, from a neo-nationalism perspective, some international students are ‘more’ acceptable based on the positive perceptions attached to their nation states. On the other side, neo-racism informs that afrophobia is fundamentally a form of discrimination that is underscored by perceptions of race as a social construct.

In summing up patterns of discrimination against non-nationals in South Africa, afrophobia may be seen as an attitude of Anti-Africanism (Lee, 2007). Though the notion of anti-Africanism may bring some conceptual complications, since afrophobia is ironically negative attitudes harboured by black South Africans towards black African immigrants, it nevertheless succinctly captures the relevance of race in afrophobia. It has already been noted in Chapter five that anti-immigrant sentiments and attitudes in South Africa are mostly expressed by black South Africans towards black African immigrants. Moreover, this situation which has been conceptually captured as a paradox in describing and offering a critical analysis of the afrophobic attitudes and tendencies, there are conceptual complexities that arise. Often, such complexities are a result of contestations, debates and controversies of what constitutes afrophobia and what does not. In this regard, in the following section, I discuss the complexities of afrophobia to avoid oversimplification of issues and thereby falling into the fallacy of straw man arguments.
6.6.1 Conceptual Complexities of Afrophobia

There are three sources of conceptual complexities that emerge in delineating afrophobia in public universities in South Africa:

a) In analysing the forms of afrophobia in South African public higher education, it is vital to state that they may also be an issue of oversensitivity and the general political, social and economic insecurities that are characteristic of being an immigrant. For instance, Pintech and Mulu (2016) cite an incident in which an international student felt that a lecturer had a negative attitude towards her when the lecturer claimed to be too busy for her to consult concerning academic issues. It is reported in this incident that the student later on witnessed the same lecturer attending to her fellow classmates who are locals. In this instance, there may be a complexity in distinguishing the difference between a perception that the lecturer deliberately avoided the international in preference of local students or the international student had approached the lecturer at an inconvenient time without appointment. However, sources that create social perceptions of social exclusion within the confines of internationalisation of public higher education should be attended to.

b) The fact African international students come into South Africa with some prior information (misinformation) or preconceived ideas about the South African society may create a conceptual complexity in understanding afrophobia. Most African international students have some information through media about South Africa (University of Pretoria, 2017). Such media information seems to suggest that South Africa is a dangerous place especially in terms of high crime rate such as murder, armed robbery and rape (Smith, 2011). Besides crime rate, African international students get the impression that generalises South Africans as highly afrophobic. It may be that the information (misinformation) on South Africa that the African international students receive prior to arriving form their basis of negative stereotype such as that South Africans are aggressive and socially unfriendly people (Buthelezi, 2009). The failure of African international students to establish friendships and social interactions with their South African local students could be attributed to the fact they have some sense of fear which is underlined by prejudices formed through the background knowledge of the South African society from the media and information from other people (Monke, 2013; Zar, 2009).
c) There is a conceptual complexity that may arise from the perception within the academic discourse that most African international students are academically better prepared for university education than their South African counterparts (Buthelezi, 2009). The argument on better academic preparedness of African international students is informed (misinformed) by the observation that black South African students are academic end-products of the Bantu education system which exposed them to inferior education. Moreover, it is sometimes observed that the education system for primary and secondary school levels is comparatively lower to many other African nation states (Crush and Tawodzera, 2014). To a larger extent, the perception that black South African students are academically inferior is a form of negative stereotype that some African international students often harbour. The conceptual complexity because afrophobia is essentially characterised by stereotypes. In this regard, stereotypes that African international students may harbour against local South African students could be equally regarded as afrophobic.

Though there are conceptual complexities that are intrinsic in the notion of afrophobia, the general dislike of black Africans immigrants in South Africa has already been pointed out in this study. In this regard, the complexities are therefore, mitigated by the common element of a dislike displayed by black South Africans towards black African immigrants. In view of this dislike, the following section examines the possible explanations of the subtle nature of afrophobia in public universities in South Africa.

Sometimes, concepts are understood to be univocal as they represent situation or activity. I have argued that afrophobia is a complex phenomenon and has inherent conceptual contradictions. For instance, while this study has argued that afrophobia is a race discrimination issue, it consequently becomes a conceptual complex if race discrimination is defined in terms of social conflict between different skin-colour races. Ordinarily, race is conceptualised in terms of white against black people or vice-versa. However, afrophobia is an issue of black on black people; in other words, it is people who can be categorised as belonging to one racial group. In attempting to rectify this conceptual complexity, this study argues that concepts such as race should not be understood as fixed.
6.6.2 Explaining the Subtle Form of Afrophobia in Public Universities

I do not claim that afrophobia is institutionalised in the public universities in South Africa. On the contrary, South African public universities strive to build non-sexist, non-racist and non-discriminatory universities as mandated by the transformation agenda (Cross, 2004; Department of Education, 1997). In that regard, there are no university policies or vision statements that condone afrophobic practices, attitudes and tendencies. However, the absence of institutionalised practices of social discriminations does not necessarily imply that universities are free of subtle social discriminations. Indeed instances of explicit racism and sexism and other forms of social discrimination are common in the South African public universities (Department of Education, 2008). Nevertheless, the only difference between the broader society and public universities is that in the former, afrophobia takes violent explicit forms, while in the latter afrophobia is subtle and salient. This distinction does not necessarily imply that there are no subtle forms of afrophobia in the broader society. Afrophobia in South Africa tends to be latent for some period and then intermittently erupts in violent forms. Given the persistently subtle form of afrophobia in public higher education, there is a need to critically analyse the possible reasons of its subtleness in public universities. Accordingly, the main objective of this section is to explore some explanations of the subtleness as opposed to explicit violent forms of afrophobia in public universities.

Firstly, while the number of international students from other African nation states is said to be on constant increase, the specific number per university remain relatively smaller in comparison to the South African students. For instance, a public university may have fifty thousand students, and out of which around two thousand could be international. Nonetheless, the two thousand could be an aggregated number of all international students from different continents. Subdividing the two thousand into continental groups, may even result in the realisation that those from Africa are far less. As noted in the discussion on scapegoating theory, the higher the numerical concentration of immigrants, the higher the probability of incidences of afrophobia based on threat perspective. So, African international students remain a minority group in which case, the concerns of afrophobia may not necessarily have much of a social impact. From a critical race theory perspective, minority social groups tend to be marginalised in ways that tend to sustain unequal social relations.

Secondly, public universities in South Africa have strict policies on issues of social discrimination, not only with regards to afrophobia, but other sensitive issues such as racism,
sexism and religion. In most public universities, the code of conduct stipulates that any student who infringes on the rules against discrimination may incur severe sanctions and penalties from the university. On this view, it becomes risky for domestic students to carry out violent attacks on African international students on their campuses. Therefore, subtle forms of afrophobia that are not easily detectable such as language discrimination and negative national stereotyping become a common way of expressing the hostilities of afrophobia in public higher education. I argue that resorting to stereotypes becomes embedded in the social spaces of the public universities thereby, sustaining unequal social relations between African international and local students.

Thirdly, in view of the marginalisation tenet of critical race theory, I argue that African international students are not inclined to report instances of afrophobia to the universities management structures. McLellan (2009) says that African international students do not feel secure enough to report afrophobic cases to university authorities for fear of reprisals from the South African students. Critical race theory holds that African international students may regard themselves as students who belong to the minority and marginalised group that has no power to lodge complaints. Structures such as international offices to which international students can report their social grievances, function more on administrative than social level.

Fourthly, deriving from the rationales of internationalisation of public higher education, in which economic seem to be more persuasive than social rationale, administrative duties for International offices are more pressing than social issues. The non-reportage of afrophobic tendencies within public higher education perhaps, attributes to the perception that the university social spaces and lecture halls are free from afrophobic attitudes and prejudices. It could also be argued that to a certain extent, the political background that African international students have from their nation states of origin has an impact in their assessment and reportage of cases of infringement on rights. For instance, I have noted in chapter five that the perceived political stability in South Africa in which human rights are respected, is one of the pull factors that African international students consider in choosing South Africa as a study destination. The political leadership in some African nation states impresses upon students that demonstrations and protests are impermissible and can result in brutal response from the police. Given the background of fear, it becomes rather cumbersome for African international students to report subtle and contestable forms of afrophobia in public higher education universities.
Fifthly, the threat that African international students pose in terms of competition for economic and other social resources may not explicitly spelt. In view of the fact that some violent afrophobic attacks are rationalised and justified as caused by the perceived competition for social services and jobs between immigrants and citizens, the absence of violent attacks on international students is a contradiction. The struggle for resources and access to public higher education in South Africa is hardly linked to the presence of African international students. For instance, the student tuition fee increase protests are commonly directed at the government. However, they have been some instances where local students claim that African international students especially those from the SADC region are unduly benefitting from the subsidized tuition fees at the expense of South African taxpayers (Ramphela, 1999). In addition, other funding bodies such as the National Research Fund (NRF) are known to allocate certain bursaries and scholarships to international students. Yet, despite the availability of economic resources for African international students, it would appear that the visibility of such is not as explicitly in the broader society. It seems reasonable to argue that African international students are not an economic threat competing for employment.

Lastly, afrophobia is not institutionalised at the public higher education universities in South Africa. Nonetheless, there is an assertion that “while official policy might not be afrophobia or even explicitly anti-xenophobic, institutions make personal and structural violence possible and legitimize it” (Pithouse-Morgan, et al (2012:86). Institutions of public higher education universities in South Africa have occasional annual celebratory events that are meant to appreciate the social diversity of different nationalities within their universities (University of Rhodes, 2017; University of Johannesburg, 2016). To promote internationalisation of public higher education, public universities condemn any explicit acts of harassment in the form of afrophobia. Given the fact that the policies of public universities on afrophobia are clearly articulated, the eradication of all forms of social discrimination is possible.

The state of unequal social structure, power relations, notion of race and transformation character are the tenets of critical race theory that are applicable in the assessment and explanation of the subtleness of afrophobia in public universities in South Africa. The inequality of the social structure in which other social groups (local students) are considered as more superior than the other (African international students) makes it difficult to report cases of afrophobia. Closely connected with inequality of social structure is the tenet of power relations in which African international students, by virtue of being foreigners have comparatively less power or entitlement towards the economic resources in the public
universities. In addition, race as broadly understood to refer to social groups on nationalities differences apparently underlines the acts and attitudes of afrophobic discrimination. Transformation implies that for internationalisation of higher education to achieve its social objective of realising graduates who can live and work with people of different social cultural national backgrounds, there is a need to accept differences.

6.7 CONCLUSION

Afrophobic attitudes and practices in the South African public higher education universities take subtle forms, yet result in social exclusion, social mistrust and limited social interactions between African international and local students. Built on stereotypes, negative attitudes and prejudices, afrophobia reflects the power relations within the student body’s social composition where there is marginalisation and dominance. Furthermore, in taking into consideration that social diversities in public higher education universities cannot only be reduced to the dichotomous relations between African international and local students, it is imperative to approach afrophobia as one form of social discrimination, out of other social issues such as racism, gender, sexism, sexual orientation, disabilities or religious intolerance in public higher education. Thus in addressing afrophobia, there may be a need for holistic approaches that inculcate the ideals of common humanity that transcends national differences and all forms of social differences.

In addition, the presence of subtle forms of afrophobia point to the misconceptions that some students have about internationalisation of public higher education. For these students, internationalisation is viewed from the same perspective in which non-student African immigrants are perceived. Accordingly, African international students are perceived as economic threats. Taking into consideration the significance of internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, there is an imperative to pursue social ideals that may eradicate or combat afrophobic attitudes and practices. Ideals that promote social tolerance, acceptance and positive attitudes towards social differences will not only realise an appropriate conceptualisation of internationalisation, but may instil social dispositions that enable graduates of South African public higher education universities to be able to live and work in an increasing interconnected, interrelation and internationalised work-places. In an endeavour to pursue social values that may eradicate afrophobia as outlined in both Chapter five and Chapter six, the following chapter examines cosmopolitanism.
CHAPTER SEVEN:

A Cosmopolitan Conception of the Internationalisation of Public Universities: A Case for South Africa

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Afrophobia as a social challenge that emerges in the recruiting and retaining of international students in South Africa requires eliminative and combative social values. I argue that the internationalisation of public higher education is beneficial to South Africa, Africa and such benefits cascades to the global world. So, it is appropriate that the student body at public higher education universities in South Africa embrace social tolerance of national diversities. In this regard, this chapter examines the potential of cosmopolitanism to establish non-afrophobic social and academic spaces at public universities.

It is justifiable to explore cosmopolitanism since it is undergirded by universal social values. Such values seek to promote social tolerance across geographical borders of nation states. Fundamentally, cosmopolitanism advances the norms that can enable people of different races, cultures and nationalities to socially interact and integrate. In consideration of afrophobia, it is imperative to examine the applicability of cosmopolitan ideals in mitigating afrophobic tendencies and practices in South Africa. Moreover, from a critical race theory perspective, cosmopolitanism strives to establish equal social relations by advocating for recognition, respect and tolerance towards social diversity. An attempt to explicate cosmopolitanism is done in the following subsection.

7.2 TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF COSMOPOLITANISM

Cosmopolitanism espouses the notions of world citizenship, universalism, and the possibilities of cultural and social interactions across the geographical nation-state borders. There is a note that, “cosmopolitanism is the emergence of norms that ought to govern relations among individuals in a global civil society” (Benhabib, 2006:20). Essentially, cosmopolitanism advocates for the social-coexistence among people of different nationalities. Papastephanou (2013) adds that cosmopolitanism projects an itinerant world traveller endowed with broad cultural, social and political worldview beyond the confines of one’s immediate geographical nation state. According to Guilherme (2007), cosmopolitanism is the ability to embrace shared identity in which social tolerance towards cultural, political and social differences are upheld. It seems then that cosmopolitanism facilitates the possibility of social interaction with a view
to learn from other people who may uphold divergent cultural and social world perspective. In other words, a cosmopolitan may be referred to as a citizen of the world who refuses to be culturally and socially limited by the geographical borders of one’s nation state. Ultimately, cosmopolitanism contests the exclusive forms of nationalism that inadvertently leads to discrimination against foreign nationals.

Furthermore, there is an explanation cosmopolitanism is a “body of thought consisting of elaboration on the idea that all human beings belong to a single community and that such a community should be cultivated” Helliwell and Hindess (2015:26). To that end, cosmopolitanism projects an imagined social organisation or arrangement in which humanity as a universalising common factor is elevated to enable people of different cultures, nationalities and races to co-exist. Arguably, the character of universality of humanity is the distinctive feature which makes cosmopolitanism appealing. For cosmopolitanism to be realised, Bradley (2010) suggests that geographical borders should become less emphasized. Pointedly, the moral and political obligations that people ‘must’ have over those who live outside their national borders should be accentuated. For illustration, the geographical border that is in place between the United States of America and Mexico should according to cosmopolitanism, take secondary importance. Primarily, under cosmopolitan auspices, there should be an appreciation of the fact that Mexicans may be forced to cross the border to explore better economic opportunities. From a cosmopolitan perspective, the universalising element of common humanity between the Mexicans and Americans should prevail over the ‘artificial’ divisions of nation states geographical boundaries.

The tenet of universal humanity embedded in cosmopolitanism acknowledges the moral and political duties towards human beings, irrespective of the status of their citizenship. Assertively, “cosmopolitanism maintains that we have duties and responsibilities to all human beings based solely on our humanity alone without reference to ethnicity, race, gender, culture, nationality, political affiliation, religion, place of birth, geographical location or state citizenship” (Brown, 2010:54). Deriving from this tenet of a universal humanity, cosmopolitanism advocates for the fact that humanity cannot be compartmentalised based on classifications such nationalities, tribes, religions and race. Contrarily, the tenet of a universal humanity seems to be given secondary importance when people are culturally, racially or religiously described. However, the misgiving against cosmopolitanism points that it is abstract and too detached from an ordinary understanding of human beings. To some extent,
cosmopolitanism seems to suggest that common humanity is only realised through erasure of social diversity.

In further engaging the concept of cosmopolitanism, there is an assertion that the interconnectedness and interdependence that underlines humanity must be given primary significance. An argument offered is that “cosmopolitans stress the interconnectedness with other societies around the globe, they engage in lively debate about political, cultural, economic and social values” (Pichler, 2009:4). Invariably, a cosmopolitan is not parochial in his or her understanding of to social, political and economic issues. In view of interconnectivity, a cosmopolitan is concerned with events in other nation states. Appiah cited in Pichler (2009) states that cosmopolitanism invokes a closer association with people of other nation states. This means that cosmopolitanism encourages social relations across national identities. However, it should be noted that cosmopolitanism is not confined to social relations across national identities only, but extends to relating and accommodating cultural and racial differences among citizens in a given nation state. Perhaps it is for this reason that some scholars have coined the phrase local cosmopolitanisms to illustrate the relations of social differences in one’s local environments (Benhabib, 2006). Therefore, at the core of cosmopolitanism is the inclination towards social tolerance.

In view of international migration as encompassed in internationalisation of public higher education, it is important at this juncture to point out that cosmopolitanism does not necessarily promote the practices of illegal (undocumented or irregular) crossing of national states geographical borders. Incontestably, “sovereignty of states has been effectively eroded by the forces of globalisation, which have increasingly rendered states unable to manage their concerns independently of other external factors” (Brown (2011:53). In addition, Bradley (2010) advances the argument that in the broader perspective of cosmopolitanism, there is an allegiance to the world community. Arguably, what is fundamental about the possibilities of the world community is that people of different nation states should be tolerant to each other. Additionally, there should be some semblance of mutual social tolerance at an international level. For this reason, Bradley (2010) advances the prospects of global governance as a political institution that encompasses all nations.

The possibility of a world community is ideally facilitated by international or regional organisations such the United Nations, or SADC. Such organisations foreshadow global social ethics underpinned cosmopolitanism. It cannot be disputed that cosmopolitanism is constituted
by international notions such as freedom and social justice. Norms such as social justice and freedom have the universal character. Ideally, these social norms are applicable to all humanity despite the different contexts, cultures, nationalities and race. For instance, the need for human freedom is a necessity for people in China in as much as it is for Zimbabweans. Above all, it could be argued the establishment of international organisations is indicative of the acknowledgment that nation states cannot adequately sustain themselves in isolation. For that reason, internationalisation of public higher education should reflect the necessity of social tolerance.

Concomitant with the increase in international migration, the social challenges such as afrophobia, xenophobia, racism, sexism, tribalism and ethnic tensions have become more pronounced. For instance, European nation states such as Germany, United Kingdom, Greece and Italy encounter immigration social challenges. The immigration challenges in Europe are caused by the huge influx of immigrants from politically unstable countries like such Syria and Iraq. In Africa, South Africa, Morocco and Angola are top nation states that receive immigrants especially from Africa and other Asian nation states like Bangladesh and Pakistan (Woldergiorgis and Doevenspeck, 2015). It is in this context of increased social challenges associated with amplified regional and continental migration that cosmopolitanism is pertinent.

In an endeavour to clearly explicate cosmopolitanism, I discuss the prescription and description theories of cosmopolitanism (Perman, 2012). Prescriptive theory denotes the possibility of moral obligations that people ought to have towards humanity without consideration to limitations imposed by the geographical boundaries of the nation state. For instance, while people in the United States of America may be living within economically stable environs, cosmopolitanism would prescribe that Americans are obliged to financially, politically and socially assist the vulnerable people of South Sudan. It is suggested that “cosmopolitanism maintains that we have duties and responsibilities based solely on our humanity alone, without reference to ethnicity, race, gender, culture, nationality, political affiliation, religion, place of birth, geographical location, state citizenship or other communal particularities” (Brown, 2011:53). In other words, prescriptive theory advocates for the universality of morality beyond national geographical borders.

In view of the descriptive theory, there is an observation that it “seeks to understand and explain existing social formations and relationships without relying on the received categories of the modern or global world” (Perman, 2012:378). So, descriptive cosmopolitanism is sceptical
about laying emphasis on the tenet of universalism a key constituent of the generic cosmopolitanism. Rather, it asserts that the multiple crossing of international borders and meeting different people does not necessarily constitute cosmopolitanism. People can develop cosmopolitan dispositions in their social settings as through interacting with other cultural groups. To this end, descriptive theory argues for the changeability of oppressive social structures as constituted in critical race theory.

Though the concept of cosmopolitanism has become synonymous with appeal towards social tolerance, its defining characteristic has remained contentious. The concept of cosmopolitanism has been primarily contested because it is associated with recommendations that may be considered as unattainable. Nevertheless, the central tenet of cosmopolitanism is the promotion of common humanity. In the cosmopolitan terms of references, social human variations like race, gender, culture and nationalities are secondary to the primacy of common humanity. However, cosmopolitanism is criticised on the basis that an unreflective adherence to its tenets may lead to cultural homogenisation. Ultimately, cultural homogenisation may lead to unequal social relations. To this consideration, a superior culture ‘can subsume the cultures that are considered to be less significant. As noted in chapter six, cultural values of the minority groups such as immigrants can easily be subsumed through the power relations that are inherent in the notion of cosmopolitanism.

Thus far, in this discussion on cosmopolitanism, it has become apparent that the notion of social tolerance is foundational in the conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism. Therefore, as a precursor to debates on the versions of cosmopolitanism, it is necessary to discuss the tenet of social tolerance.

7.2.1 THE NOTION OF SOCIAL TOLERANCE

Fundamentally, social tolerance presupposes a society that has constitutive degrees of cultural or racial differences. Such social differences if not managed can cause conflicts. For instance, higher education students who study in a given internationalised public university may speak different languages, originate from different nation states and have different physiological appearances. Moreover, in an internationalised public university, students may for instance, speak English with different accents. In such socially diverse space, social tolerance is vital as it enables students to navigate such social diversity. Definitively, social diversity within the framework of cosmopolitanism entails cultural adjustment, flexibility and openness to new
values. Moreover, social tolerance is based on the realisation that instead of being dismissive and deriding differences, it is important to seek deeper knowledge.

Ostensibly, the centrality of social tolerance in cosmopolitanism becomes rather recognizable when due consideration is given to the fact that human beings are always defined by their social affiliation. For example in an internationalised public university, there may be human beings who are Zimbabweans, Malawians, South Africans or Nigerians. To be a Zimbabwean or Malawian is a denotation of a social group that one belongs to. Importantly, cosmopolitanism does not suggest an abstract humanity without social characteristics or without social roles (Ossewaarde, 2007). Human beings have cultures, languages, race, nationalities, religious beliefs, gender roles and other social characteristics. Within the framework of cosmopolitanism, social tolerance implies that the social differences that may arise because of social characteristics should not become social barriers to social relations, social interactions and social. In other words, social tolerance in public higher education universities entails that students can transcend the social barriers that cultures of different nationalities establish. The context in which students are limited and confined to their nationalities is rather fertile for prejudices, stereotypes, negative attitudes and other forms of social discrimination.

In view of critical race theory, social tolerance endeavours to eliminate the un-interrogated myth which claims that cultures are either superior or inferior. However, it is extremely important to note that social tolerance does not an acceptance of ‘values’, ideas and acts which are detrimental to humanity. A cultural value system that endangers or harms humanity cannot be considered under the armpit of cosmopolitanism. It is irrefutable that inhumane acts such as genocide, afrophobia, genital mutilation or albino-killing cannot fall under social tolerance. Therefore, within cosmopolitanism, social tolerance entails the receptivity of value systems that favour humanity. In line with the notion of humanity as encapsulated in cosmopolitanism, the following subsection discusses some common versions of cosmopolitanism.

**7.3 ETHICAL VIEW OF COSMOPOLITANISM**

Ethical view of cosmopolitanism upholds the moral obligations that the humanity ought to show towards other people irrespective of social differences such as nationalities, race, language, religion and culture. In other words, morality should not only be restricted to the confines of the geographical borders of one’s nation state of origin. Benhabib (2006) and Eskine (2002), opines that the ethical dimension of cosmopolitanism is encapsulated in the broadening of morality to people whose nationalities are different from one’s own. The moral
good should be extended to other people who live in distant places and may hold different political, social and cultural views from one’s own. Koczanowicz (2010) suggests that morality in cosmopolitanism means that individual embrace humanity beyond national, cultural and racial confines.

In relation to critical race theory, the ethical view of cosmopolitanism implies that there can never be any moral justification for discriminating people on the basis of race classification or nationalities. Ethics is derived from the appreciation of humanity in its cultural variations. To socially tolerate another human being only because he or she belongs to one’s particular social group or nationality would be, according to ethical cosmopolitanism, an immoral approach to social interactions among peoples. Fundamentally, ethical cosmopolitanism is underscored by the claims that human beings ought to be caring, hospitable and express concern about human beings despite the fact of social and national differences.

Furthermore, in the social aspect of internationalisation of public higher education, the ethical view of cosmopolitanism is combative to afrophobia. A point is made that “cosmopolitanism encompasses a particular project that places a high value on the importance of inclusion, tolerance, and respect for the other beyond the debated limiting multiculturalism” (Walker and Serrano, 2006:63). Seemingly, the notion of respect is largely accentuated by the concept of ethics. To this end, it is unethical to discriminate other students on the basis of their nationalities. Ethics embraces the moral interrelatedness and interdependence of humanity. The ethical view of cosmopolitanism is tended towards the eradication of cultural stratification. Connectedly, cultural stratification can morally ‘justify’ the existence of the categories of the dominant and the marginalised social groups of students within an internationalised public university. In line with the significance of commonalities, it is highlighted that “cosmopolitanism allows space for different people to morally engage with one another’s commonalities from where they could derive common understanding as they endeavour to contribute towards shaping their societies” (Waghid, 2014:334). On this account, culture is not regarded as something that is rigid but constantly changing by opening to other cultural influences. To this extent, cosmopolitanism may imply that people are prepared to compromise their cultural norms in the process of integration of foreigners.

In summing up the ethical view of cosmopolitan, I point out that while it is ideal for humanity to be ethical towards each other, it is rather problematic to determine the common ethical norms that are applicable to everyone without falling into the trap of ethical relativism. Suffice it to
point out that ethical cosmopolitanism is assumptive of the existence of some conventional ethical norms. In this connection, it is noted that the “individual well-being or their identity depends on their membership in a cultural group whose boundaries are reasonably clear and whose stability and cohesion are reasonably secure” (Kalliny and Saran, 2012:284). However, it is cumbersome to propose ethical cosmopolitanism. The ethical view of cosmopolitanism may result in the establishment of cultural hierarchy. Accordingly, the dominant social group’s culture becomes the culture of the public university. So, there is a political dimension to cosmopolitanism. In the next section, I discuss the political view of cosmopolitanism.

7.4 POLITICAL VIEW OF COSMOPOLITANISM

The notion of power which enables change of social arrangement in society is a fundamental feature of politics. In accordance the aspect of change, the political view of cosmopolitanism envisions the establishment of a political community beyond the geographical boundaries of nation states. The political dimension “may be equated to the achievement of the world government and the accompanying global political institution” (Erskine, 2002: 457). Thus, the political view of cosmopolitanism is concerned with the structures, institutions, values and systems of political governance of some global or international establishment. Put differently, the political view of cosmopolitanism departs from the ordinary conceptualisation of nation state as the only custodian of political power. On the contrary, political view transcends the nation state to envisage the establishment of political governance, values and systems that embrace humanity across geographical boundaries of nation states.

In addition, the political view of cosmopolitanism suggests that geographical state boundaries should be accorded secondary status through the upholding the primacy of the common humanity. The secondary importance of geographical state borders makes some scholars to suggest that there is a possibility of cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler, 2011). While this could be treated as some form of naivety on the part of proponents of political view of cosmopolitanism, the possibility of cosmopolitan citizenship is predicated on the assumption that human interaction should not be limited by geographical borders. Brink-Danan (2011), say that the political view of cosmopolitanism allows for the re-imagination of citizenship away from the traditional held state citizenship to world citizenship.

Politically, the conceptions of citizenship are at core of cosmopolitanism. Mollendorf (2011) points out that cosmopolitanism tends to emphasize patriotism as a central tenet of national citizenship. In a world where prominence is put on issues such as national citizenship,
cosmopolitanism appears to be a radical ideology against exclusive citizenship. It is said that cosmopolitanism is a “theory of justice that holds that there is nothing special about political boundaries and those obligations of distributive justice hold across the globe regardless of political boundaries or ties of co-citizenship” (Lenard and Moore, 2011:615). The political view of cosmopolitanism is a radical assertion towards a common humanity in which both economic and social resources can be shared. However, it is such assertions that results in accusations that cosmopolitanism is rather disconnected from the ‘real’ world lived by ‘real’ people with their economic and political needs. It is a common practice that nation states enact restrictive laws that limits foreign nationals from assuming certain jobs in instances where an equally capable citizen is available. If electrical engineers are available in South Africa, such legislations would discourage the employment of a foreign electrical engineer.

From the above discussion of the versions of cosmopolitanism, one can draw a conclusion that there are intrinsic ideals in cosmopolitanism that can mitigate, eliminate or combat afrophobic attitudes and practices that have been outlined in chapter six. The application of cosmopolitanism in public universities can enable students from different nationalities and cultures not only to co-exist, but socially interact in the absence of the afrophobic tendencies and attitudes. I argue that cosmopolitan values of conceptualising social diversity are indispensable in the framework of internationalisation of public higher education. It seems then that the forms of cosmopolitanism that have been alluded above can be conflated in the public universities of South Africa.

However, on the view of critical race theory of power relations, cosmopolitanism is not a power-free concept. As far as the concept of power is concerned, a criticism against cosmopolitanism in Africa is that it often appears as an imposition of the dominant Western European values over the less ‘influential’ African societies. Perhaps, the criticism that cosmopolitanism is a Western European value is derived from the assumption that a cosmopolitan is a person with economic power that enables travelling across nation states for purposes of business and leisure. Owing to poor economies in most African nation states, Western Europeans are known to be globe travellers. Also, cosmopolitanism can be considered as detached from the specific historical, social, economic and political context of a particular nation state or region. It is out of the criticism of cosmopolitanism as an imposition that the following section discusses and considers Afropolitanism as a brand of cosmopolitanism that could be contextually more applicable to the public higher education in South Africa in view of afrophobia.
7.5 AFROPOLITANISM: THE AFRICAN CONTEXTUALISATION OF COSMOPOLITANISM

In an endeavour to ground the issues of afrophobia within the African context in which they occur, focus is now put on Afropolitanism in this subsection. Afropolitanism is a version of cosmopolitanism that essentially advocates for social diversity tolerance within the African continent. In consideration of the diverse tribes, races, religious persuasions and multi-nations that constitute the African continent, an understanding of Afropolitanism is critical. The need for a theory that can assist in combating instances of xenophobia, racism and tribal conflicts that are prevalent on the African continent cannot be overemphasized.

Fundamentally, afropolitanism is situational cosmopolitanism that takes into context the African social, political and economic circumstances. Ede (2016) is of the view that Afropolitanism designates the surge in transnationalism that is accompanied by the need to assert African identity. Additionally, the promotion social tolerance among Africans is essential. To a large extent, Afropolitanism is a cosmopolitan theory that has traction in Africa. Though Afropolitanism is still not popular, it is contextually appropriate in African setting that has undergone colonialism or apartheid. The race misconceptions are used for social discrimination purposes as pronounced in the critical race theory. Consequently, Afropolitanism attempts to combat afrophobia which a distinctively race issue.

Afropolitanism is concisely captured by the citation that “I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against public opinion” (Harris (2009:185). Accordingly, Harris’s claim may be regarded as an exhortation towards the common humanity on the African continent. However, Afropolitanism is not oblivious to the fact that Africa is a socially heterogeneous continent that often experience social conflicts such as tribalism, racism and Afrophobia among others. Contendedly, affirms that “Africa has always been a complex, diverse continent and Africans have never share an undifferentiated identity even though the West sought to impose one on them” (Eze, 2014:235). In this respect, Afropolitanism’s focus is on the social differences that cause discriminatory practices. Like all other versions of cosmopolitanism, Afropolitanism is both prescriptive and descriptive and can therefore, be employed to alleviate the social issue of afrophobia in public higher education universities in South Africa.

The emergency of Afropolitanism as a version of cosmopolitanism is aimed at upholding the African identity as a common factor. Pan-Africanists are cosmopolitans to the extent that “they use forms of cosmopolitanism committed to a united Africa, such that local nationalities and
ethnicities are subordinate to the more compelling interest of at least geographical unity of the continent and conviviality of its people” (Harris, 2009:184). In the aftermath of 2015 xenophobic violence in South Africa, there have been persuasive arguments that suggest that Africans cannot be foreigners in Africa (Sowetan, June 2015). The idea of ‘non-foreignness’ of Africans in Africa is appropriate to the conceptual framework of Afropolitanism.

In the discussion of Afropolitanism, there is a need to relate and bring in the popular notion of Ubuntu that seem to characterise the African continent. In consideration of the point that Ubuntu’s basic ideals promote conceptualisation of humanness; the following subsection discusses Ubuntu as it relates to cosmopolitanism. It is essential to state that a discussion on Ubuntu within the broad scope of cosmopolitanism does not entail that Ubuntu is equivalent to cosmopolitanism.

7.5.1 UBUNTU AS BASIS FOR CONTEXTUALISING COSMOPOLITANISM

For most non-academic Africans, the notion of cosmopolitanism may be very uncommon or even unheard of. To that end, this study brings on board Ubuntu as a notion that can be used to contextually explain humanity as encapsulated in cosmopolitanism. Ubuntu is a cultural perspective that proffers some social consensus on what it means to be human. The famous Zulu adage which states that *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (*a person is a person because of others*) succinctly captures the central definitive communitarian character of Ubuntu. Murove (2014) points that the cardinal tenet of Ubuntu is that as human beings, our wellbeing is dependable on our social interactions with others. To that end, hospitality, compassion, respect, care, courtesy, friendliness and social tolerance are some of the indispensable elements that fortify the notion of Ubuntu. The distinctive characteristic of Ubuntu is that it advocates communal bonds rather than isolated individualistic value system.

For Schreiber and Tomm-Bonde (2015), Ubuntu points to the fact that a person’s humanity is inseparably connected to other people. Essentially, Ubuntu depicts the interdependence, interconnectedness, interrelatedness and interactivity that human beings share among themselves. Additionally, Ngunjiri (2016) notes that Ubuntu depicts the ideals and values of collective personhood in which there is emphasis on caring towards those who are suffering. So for instance, when there is a person who is sick or a family experiencing bereavement in a given community, members are expected to pay visits and express their empathy. In other words, Ubuntu outlines, endorses and governs human social interactions through permissible
human conduct. For Ploy (2014), Ubuntu represent an inclusive social co-existence that goes beyond the confines of organised religions, cultures, tribes and ethnicities.

This study does not seek to suggest that Ubuntu is equated to cosmopolitanism. However, the main point that this subsection seeks to highlight is that there is an interrelation between Ubuntu and cosmopolitanism. The interconnection between Ubuntu and cosmopolitanism can be employed to combat or eliminate afrophobia in the South African institutions of public higher education. To this end, if all students treat each as human (Ubuntu) irrespective of their nationalities differences, then it becomes possible to exercise hospitality, care, compassion and social tolerance.

Cosmopolitanism is undergirded by the ideals and values of world citizenship in which people of different cultural and social background can meet and interact. On the whole, cosmopolitanism entails that a person is supposed to feel at home everywhere in the world (Papastephanou, 2011). However, Papastephanou further cautions that a person who feels at home everywhere may feel at home nowhere. In a way, it is the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism as being a stranger nowhere in the world that closely resonates with the tenet of hospitality as encompassed in the Ubuntu. The ideals of care, hospitality and compassion that are espoused in Ubuntu can therefore, be employed to combat Afrophobia in the South African public higher education. The ideals of Ubuntu are further discussed in chapter nine of this study as recommendations for combating afrophobia.

7.5.2 Afropolitanism: A Conceptual Tool for Social Challenges on Continental Migration

On the basis of globalisation, the African continent is experiencing a rise in regional and continental migration. Basically, the increase in continental migration is precipitated by the need to seek the perceived economic opportunities, comparatively better quality education, social and political stability. However, it is in the increasing international migration that the social tensions between citizens and immigrants tend to arise owing to perceived economic competition, social and cultural threats. In the same vein, the social tension of afrophobia, can be contextually attended to through the application of Afropolitanism.

One of the advantages of Afropolitanism is it has a privileged contextual relevance to social issues in Africa (Gerhrmann, 2016). While Afropolitanism has tended to be popularised by Africans in the diaspora, the foregoing subsection has highlighted its potentiality towards eliminating afrophobia in South African public universities. Lee and Sehoole (2015) note that
international migration across nation states that share close geographical borders are on the increase especially in the Southern African region. However, as noted in chapter four, the international migration patterns are not uniform. There are nation states that attract more immigrants than the others. In this regard, the social phenomenon of afrophobia is inclined to occur intermittently in the receiving nation state.

The contextual relevance of Afropolitanism, cannot be overemphasized given the indispensability of intra-migration. Gaudette (2013) observes that international migration has always been a social component of the African people based on perennial needs such as farming, grazing land and other economic opportunities. If international migration is historically accepted fact in Africa, then African version of Afropolitanism is essential in combating specific social challenges that are concomitant with international migration. For Gerhrmann (2016), if the generic cosmopolitanism involves the conversation across global cultures, then Afropolitanism is ideally facilitates the conversing of African people and their cultures.

The versions of cosmopolitanism discussed in this chapter highlights that the fundamental tenet of cosmopolitanism is common humanity. In this regard, the notion of common humanity cannot be limited by the geographical borders of nation states. So, issues of social diversity within the framework of cosmopolitanism are supposed to be conceptualised and understood beyond nation states. For instance, the values that constitute non-discrimination in the South African social context should be extended and applicable to foreigners, especially those of African origin who are often the victims of afrophobia. In as much as social discrimination is unjustifiable among citizens, equally it cannot be justifiable towards a foreign national.

In the internationalisation of public higher education, the imperative of common humanity espoused in cosmopolitanism requires the eradication of non-discrimination towards African international students. One of the imperatives of the post-1994 social transformation of public higher education is the establishment of public universities that are free from non-discrimination. From a cosmopolitanism perspective, there can be no justification of attitudes and practices that discriminate against African international students. As already noted in chapter two, social diversity brings about social relations in which perceptions of the marginalised and dominant intersect. So, in the section below, I discuss cosmopolitanism in relation to critical race theory.
7.6 THE NOTION OF CRITICALITY IN COSMOPOLITANISM

In view of afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education as the focal issues, it is essential to critically analyse cosmopolitanism. The notions of afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education are highly characterised by power relations as they involve forms of social interactions. For instance, afrophobia is indicative of the challenges of social interactions between citizens (local students) and foreigners (African international students). On the other hand, internationalisation signifies social inclusivity across nationalities. This section is endeavours to expound the notion of criticality as espoused in cosmopolitanism.

The notion of criticality in cosmopolitanism is suggestive of the quest to go beyond the limitations of theoretical frameworks such as exclusively interpretative or descriptive approach to the social world (Delanty, 2008). A theory is descriptive when it simply explains or reports the manifestations, patterns and systems of a given phenomenon. However, a theory is said to be critical when it not only unravels the underlying assumptions, but seeks to introduce some recognisable change. In this respect, criticality in cosmopolitanism entails that an awareness of afrophobic attitudes and practices need not only to be described but challenged and changed as well. Affirmatively, “critical cosmopolitanism understands the social world as an open horizon where new cultures and ways of living take shape as a consequence of the developing of new relations between Self, Other and World” (Wahlstrom, 2014:118). As such, the component of criticality in cosmopolitanism expresses the fact that cultures are not necessarily static, but their fluidity allows the processes infusion. For instance, through social interactions with other people from other cultures, criticality in cosmopolitanism infers that there are possibilities of ‘cultural cross-pollination’ that should lead to change. The fact that cultures are constantly changing connotes that students of different nationalities can live in social harmony through cultural infusion.

The notion of criticality in cosmopolitanism signifies the engagement with dominant social norms that are held and lived out by the dominant group. Social conflicts and tensions on the basis of nationalities and cultural differences are inevitable in public university that has high level of social diversity. However, the criticality in cosmopolitanism facilitates the open deliberations and engagement with sources of stereotypes, prejudices, misconceptions and forms of social discriminations. Warf (2015) argues that the notion of criticality ingrained in cosmopolitanism can also alleviate the negative perception that cosmopolitanism is a disguised
Westernisation or neo-imperialism. Accordingly, the alleviation of negative perception of cosmopolitanism can be realised through the acknowledgment of the fact that cosmopolitanism is not an end itself, but is supposed to lead to tolerance towards social diversity especially in international immigration. Criticality in cosmopolitanism “is not primarily about openness and plurality as such, but rather about moral and political shifts in self-understanding and resulting from open encounters with others and from the recognition of common global threats and interests” (Wahlstrom, 2014:118). Thus, criticality in cosmopolitanism enables continual reflection of one’s cultural system. Such cultural reflection is tended to eliminate one’s practices and attitudes which hinder social interactions with other cultures. In this respect, criticality is in consonance with social tolerance which delineates acceptable values towards common humanity.

The notion of criticality in cosmopolitanism is fundamental since it enables the constant conceptual examination of cosmopolitan values. Through the notion of criticality, the assumptions, misconceptions and beliefs that underlie cosmopolitanism are exposed and rectified. For instances, cosmopolitanism may negatively imply the overriding of minority cultures and establishment of cultural dominance. Therefore, cultural dominance that is devoid of criticality may not necessarily integrate or incorporate with the minority social groups. As an illustration, in the cases of internationalised universities, cosmopolitanism that lacks criticality could mean that the culture of the majority may be presented as cosmopolitan based on the fact that it is the culture of the numerically large social group. In other words, the notion of criticality is significant since cosmopolitan value system tends to be rationalised on the basis of some form of universal claims. Cosmopolitanism claims that it represents the majority, the universal humanity or common humanity. Therefore, the notion of criticality confronts and constantly assesses such claims. While criticality was discussed from its generic perspective from critical theory, the following sections closely relate cosmopolitanism to critical race theory.

7.7 RELATING COSMOPOLITANISM TO CRITICAL RACE THEORY

In relating cosmopolitanism to this study on afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, it is necessary to establish its relations to critical race theory — the methodology as outlined in Chapter two. The aim of examining the relations between cosmopolitanism and critical race theory is to expose how cosmopolitanism can mitigate or eradicate afrophobic attitudes and tendencies in public universities of South Africa. By
analysing cosmopolitanism in the framework of critical race theory, cosmopolitanism can develop critical attitudes towards the social world as paradigm shift to other theories whose objective is only to interpret or describe the social world (Delanty, 2008). In this respect, the sub-sections below highlight and relate cosmopolitanism to the following tenets of critical race theory; namely power relations, changeability of social structures and transformation.

7.7.1 Cosmopolitanism as Power Relations

The cosmopolitan social values are primarily responses to the social power dynamics that exist in socially diverse societies. In this regard, social diversity is typically marked by the existence of binaries of the dominant and marginalised, the majority and minority, the visible and invisible, the local and foreign and the excluded and included social groups. In this connection, the tenet of power relations is indisputably a common underlying factor that depicts socially diverse nation state. In this light, cosmopolitanism advances the fact that the different social power relations that can be drawn from the fact of being a majority, local or dominant should not be applied to undermine or discriminate those who fall outside such social classification.

Cosmopolitanism acknowledges that in any society, there are always possibilities that some social groups are culturally marginalised.

Furthermore, cosmopolitanism can be interrelated to critical race theory in the facilitation of societies with equal cultural, political and social power relations. Delanty (2008) observes that cosmopolitanism endeavours to challenge the oppressive power relations. Centrally, power relations seek to sustain marginalisation of other social groups through transmission of the norms of a dominant social group. In that respect, cosmopolitanism challenges the perception that there are superior social cultural groups that ‘should’ dominate the ‘inferior’ social cultural groups. The assumption that there are superior cultures, races or social groups is consequently leads to the establishment of hierarchical and oppressive social structures that are sustained by stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes. With the internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, cosmopolitanism from a power relations perspective challenges the negative attitudes that edifice African international student to be marginalised and located at the periphery of cultural and social hierarchy.

Moreover, in internationalisation of public higher education, cosmopolitanism endeavours to rectify the contestations of power relations. Power is contested through nationalities and social cultural values in internationalised public higher education universities. For instance, the academic power contestations often appear in university world rankings in which other
universities are ‘regarded’ as peripheral while some occupy superior positions. Furthermore, there also perceptions that some nation states have better educational systems at primary and secondary schooling compared to others. Additionally, the power of perceptions of nationalities is contested through stereotypes, both negative and positive that students have over nation states represented in the student body. In this respect, some nation states are held in high regards, while others are not. From a power perspective, social and cultural power contestation is manifested through the stereotypes that elevate some races and cultural norms while simultaneously depreciating others. In this matrix of power contestations, cosmopolitanism transcends the confines of nationalities, social cultures and academic facets. Cosmopolitanism enables students to interact even with their social differences.

7.7.2 Relating Cosmopolitanism to the Changeability of Social Structures

Cosmopolitanism challenges the assumption that social structures cannot be changed. Social structures are essentially established and sustained by value systems and beliefs (Delanty, 2008). However, in oppressive social structures in which the dominant social groups seek to maintain their acquired position, structures can be sustained through stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes that all result in the unequal societies (Guilherme, 2007). In this regard, there is an assumption that in the institutions of public higher education, the system of culture and the conception of race are often proffered as unalterable social structures. Equally, the need to change social structures should only be necessitated by the realisation of oppressive tendency. As noted already in this chapter, a credible realisation of oppression in social structures is only attained through criticality.

Yemini and Bar-netz (2015) have suggested that cosmopolitanism entails the possibilities of living at the juncture of the local and international or local and global by acknowledging the social differences that is encountered in interacting with other people. Nonetheless, owing to the perception that social structures are unalterable, Jiang (2011) contends that the meeting of cultures is not always a harmonious or enriching experience. It can be a combative encounter. In this respect, often times people uphold their cultural social norms in absolute and non-negotiable terms, a situation which ultimately leads to status-quo. In chapter four, the bio-cultural theory on xenophobia that highlighted that outsiders (foreigners) are sometimes perceived as a threat to existing social values. However, in relating cosmopolitanism to the changeability of social structures, the myth of the permanence of social structures is challenged.
In cosmopolitanism, there is the possibility of realising change in social structures. In relation to internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa, the implication is that African international students may not be ‘structured’ as constant social outsiders to the public universities. In other words, negative stereotypes that seem to oppress African international student by virtue of their status as foreigners or social outsiders, should be eliminated in the public universities. The stereotypes and biases that African international student may hold against their South African student counterparts need continual critical interrogation to increase social interactions. So, cosmopolitanism seeks to eradicate social structures that polarises the student body of the internationalised public universities on the basis of exclusive nationalities and social cultural groups. Equally, it is instructive to state that in advocating for the elimination of exclusive social structures, cosmopolitanism does not advance social homogenisation. Indeed, students can retain their South African or Zimbabwean social identity without necessarily using such forms of social diversity to discriminate and degrade others.

7.7.3 Relating Cosmopolitanism to Transformative

The tenet of transformation in critical race theory can equally be identified in the notion of cosmopolitanism. Transformation is closely linked to the tenet of changeability of social structures I have mentioned above. Transformation is the end-product of socially changed structures. In internationalisation of public higher education, transformation can occur as a result of change in socially structured stereotypes. The eradication of forms of stereotypes that seek to oppress or marginalise other people can be considered transformative. In this light, cosmopolitanism is essentially an agent of transforming practices that exclude and discriminate.

As in critical race theory, cosmopolitanism advances the point that equal social, political and cultural relations are attainable through the transformation of the underlying assumptions. In this regard, Nussbaum cited in Coryell et al (2014) notes that there are three elements that constitute cosmopolitanism which can be employed to transform unequal social relations. Accordingly,

a) The Socratic ability is described as the possibility to critically reflect on one’s social values and traditions. Subsequently, a critical reflection entails that a person seeks to expose his own cultural beliefs and values to some rational reflection to avoid a robotic adherence to cultures.
b) Cosmopolitanism is transformative because it enables the person to realise that he or she is a citizen of the world. A recognition and acknowledgment of the notion of citizenship of the world is ideally supposed to result in tolerance to social diversity. For Sriprakrash et al (2014), an acknowledgement of citizenship of the world entails openness and respect to social and cultural differences.

c) The ability to imagine one-self in the cultural positions of those who are considered strangers is a transformative element in cosmopolitanism. An imagination of other cultural positions and values is meant to assist in inculcating an understanding and tolerance towards social diversity (Coryell et al, 2014). So, cosmopolitanism has the potential to transform oppressive elements contained in cultures.

In the transformative cosmopolitanism, there is an argument that “to speak of cosmopolitanism is to refer to transformation in self-understanding as a result of the engagement with others over issues of global significance” (Delanty, 2008:218). In this regard, cosmopolitanism advances the position that identification of the need for self-transformation arises out of the experiencing different cultures. Cosmopolitanism demands that transformation emanates from engagement with others (Papastephanou, 2013; Delanty, 2008). Perhaps, in relating the aspect of transformation that is common to both cosmopolitanism and critical race theory, it could be contended that afrophobic attitudes and tendencies in public universities in South Africa are partly caused by the absence or limited opportunities for social interactions between local and African international students. As I said in chapter five, there is some form of subtle animosity between local and African international students that ultimately creates social distance which limits the opportunities for social engagements on national, regional and global issues.

Conclusively, the interconnection between cosmopolitanism and critical race theory is the imperative for freedom from oppressive structures. In this line of argument, stereotypes, exclusive nationalism, perceptions of cultural, social and academic superiority that seem to characterise afrophobia could be regarded as forms of oppressive social structures in which individuals need to be freed from. Thus, both local and African international students in the South African public universities need to be freed from afrophobic attitudes and tendencies as discussed in chapter five and chapter six. The notion of freedom, a common factor in both cosmopolitanism and critical race theory, demands tolerance and acceptance of social diversity. Consequently, the notion of freedom is a rejection of social exclusion manifested in afrophobic attitudes and tendencies. It seems therefore, fitting to note that in relating cosmopolitanism to
critical race theory, the nation state is held to account. This is to say that cosmopolitanism seeks to inculcate common social irrespective of their nation states of origin. More importantly, the nation state is principal to internationalisation of public higher education because it determines the recruitment and retention of international students.

For international migration, arguments that advocate for cosmopolitanism can appear to be advocating for the weakening or even eradicating the nation state. While in theory this might appear to be the case, in practice there are many reasons that I do not discuss here, but that suggest that while the entity of the nation state will change, its eradication is an inconceivable at least in the distant future. In the section below, I discuss the relationship between cosmopolitanism and the nation state.

7.8 RELATING COSMOPOLITANISM TO NATION STATE

The primary claim of a cosmopolitan is being a citizen of the world, a conception which essentially contests the idea of a nation state as a closed entity. An observation is made that “cosmopolitanism portrays the lifestyle of a globally conscious person, a cultivated citizen of the world, an individual with multiple identities or multi-national citizenship” (Strand, 2010:231). The main contention of the ideals and values of cosmopolitanism are centred on the sustainability and exclusiveness of the notion of nation state. Beck (2005) argues that cosmopolitanism is sometimes imagined as referring to the surrendering of a person’s sense of national identity, social group affiliations and becoming a citizen of the world. The problem with this position is that it seems to suggest that social identity is a fixed fact. I argue that social identity is neither fixed nor univocal. It is conceivable to have a national identity and a world identity without contradiction.

In other words you are rooted in the nation state but also in cosmopolitanism, that is, you are root in the ethical and political commitment to one nation state (Papastephanou, 2013), and still have commitments to greater ideals. If we accept that cosmopolitanism advances the perspective that a citizen can possibly remain loyal to his or her nation state of birth, it is plausible to say that one then need not necessarily degrade people from other nation states. Mignolo (2010) says that cosmopolitanism challenges extreme nationalism that inevitably leads to anti-immigration sentiments and the associated social challenges such as afrophobia. Choo (2014) agrees that cosmopolitanism rejects parochialism of defining a person only in terms of nation state. Even though I see myself as a person from Zimbabwe, my common humanity enables me to be more than just a Zimbabwean. I am an African, black, and male,
or female with religious, social and cultural beliefs. Nevertheless, above all I am a human being, and by this fact my humanness transcends the geographical confines of the nation state.

The relation between the notions of cosmopolitanism and nation state is often strained by the idea of patriotism. Patriotism seems to priorities the nation state over the international community and by implication over cosmopolitanism. It would appear then that there is tension between cosmopolitanism and national patriotism. Thus, cosmopolitanism and nation state appear to be contradictory notions. With the background of cosmopolitan discussion in this chapter, contradictorily, patriotism “involves the granting of primary loyalty to one’s own state and one’s fellow citizens” (Erskine, 2002:463). This parochial nature of patriotism excludes non-citizens. It seems to me that it is desirable that we should pursue the ideal of allegiance to humanity that is simultaneously inclusive of all national social diversities and transcends the nation state.

Furthermore, the contestation between cosmopolitanism and the nation state is apparent when ideals of social connectedness are concerned. Pichler (2009) observes that patriotism operates on the basis of social solidarity among citizens as members of a nation state. Contestably, concepts such as social cohesion, national unity or national objectives tend to portray patriotism as some form of ideal that binds individual citizens. But cosmopolitanism proposes that:

National and cultural boundaries are morally irrelevant and meaningless at best, and at worst divide people along artificial lines that foster destructive conflicts and alienate them from one another through the creation of moral geographies of “us” and “them” (Warf, 2015:39).

In this regard, cosmopolitanism and patriotism are contra-positional in terms of social connection and relatedness. For instance, patriotism’s conception of nation state requires citizens to relate and interact closely and have a sense of social, moral and economic obligation within the confines of the nation state. A Zimbabwean patriot for instance, puts his or her interests for the good of the nation state of the Zimbabwean nation state. On the other hand, cosmopolitanism contends that people should be loyal and have obligations towards humanity beyond geographical boundaries of the nation state.

However, it is crucial to state that while cosmopolitanism advocates loyalty to humanity, it does not necessarily suggests that a person should be detached or unconcerned with his or her immediate or local circumstances. On the contrary, a cosmopolitanism view is that people should participate in resolving challenges within their locality without necessarily overlooking
human challenges beyond the confines of their nation state. Conclusively, it is argued that “demonstrating solidarity with others in the global community has limited value, if we are not ready and able to stand up for justice and defend the rights of others in our locality” (Osler, 2011:2).

Contestably, it would appear as if a cosmopolitan ceases to be a national patriot. In most nation states, national patriotism as referring to loyalty to one’s nation state is a subject which is inculcated through education, media and social cultures. The formal and informal education on virtues of national patriotism are imparted to people through citizenship education, in which concepts such as sovereignty, citizenship rights, the perceived threats from foreign nation states are emphasized. It is at the backdrop of such ‘education’ that Warf (2015) argues that extreme nationalism is at the centre of anti-immigrants attitudes resulting in the intimidation and killing of foreign migrants.

It is complex to reconcile the constitutive elements of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. However, depending how both are perceived, reconcilable similarities can be drawn. Furthermore, the oversimplification which denotes nationalism as exclusive while cosmopolitanism is inclusive should be avoided. It is pointed out that “cosmopolitanism offers one of the oldest available discourses for addressing questions of solidarity, shared responsibility and mutual entanglement” (Davies, 2013:100). Solidarity, shared responsibility and mutual engagement are components of cosmopolitanism that implicitly involves nationalism. Gaudette (2013) suggests that the concept of movement in cosmopolitanism is a pursuit towards a global village and openness towards others. So to realise solidarity, global village and mutual entanglement, nationals have to be willing to ‘travel’ across national boundaries, and should be accepted by others, that is, not discriminated against. Nonetheless, travelling does not always have to be physical movement. Contextually, travelling might metaphorically connotes the ability to socially outreach to other social groups represented by different nationalities in an internationalised public university.

If cosmopolitanism can be realised through international political bodies whose objective is solidarity of nations, then cosmopolitanism in institutions of public higher education is attainable. For instance, political and economic bodies such as the European Union (EU) or African Union (AU) are all attempts towards the promotion of cosmopolitanism. Of the European Union (EU), it is argued that it “encourages individual nation states to increase accessibility and solidarity of all European Union citizens to create space for the other”
To all intents and purposes, the impression drawn from such international political bodies is that nationalism and cosmopolitanism are not mutually exclusive concepts, but rather have room to converge. Conclusively, a cosmopolitan internationalised public university is a feasible social objective.

In summary, I have argued that cosmopolitanism is not dismissive of the notion of nation state. Genuine cosmopolitanism should imply that the cosmopolitan does not deny a student his or her nation state definitive characteristics such as culture, language and a sense of identity drawn from allegiance to the nation state. On the contrary, a cosmopolitan student should ideally be a person who embraces both the nation state and the notion of the world. In any case, the world and the nation state are not incompatible notions, they are rather complimentary. Indeed, a South African or Zimbabwean citizen can socially compliment the world through un-prejudicial social relations.

7.9 COSMOPOLITANISM AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MIGRATION

In consideration of the fact that both cosmopolitanism and internationalisation deal with social interaction of nation states, it could be argued that there is some relation between the two notions. The phenomenon of international student migration necessitates the meeting and possible social engagement with new culture. Ultimately, the convergence of diverse cultures may possibly lead to cosmopolitan worldview. It is without any misgiving that the notions of cosmopolitanism and internationalisation of public higher education are indispensably linked each other. By its essence, internationalisation of public higher education requires that both local and international students develop and sustain some basic conceptualisation of social diversity that goes beyond geographical borders of nation state (Yemini and Bar-netz, 2015). In other words, cosmopolitanism’s central claim is that both local and international students should dismantle negative nationalities stereotypes they hold against each other.

In view of the social challenge of afrophobia, perhaps a relationship between cosmopolitanism and recruitment and retention of international student can be drawn. In this respect, Audi (2009) notes that from a cosmopolitan angle, nations and institutional structures develop their value from the function of rendering services to humanity. In other words, from that cosmopolitan view, institutions such as public universities are not supposed to restrict themselves to the local issues only, but should respond to the needs of humanity. The fact that internationalisation of public higher education universities recruit students from across nation state boundaries hint at the cosmopolitan embedded in internationalisation. Imaginably, it is in view of such
cosmopolitan perspectives that an imperative to respond to the local, regional and global needs forms the basis of transformation of higher education in the post-1994 South Africa (Department of Education, 1997).

Waghid (2014) makes a significant observation that education and cosmopolitanism are interconnected and inseparable. Thus “if education does not lead to people connecting with one another on the grounds of respect for differences, then there is no sense in cooperating and reasoning together” (Waghid, 2014:333). Drawing from Waghid, I argue that if the practice of education implies the search for and transmission of knowledge is a borderless undertaking, then internationalised public universities are constitutively cosmopolitan. An internationalised university is cosmopolitan since its students' social composition is drawn from diverse cultural and national backgrounds.

Fundamentally, the process of internationalisation of higher education is, in due course the public universities’ endeavour to extend their influence beyond the geographical borders where they are located. On this view, internationalisation is a facet of cosmopolitanism in which, international students as a socially heterogeneous group are attracted and infused with the local students in the host nation state. Therefore, internationalised public universities cannot be disconnected from the notion of cosmopolitanism. While this may be interpreted as an over-simplification of cosmopolitanism, it would appear that public universities are at an advantageous point when regards is put on the need and urgency of the implications of cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, relating cosmopolitanism to international student migration “is important because in a global context marked by violence, political struggle and international antagonism, higher education institutions function as contact zones in which people from disparate, sometimes jarring historical trajectories meet” (Anderson, 2013:442).

As noted in the discussion on the concept of cosmopolitanism, international migration of any form embroils some degree of cosmopolitanism. Taking into account the fact that a cosmopolitan is a world traveller who unavoidably encounters other people with their cultures, ideas and social structures, a cosmopolitan is supposedly able to engage with differences. Specifically, in international student migration, an international student needs cosmopolitan attitude and values to live and study in a foreign context. In the same regard, local students equally need cosmopolitan attitudes and values not only to be able to share social and academic spaces with international students, but to learn from other cultural and academic values. An
impression should not be created that cosmopolitanism does not have weaknesses. So in the section below, I discuss criticisms against cosmopolitanism.

7.10 WEAKNESSES OF COSMOPOLITANISM

Firstly, the general criticism that is levelled against cosmopolitanism is that it is rather impractical in relation to the world political, social and economic structures. These structures give the impression the world is rigidly organised into political entities with geographical boundaries that legitimise the notions of citizens and non-citizens. Equally so, the world is socially structured in terms of cultures and social groupings. In other words, citizens are attached to a political and social entity referred to as nation state, and in this environment, there is miniature room for cosmopolitanism. Consequently, cosmopolitanism is rather abstract in advocating for world citizenship as a structure that has no referral or central political and social governance.

Secondly, cosmopolitanism is that conceptually framed to suit economically wealthy individuals who have the financial means to travel across national borders. There is an observation that cosmopolitanism is associated with “cultural elitism whereby the economically dominant and spatially mobile persons identify themselves hierarchically vis-à-vis locally or nationally oriented groups or according to European civilisation that is elevated into the natural hearth” (Kuraswa, 2009:87). The common application of cosmopolitan is appropriate to economically rich people who can afford the opportunities to travel across national borders and live among locals whose culture is different from their nation states of origin. Landau and Freemantle (2010) have argued that it is rather uncommon for poor people to be referred to as cosmopolitans because the focus is positioned on the economically advantaged migrants.

Thirdly, cosmopolitanism is often viewed as an effort to disengage people from identifying themselves as members of a given nation state. Debatably, it may be considered an illusion to expect people to be disconnected from the national cultures that unequivocally define them. In its undertaking to downgrade the significance of geographical national boundaries, cosmopolitanism advocates for the universalization of human cultures. Koczanowicz (2010) explains that the downplaying the significance of national boundaries is tantamount to abandoning the fixed identities which people have use as their point of reference. Drawing from the ideas of national detachment, some critics of cosmopolitanism have said it is abstract. For Africa, cosmopolitanism may be considered as a form of neo-colonialism, Westernisation
or Europeanization. For Sobe (2009), it is ideal to express universalities so that cosmopolitanism ceases to be an imposition of norms by the economically developed and dominant nations.

7.11 CONCLUSION

One of the problems with philosophical conceptualisation is that it can be exceedingly abstract and consequentially be disconnected to the ordinary practicalities of daily life. In this regard, cosmopolitanism is no exception given its complexities, contradictions and limitations as alluded to in this chapter. For Africa, cosmopolitanism may be faulted as being elitist on a continent where elitism is associated with corrupt political leadership. It is instructive to state that from the discussions in this chapter, one may observe that Africa is already a cosmopolitan continent, if due regard is allocated to the fact that there is vastly multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-religious social groups. The assertion that Africa is a cosmopolitan continent may be appreciated if cosmopolitanism is not reduced to travelling across geographical boundaries and meeting and interacting and experiencing different cultures.

Furthermore, a research of this nature may be more applicable if it locates and derives its argumentation discourse from the specific context, nation, region or continent. In other words, the need for cosmopolitanism conceptualisation is informed by the social challenges that a specific region encounters. It is these challenges that underpin the discourse of cosmopolitanism. For instance, in the SADC region where international migration is occasioned by economic reasons rather than civil wars, then the type of conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism has to take that into account. In this case, African international students as migrants are attracted to universities in economically stable nation state such as South Africa. The fact that international students pay tuition fees, accommodation and other living expenses should enhance internationalisation of higher education as a worthwhile undertaking. The economic spin off of internationalisation should index cosmopolitanism as an appropriate theoretical framework for the elimination of afrophobia. Moreover, cosmopolitanism is supposed to facilitate social interactions between African international and local South African students. In light of the fact the conceptual limitations of cosmopolitanism in relation to afrophobia, the following chapter expounds on the alternative rainbow cosmopolitanism. Rainbow cosmopolitanism is discussed in the quest towards a suitable mechanism to eliminate afrophobia in the course of internationalisation of public universities in South Africa.
CHAPTER EIGHT:

From Rainbow Nation to Rainbow Cosmopolitanism in Public Universities

8.1 INTRODUCTION

By advancing the rainbow cosmopolitanism, I seek to establish an understanding of internationalisation of public higher education that can comprehensively transform the oppressive race national stereotypes that underlie afrophobia. I have argued that the presence of afrophobia in its subtlety marginalises African international students in the public universities in South Africa. I now advance the notion of rainbow cosmopolitanism to counter afrophobia in public higher education. Therefore, this chapter argues for transformation of racial conceptualisation within the armpit of critical race theory. Transformation in critical race theory does not only seek to describe the society, but to change it by combating the oppressive ideas and assumptions (Creswell, 2007). So, at the heart of this chapter is the agenda of transformation driven by critical race theory.

In chapter seven I discussed the philosophical concept of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism advances the argument that national norms like cultural, social, political, educational and economic world-view should not undervalue the importance of tolerance of humanity. Cosmopolitanism encapsulates the idea of common humanity. Such common humanity cannot be confined by geographical national borders. Yet, the selective nature of afrophobia seems to make cosmopolitanism inadequate in South African public higher education. Considerably, the semblance of cosmopolitanism is present in South African public universities. In this respect, the social tolerance towards white European international students attests to the possibility of cosmopolitanism. On this view, this chapter seeks to show that there are possibilities of mitigating or eliminating negative national stereotypes that constitute afrophobia. I propose to use the metaphor of a rainbow nation. I argue that the rainbow nation metaphor appropriately captures the possibility of mitigating or eliminating afrophobia. This metaphor emerges from the historical and social context of South Africa.

Accordingly, from a critical race theory, rainbow nation myth could be regarded as an attempt towards equalising the power relations in the South African society. Under the apartheid political dispensation, the white race and its attendant culture had social, economic and political power. White students at higher education had access to comparatively better resourced and
funded institutions of public higher education. The highly ranked and world recognised universities such as universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town were reserved for the white students only. On the other hand, the policies of marginalising the black populace race were put in place. So, the black learners at primary and secondary school levels were exposed to inferior Bantu education. At university level, black students were restricted to under resourced and lowly ranked universities that were located in remote rural areas. It is in cognisance of the racially divisive background of South Africa that the national myth of rainbow nation was touted at the end of apartheid. Essentially, the post-apartheid national myth of rainbow nation seeks to eliminate unequal social power relations that characterise white race as superior while black African symbolised inferior cultural value system.

Furthermore, the myth of rainbow nation has strong undertones of the race issues in South Africa. For Fletcher (2012), the post-1994 era, has witnessed sustained effort to build a socially unified nation state. However, race has continues to characterise identity and relations in South Africa, thereby maintaining a racially fractured nation state. The rainbow national myth seeks to portray and advance the social values that can promote a national identity. The national identity underlined in rainbow nation myth is not based on race, but on the shared or common membership of the nation state.

The myth of rainbow nation encompasses the transformative tenet that is constituted in critical race theory. Rainbow nation seeks to transform attitudes and practices of social discrimination by transforming the structures of discrimination into social inclusivity. In this standpoint, the transformation of public higher education is underlined by values of the rainbow nation myth. Raedt (2012) describes the notion of rainbow national myth as an endeavour to accept social diversity in South Africa. Therefore, it seem fair to say that the myth of the rainbow nation represents the transition from social intolerance on race diversity to embrace multiculturalism in the post-1994 South Africa. In the section below, I discuss the inadequacies of cosmopolitanism to mitigate or eliminate afrophobia.

8.2 INADEQUACIES OF COSMOPOLITANISM IN COMBATING AFROPHOBIA

The goal of this conceptual study is to establish appropriate values for the eradication of afrophobia. The pursuit of such values is underlined by the fact that afrophobia is based on the stereotypes foreign nationals. For instance, a Zimbabwean international student may have negative attitudes towards a South African counterpart because of stereotypes. I maintain that
cosmopolitanism is inadequate to challenge the ideas that inform afrophobic tendencies. Below, I show why this is the case.

a) Cosmopolitanism is laden with elitism. In this aspect, cosmopolitanism gives the impression of representing an economically wealth social class that can afford the expensive costs associated with travelling across many nation states. There are debates on the possibilities of being a cosmopolitan without travelling outside your cultural boundaries. Nevertheless, cosmopolitanism requires social interactions with other cultures. In this way, people who can afford cross-border travelling have higher chances of socially interacting with the ‘strangeness’, ‘foreignness’ or ‘otherness’ of new cultures. For afrophobia, cosmopolitanism embodies elitism that many African people may not be associated with.

b) The values of cosmopolitanism are principally centred on power relations. In this regard, cosmopolitanism may be considered as a form of cultural imperialism. In this case, the economically advantaged cultures enforce their values on the less privileged cultural groups. From this perspective, the cultural values of the dominant cultural groups from Europe and the United States of America may influence the less developed cultures in Africa. However, for public higher education in South Africa, cosmopolitanism does not necessarily mean that the ‘travelling’ African international students can impose their cultural ideals on the dominant South African students. On the contrary, African international students, like all other African immigrants are regarded as a socially marginalised cohort. The general analysis of studies on African international students indicates that they are an ‘invisible’ group who at times try to conceal their national identities for fear of reprisals. In addition, to navigate against afrophobia, most African international students strategically choose to associate and interact with their compatriots. Therefore, the chances that African international student as cosmopolitans can be disruptive to the South African student culture is rather remote.

Arguably, most African international students originate from economically deprived nation states in comparison to South Africa. In this light, African international students cannot belong to the same economic class bracket with an average South African student. From that perspective, the dictate of common humanity as envisaged by cosmopolitanism becomes inapplicable and incompatible. The resultant incompatibility between African international and South African students’
neccesitates the cosmopolitan perspective of social tolerance. To this end, the narrative of competition for economic resources in South Africa could be persistently used to socially exclude African international students. The view of African international students as ‘undeserved’ economic beneficiaries in South Africa makes cosmopolitanism unattainable in public universities.

c) Lastly, cosmopolitan values could be regarded as more urgent and significant in the era of increased mobility, interdependences and interconnectedness in the framework of internationalisation. Internationalisation as nation’s response to a ‘shrinking world’ makes cosmopolitanism an unavoidable approach to relations with other nation states. Nevertheless, osmopolitanism may be taken as an imposing force that dictates how social relations should proceed. Furthermore, cosmopolitanism paradoxically dictates the socially acceptable and unacceptable norms. For instance, are students in an internationalised university that is socially composed of both local and international students ‘compelled’ to be cosmopolitan?

I respond that the ‘forceful’ nature of cosmopolitanism should be underscored by the political, social and economic circumstances specific to South Africa and the African continent at large.

Considerably, this section has outlined have highlighted the inadequacies of cosmopolitanism in South African public higher education. I now focus on the national myth of rainbow nation as an alternative solution. Conceptually examining the metaphor of rainbow nation is aimed at highlighting its inherent possibility of combating afrophobia. Furthermore, in this discussion, there is an understanding that the metaphor of the rainbow nation is a ‘home-grown’ solution towards specific social challenges of South Africa. In other words, instead of opting for theories such as cosmopolitanism in its broad sense, home-grown solutions can be drawn from the rain nation myth. Primarily, the rainbow nation myth is applicable because it takes account the historical, political and social context of both the nation state of South Africa and the region (Africa) at large.

8.3 THE NOTION OF NATIONAL MYTHS

Bouchard (2013) spells out the three important defining characteristics of national myths. Firstly, national myths are composed of reality and fiction, reason and emotion, truth and falsehood, consciousness and unconsciousness. In the same line of thought, Smith (2012) states that a national myth is an idealised representation of the nation state which takes into account
its history and aspirations. The highlighting of national myth as both representative of fictional and realities of historical and current social events of a nation state is crucial towards the understanding of the national myth of rainbow nation. For instance, there are some suggestions that the rainbow national myth should be dismissed as impractical, naïve, abstract or some form of wishing-full thinking. The arguments against rainbow nation are rationalised on the perception that race relations have not ‘really’ improved in the post-1994. In some instances, there are observations that racism has become a salient issue that intermittently recurs (Sowetan, 01st December 2016). However, dismissing the rainbow myth on the basis of recurrence of racism may be a misunderstanding of the function and purposes of the myth. In other words, a national myth as ‘fiction’ suggests that it is an ideal that is aspired to and paradoxically, it is reality because it has achieved some of its intended objectives. Sala (2016) agrees that national myth is a collective vision of the society which seeks to unify citizens. Nonetheless, there are always contradictions. For example, every now and then someone overdoses himself on a certain drug, but surely this should not imply that the specific drug in its general aims serves no purpose. Similarly, in South Africa the rainbow myth is aimed at capturing the imagination of its people, but this does not imply that racial sentiments will just disappear.

Indisputably, while national myths are produced in relations to the specific historical, political and social context of a specific nation, their overarching characteristics can be universalised. A relevant example is that the rainbow nation as the national myth of South Africa has a constituent characteristic of social tolerance within the geo-political confines of South Africa. However, the particular constituent characteristic of social tolerance can be applicable to other nations that may have experienced brutal histories of colonialism and its attendant social divisions. To that end, on the information of national myth of rainbow nation, social tolerance can be extended to African international students in as much as it is shared among South African students.

Lastly, national myths implicitly invoke some semblance of social collectivism or social harmony in the nation state. In consideration of the centrality of national myths, it is noted that they “feed identities, and belongings, they set forth visions of the past and the future of a society, they promote symbols that allow collective mobilization, they foster resilience and they foster social ties so that they may bring together even competing or conflicting actors” (Bouchard, 2013:3). In the section below, I discuss the metaphor of the Rainbow Nation in South Africa.
Every nation state has its own founding myth upon which it attempts to capture and explicate the supposedly birth and its projected destiny or envisioned goals. In this way, nation state myth endeavours to inculcate some sense of common purpose among the citizenry as well as persuade the populace towards some semblance of social unity. In other words, a foundational myth is an endeavour towards realisation of some form of social tolerance. In most cases, national myths are put in place in retrospect to some social, political and economic challenges that the nation state would have experienced. In this sense, a national myth marks the commencement of a new national trajectory. It acts as marker of the beginning of nation building. Such myths are more or less a vision statement or a statement of intent as they capture national social objectives. Nation state founding myths attempt to capture the respective national aspirations towards nation building. It is of significance to state that the metaphor of rainbow nation in South Africa is not an ‘officialised’ symbol, but is an informal attempt towards establishing a non-discriminatory society.

Largely, the metaphor of rainbow nation succinctly captures the national aspirations towards a socially non-discriminatory nation state. Dunn and Nilan (2007) observe that at the end of apartheid, there was an imperative towards cultural re-making or cultural re-invention that involved the establishment of non-racial values. The creation of a national identity is premised on the social issue of race. Walker (2005) agrees that race is a determining factor for cultural, political and economic superiority or inferiority. In other words, the notion of race provides reasons for either justifying social exclusion or inclusion. On this view, the rainbow national myth remains an anti-thesis to racial privileges and tensions that were characteristic of the apartheid dispensation. For instance, blacks were ‘justifiably’ excluded from better resourced universities and white students were included to take advantage of the better resourced public universities.

In consonance with the process of nation building, the rainbow national myth typically represents the possibilities of co-existence of different races and ethnic groups in South Africa. Ideally, the myth of rainbow nation was appropriated at a time when institutional racism and ethnic discrimination was supposedly brought to an end in 1994. Therefore, the ideal myth is a basis for guidance in as much as this study has discussed the vision or mission statements that several public universities have in South Africa. The concept of rainbow nation is broadly accepted within the social diversities of South Africa. Walker (2005) states that rainbow nation
metaphor symbolises racial equity, redress, democratisation, academic freedom and well as embracing diverse institutional cultures that are represented within the student body. The metaphor of rainbow nation in South Africa is suggestive of possibility towards social tolerance. As noted already, South Africa is a socially nation state (Tihanyi, 2006). This metaphoric reference is rather polemic and has consequently drawn controversies.

Given, the fact that the metaphor is not an ‘official’ vision statement of South Africa, this study does not seek formalise it. However, its contextual appropriateness that takes into account the legacy of social fragmentation of apartheid cannot be disputed. To that end, all the pronounced social objectives of South Africa such as building up a non-discriminatory society can be adequately captured through the rainbow nation metaphor. The metaphor has an important social role to establish social cohesion in South Africa. I am aware that some readers of this study may contest that the metaphor is not academic. Nevertheless, if the tem academic implies a notion that has been researched and applied through scientific rigour, then this study contributes to make this myth an academic concept. Currently, the metaphor has remained an informal and colloquial phrase coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Moeller, et al (1999) describes the rainbow nation metaphor as a catch phrase, to elicit political appeal and a slogan of political and social motivation. Despite the ‘un-officialness’ of the notion, the study employs it and finds it relevant and contextually applicable on the view of critical race theory.

I am cognisant to the fact that in South Africa the metaphor rainbow nation is contested. Nonetheless, in the formation of the rainbow cosmopolitanism, I argue that the metaphor of rainbow nation signifies the explicit national vision that South Africa embarked on at the end of apartheid. Its noble aim is to create a non-racist, non-sexists and a non-discriminatory society (Cross, 2004). It could therefore, be argued that the metaphor of rainbow nation embodies the objective of eliminating, combating and eradication of all forms of unfair social discrimination. A sense of solidarity, social cohesion, trust and some levels of patriotism is envisaged in the metaphor rainbow nation. Chipkin and Ngqulunga (2008) suggest that the post-apartheid South African nationals were exhorted to recognise social and cultural differences among themselves without necessarily using that recognition as a basis of discrimination.

According to Desai (2008) rainbow nation explains the unimagined transition of South Africa from the extreme end of racial and ethnic intolerance to the ideal state of social tolerance. Therefore, the metaphor is suitable in the process of socially dismantling the ethnic and racial segregation that was entrenched by apartheid. Obbard and Cork (2016) agree that the idea of a
rainbow nation is a principled national vision towards the realisation of a unified country away from racial and ethnic lines.

Additionally, the rainbow nation promotes social harmony to a nation state which has a historical legacy that for centuries festered with divisions along racial and ethnic contours (Moeller, et al, 1999). Forms of social division are propelled by unequal power relations in the society. So, the rainbow nation metaphor attempts to rectify the power inequalities by eliminating sources of social prejudices which endemic in the South Africa. Consequently, the rainbow nation is associated with conceptions of social reconciliation, unifying the nation and tolerance of diversity.

The rainbow nation is symbolic of social efforts in the process of nation building. Accordingly, the process of nation-building is characterised by the redefinition of belonging, social inclusion and identity (Myambo, 2011). Ideally, rainbow metaphor encapsulates social connectedness and social interactions that is supposedly realisable in the post-1994 South Africa. Spreen and Monaghan (2016) are of the view that rainbow nation is essentially about the concise accommodation of the social diversity in South Africa. Subsequently, it may be argued that the educational transformation document titled 2001 National Draft on Education transformation is informed by rainbow nation values. In this regard, there is an imperative for higher education universities to enrol students in patterns that reflect the social demographics of the broader society (Department of Education, 1997).

Part of the nation building process requires that the characteristics of social belonging are redefined to fit into the new social order. It seems then that the rainbow metaphor aptly captures the new characterisation of social belonging. In other words, a new socially transformed order consequently point toward a new transformed conceptualisation of social belonging. In the post-apartheid dispensation, all South Africans regardless of the racial, ethnic, sex, religion and linguistic background belong to South Africa. Therefore, the rainbow nation, sums up the social dismantling of apartheid stereotypes by ushering in social tolerance.

Conversely, the rainbow nation is based on tenets that seek to confront hostility towards differences that may arise because of social diversity (Trimikliotis et al, 2008). Hostility in this sense is characterised by hatred towards those who are culturally or racially different from the person who harbour such attitudes. For a nation, the hostility towards social diversity may result in practices and attitudes that can be regarded as tribalism, racism or ethnicity. Accordingly, the rainbow nation metaphor seeks to combat such hostility by promoting some
form of social tolerance. Hoad (2014) agrees that the metaphor of rainbow nation advances the perspective of non-discriminatory practices in a nation state that historically experienced the social conflict of deep social divisions.

In summarising the tenets of rainbow nation, I could argue that this metaphor is an acknowledgement of the fact that South Africa is a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society. This acknowledgement informs the necessary practices and values for the co-existence in the context of social differences. In addition, rainbow nation metaphor illustrates the idea that dissimilarities in cultures and races that socially compose South Africa should not be a source of antagonism and the deep hatred. In this respect, the rainbow nation socially reconstructs South Africa. Agreeably, the “post-apartheid social reforms were specifically aimed at deconstructing the established social order in an effort to promote a new racially and ethnically neutral South Africa” (Woodroffe, 2011:170). Such social neutrality which promotes non-discriminatory practices enhances social cohesion. Judging the over-emphasis on social tolerance among citizens that the metaphor of rainbow nation promotes, it becomes apparent that non-citizens are ‘missing’ in the rainbow nation’s dictates. For this reason, notion of rainbow cosmopolitanism in public higher education in South Africa is given consideration in this chapter.

Conclusively, the rainbow nation metaphor is an attempt towards social identity transformation of the South African society. Some observe that “the notion of rainbow nation projects an image of different racial groups coming together and living in harmony” (Habib (1997:16). So, this metaphor marks the end of unfair exclusionary social practices, while setting out a new transformed nation. This interpretation of the rainbow is also adopted by Dickow and Moller (2002) who refer to it as a national symbol for collective rather than individual interests. However, from this discussion on the metaphor of rainbow nation, it becomes incontestable that the focal point of this symbol is precisely nationalistic. To that end, the metaphor’s central point is addressing the historical social issues of divisive apartheid. Taking into account that the scope of this study is within the domain of internationalisation which ultimately deals with international social issues, the following subsection exposes the shortcomings of rainbow nation in relation to internationalisation.

8.4.1 Limitations of the Metaphor — Rainbow Nation

In an era of heightened importance of globalisation and its attendant consequences such as international migration, the tenets of the metaphor of rainbow nation may be inadequate. Such
inadequacy is ostensible since the rainbow nation metaphor has the unintended ‘side-effect’ of reinforcing and entrenching a strong exclusive form of nationalism. Contestably, the strongly pronounced versions of nationalism are closely interlinked to afrophobic tendencies and attitudes. While a strong pronouncement on nationalism is contextually appropriate for nation building in South Africa, the metaphor is not attendant to the social ramifications of international migration. Most of the afrophobic incidences that occur in the nation state are underlined by a nationalism that constantly redefines belonging and non-belonging. In this version of exclusive nationalism, foreigners, whether documented or undocumented, are regarded as a threat to access resources of the nation. Connectedly, international students in public higher education are thus, perceived as a threat in light of the exclusive nationalism promoted by the metaphor of rainbow nation.

Furthermore, the metaphor of rainbow nation is inadequate in consideration of the fluidity of social diversity. According to Teeger (2015), rainbow nation is figuratively representative of a nation that is socially cohesive. Nonetheless, what seems to be the missing point in this characterisation of social diversity is the fact that the social composition of any nation is constantly revolving and changing. Moreover, the degree of alteration in social diversity is more pronounced in the nation states that receive a sizable number of immigrants such as South Africa. Regrettably, the metaphor of rainbow nation seems to socialise the nationals into the idea that social diversity is static. Inadvertently, rainbow nation does sets out the parameters and demarcations or benchmark of the acceptable and unacceptable social diversity. Such conceptualisation of social diversity could imply that a Zulu person can accept the diversity resulting from a fellow South African who is a Venda rather than a Nigerian. The impression suggests is that there is local social diversity that ought to be tolerated and foreign social diversity that should be socially rejected and excluded.

Lastly, the metaphor of rainbow nation is parochially premised on the notion that racial social tolerance is the only prerequisite for a new democratic order. Woodrooffe (2011) argues that the post-apartheid processes of nation building are accentuated by the need to establish a racially and ethnically neutral nation state. On the basis of the rainbow nation metaphor, concepts such as national integration and social cohesion are exclusively premised on the processes of racial integration. However, some critics of the metaphor of the rainbow nation identify the narrowing of establishing the democratic order on the basis of racial reconciliation as a key the flaw of the metaphor. As far back as 1997, Habib (1997) noted that by focussing solely on racial reconciliation, the concept of rainbow nation is rather misleading. An
impression should not be made that the only dominant issue in South Africa, should be race, and once racial relations are sorted out, then the process of nationhood has been accomplished. Therefore, the rainbow nation metaphor should be inclusive of all social diversities that characterise South Africa.

The discussion on the limitations of the metaphor of rainbow nation does not aim to dismiss it as socially inappropriate. Arguably, the metaphor’s limitations are evidential in relation to internationalisation of public higher education within the broad scope of international migration. Subsequently, the limitations of rainbow nation metaphor are indicative of its inadequacies to mitigate or eliminate afrophobia in South African public higher education.

Finally, on the basis of the limitations of rainbow nation metaphor in relation to afrophobia, I seek to promote rainbow cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, I am equally aware of the fact that the tenets of rainbow nation fail to address and eliminated attitudes and practices of racism or ethnic discrimination in the body of the local South African students. The intermittent racial incidences that occur at different public higher education universities are a constant reminder that racism remains an issue in both the universities and broader society (DoE, 2008). To that end, rainbow cosmopolitanism is a comprehensive conceptualisation of public higher education because it comprehensively addresses local and international forms of social discrimination. Below, I explicitly discuss the rainbow cosmopolitanism.

8.5 RAINBOW COSMOPOLITANISM

In proposing the rainbow cosmopolitanism conceptualisation of internationalisation of public higher education, I take into account the argument that all public universities do not ‘officially’ tolerate any form of discrimination. Indeed, public higher education universities have put into place measures to ensure that a culture of social tolerance to social diversity exists in the institution. All public universities in South Africa have codes of conduct stipulating acceptable and unacceptable social behaviours. To that end, tendencies and attitudes to discriminate people on the basis such as sex, gender, religion, race and nationality compels institutional disciplinary action. Specifically, on discrimination based on nationalities, the public universities have regularly condemned acts of afrophobia whenever they erupt in the broader society of South Africa.

It is also the case that most public universities have established an international offices on their campuses as a way of exhibiting that international students’ needs and challenges are attended
to. Nonetheless, the establishment of international offices has often been criticized for mainly concentrating on the administrative issues at the neglect of the social cultural challenges that international students encounter. While the international office are suitably referral points where international students can direct some of their challenges of studying and living in a foreign nation state, the experience is that international offices are basically administrative. Additionally, towards the elimination of afrophobia, in most public universities, there are annual international diversities celebratory events in which cultural diversities of nation states represented in the university are showcased and celebrated. The apparent purpose of such celebratory events is to instil a sense of confront sources of nationalities stereotypes within the student body.

As an indication that public universities do not tolerate afrophobia, the student body in public universities such as Stellenbosch, Johannesburg, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Rhodes and Witwatersrand occasionally organise demonstration marches against afrophobia in the broader society of South Africa. In connection to this, at the height of afrophobic violent practices in 2015, the University of Johannesburg organised temporary safe houses for international students who felt insecure (University of Johannesburg, 2016). Besides the safe houses, the university constantly communicates with international students to check on their security and safety. At the national level, the Department of Education through the Minister of Education often issues public statements that condemn all forms of afrophobia in public higher education universities.

For the purpose of establishing rainbow cosmopolitanism in public universities, it is imperative to conceptually interrogate the use of the notion of foreign student. This study has established that in some South African public universities, the term international refers to white students from Europe and United States of America. On the other hand, black students from other African countries are categorised as foreign students (Dominguez-Whitehead and Sing, 2015). The concept of international students is suggestive of the possibilities of social interrelatedness that can be facilitated by the social space at a public university. Rather than the term foreign student which has connotations of strangeness and depicts an outsider, it would be ideal to collectively refer to all non-South African students as international. In my view, the category international student is suitable for the idea of rainbow cosmopolitanism.

Towards the promotion of social connectedness between African international and local students, this study does not suggest that students should be oblivious to their national differences. Rather, the study seeks to promote valuing one’s nation without looking down on
other nationalities. Accordingly, the idea embedded in rainbow cosmopolitanism is tailored to eliminate a sense of national superiority that marginalises the other. Therefore, the eradication of perceptions of national superiority is critical in rainbow cosmopolitanism conception. Afrophobic practices marginalise black African international students, but hold European international students in high regard.

Fundamentally, rainbow cosmopolitanism extends to the African international students the inclusivity and non-discriminatory tenets constituted in rainbow nation metaphor. Put in other words, rainbow cosmopolitanism is an international version of the rainbow nation metaphor. It may be argued, for the sake of appropriateness, that this study could conceptually employ the notion of Ubuntu which is seem contextually applicable to South Africa and Africa. Yet, without being dismissive of Ubuntu, I have drawn from cosmopolitanism on the basis that the overarching discourse of this study is internationalisation of public higher education. Internationalisation is really the interconnectedness of South African public higher education universities tot to other African nation states and the global world.

The term nation as contained in the rainbow nation metaphor tends to restrict tenets such as tolerance to social diversity to the geographical borders of the political nation state of South Africa. South Africa has undergone tremendous social demographic change due to international immigration. Indeed, South Africa has been figuratively referred to as the ‘melting pot’ of cultures. Therefore, it seems plausible that rainbow cosmopolitanism is socially inclusive of people from other cultures that come into the melting pot from from beyond the borders.

Deriving from the conceptual explication of rainbow nation, internationalised public universities can appropriate the metaphor *rainbow nation* to signify redefining belonging to universities. Such redefining of belonging means that African international students are accorded the same level of social tolerance like South African students. As noted already, in most public universities, African international students constantly are made to feel as ‘undesirable’ outsiders to both the broad South African society and public universities (University of Johannesburg, 2016). In addition, Ramphele (1999) agrees that in some public universities, the notion of South *Africanness* is sometimes invoked by local students to ‘remind’ African international students that they do not absolutely belong to South Africa. This invocation of citizenship for the sake of excluding others, due to the perceived competition of resources, brings to fore the debates of levels of belonging that international students can
acquire at an internationalised university. The idea of rainbow cosmopolitanism endeavours to eliminate tendencies and practices of nationality that discriminate against international students. In as much as at the national level, rainbow nation was informally employed to eliminate tendencies of discriminating on racial and ethnic basis, rainbow cosmopolitanism aims to unify rather than separate public university students on the basis of nationalities.

Rainbow cosmopolitanism expresses tolerance of social diversity that goes beyond one’s immediate geographical borders of the nation state. Social diversity is usually defined by ethnic, racial and tribal social demographic composition of a nation state. To illustrate this point, Zimbabwean social diversity refers to the ethnic groups of Shona, Ndebele or Kalanga people. The racial groups are the black, white, coloured and Indian population. The foreign cultural social groups then become any group that falls outside the social group that are indigenous to Zimbabwe. Rainbow cosmopolitanism is essentially an internationalised version of the ideals of the metaphor of rainbow nation. In as much as the rainbow nation metaphor is aimed at the realisation of social cohesion among citizens, rainbow cosmopolitanism is intended to achieve some semblance of social cohesion between African international and South African students.

As already pointed out, universities are by their exact nature international since they pursue knowledge that is universally applicable. An internationalised university ought to create an environment in which both local and African international students feel at home through sense of adequate belonging. Through Ubuntu as discussed in chapter seven, the notion of home is exceedingly valued on the African continent. Home signifies belonging which accommodates cultural social diversities. Above all, the notion of home denotes the presence of a some shared forms of social identity expressed through common values. The significance of the notion of home becomes apparent when due to the fact that internationalisation of public higher education simultaneously entails increased social challenges. Gill (2016) observes that increased social diversity at internationalised universities poses challenges due to the increased perceptions of otherness, strangeness or foreignness. Internationalisation entails that universities have to deal with religious, cultural, economic, race and nationalities diversities that increases student body social diversity.

Rainbow cosmopolitanism endeavours to deal with increased social diversity due to accelerated internationalisation activities in the South African universities. From a race critical theory perspective, rainbow cosmopolitanism is a move towards challenging the unequal power
relations between African international and local students in the public universities. Such power relations are structured in the manner in stereotypes against African international.

As a precursor to rainbow cosmopolitanism, I point out the misconception found in many internationalised universities. In this view, an impression is often created that international and domestic students are clearly and distinctly culturally, socially and physically different classes of people. Nonetheless, Arkoudis, et al (2013) suggest that international and local students have to deliberately strive to find some common ground in which to relate through social interactions. Arkoudis et al, creates an impression that students are always ‘culturally camped’ in accordance to nationalities. For Botha (2010), students in an internationalised universities stay in what she describes as bulwarks. The term bulwarks denotes the supposedly distinct and fixed cultural spaces that students inhabit. This misconception is reinforced by the assumption that such social differences are irreconcilable since these students are culturally polarised along nationalities. In this regard, Anderson (2014) observes that the dominant discourse suggests that international and local students are in opposition, that is, the perception of ‘them’ versus ‘us’. This misconception is underwired by the supposition that there is a uniform and homogeneous cultural framework that a nation state bestows on its citizens. Inappropriately, the misconception gives the impression that there is a uniform normative Zimbabwean culture that all Zimbabwean international students live by. In the same way, all South African students share a homogeneous culture that is incompatible to the Zimbabwean student culture, that is, this error defines and aligns culture to the nation state.

However, in formation of the rainbow cosmopolitanism, I accept that cultures cannot be simplified or reduced to the entity of nation state. In this regard, a primary ideal of internationalisation is to inculcate social values that will enable graduates to work in diverse cultures. On this view, Haigh (2008) observes that internationalisation should produce university graduates who are tolerant to cultural pluralism, cosmopolitan and can engage and debate with issues of social, economic and political challenges that not only affect their nation state, but the global world as well. I now specifically turn to the characteristic of the proposed rainbow cosmopolitanism.

8.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF RAINBOW COSMOPOLITANISM

I have pointed out that afrophobic practices and attitudes are nurtured by irrational fear and hatred of foreign African nationals. Such fears and hatred consequently, leads to social exclusion, rejection and discrimination on the basis of national origins. Moreover, it is essential
that the social role of internationalisation of public higher education such as the development of intercultural competencies is given its due primary importance. In view of the intercultural competency that ultimately promotes integration between international and domestic students, this subsection extensively develops and discusses the characteristics of rainbow cosmopolitanism.

A characteristic of rainbow nation in the frameworks of social diversity is linguistic diversity. The rainbow nation does not prescribe that nationals should learn and speak all the official languages as a precondition for a cohesive society of South Africa. Rainbow nation metaphor encourages language sensitivities to avoid marginalisation of any of the official languages. Given the fact that most home languages of African international students are not official languages in South Africa, in an internationalised public university, rainbow cosmopolitanism dictates and encourages sensitivities. Insulting foreign languages at public universities need to be avoided as a step into rainbow cosmopolitanism.

It is also crucial to note that in some cases when African international students speak English, they are discriminated against. The failure to speak any South African language has been associated with strangeness, and thus a person becomes an outsider. Domingues-Whitehead and Sing (2015) aptly sum up this point with the assertion that the failure to speak dominant African languages in a particular, but resorts to English, is factor that causes discrimination. Therefore, social inclusivity inherent in rainbow cosmopolitanism should be promoted to mitigate and eliminate negative stereotyping of language. To achieve social inclusivity through languages, rainbow cosmopolitanism states that languages are primarily for communication in exchange of ideas rather than excluding and discriminating against people who may not be conversant in that language.

8.6.1 English Accent

Indisputably, English accent and pronunciation differs from one nation state to other. For instance, the British English accent may be different from the American one to the extent that in some cases terms are used differently. Furthermore, there is a German or French accent of English. In Africa, the mother tongue tends to influence accent and pronunciation of English. In South Africa, the coloured or Indian student population may have different English accent and pronunciation to a white Afrikaans person. The South African indigenous groups such as Sotho or Zulu may have different English accents which are heavily influenced by their first
languages. It seems then that English accent and pronunciations is a feature of social diversity in the framework of the metaphor rainbow nation.

In establishing the rainbow cosmopolitanism, there is need to realise that African international students in South Africa are a heterogeneous group when it comes to their English background. Before consideration of their first languages, African international students can be categorised as Anglophone, Francophone and Portuguese speaking. In this regard, the adopted European languages for African international students determine their accent and pronunciation of English words. African international students such as those from the non-English speaking countries learn English in South Africa as a prerequisite for enrolling and registration in a public university. In consideration of the varieties of English accent and pronunciation both in South Africa and in other African nation states, there is need to accept them. A conceptualisation of rainbow cosmopolitanism is therefore, characterised by the imperative to tolerate different English accents that the African international students bring into public higher education. For instance, a Nigerian accent of English should be tolerated in as much as Afrikaans accent of English is tolerated. If rainbow nation metaphor accepts Afrikaans accent, then rainbow cosmopolitanism extends to tolerate Nigerian accent of English.

8.6.2 Physical Appearances Differences

Perhaps this tenet of the rainbow cosmopolitanism brings out more clearly the appropriateness of using critical race theory. The perceived physical appearances between an ‘average’ South African person and an African international student are often prefixed on the skin pigmentation. Following the 2008 xenophobic attacks in which some local South Africans were killed for not being looking South African ‘enough’, there is a perception that African international students are markedly darker in skin pigmentation than their South African counterparts.

Indeed physical differences have been a source of afrophobic practices and attitudes. Rainbow cosmopolitanism insists on social diversity that is tolerant of differences in physical appearances. Deriving from critical race theory, ridiculing of dark skinned people is embedded in power relations supposedly represented by skin colour. For instance, both colonialism and apartheid claimed the superiority of white race over other races. Consequently, both post-apartheid and post-colonial Africa have seen the persistence of anything associated with or close to white skin colour held in high esteem and darker shades derided upon. Against this false sense of superiority, rainbow cosmopolitanism expands the notion of social diversity from the acceptance of South African people’s skin colours to African international students.
Furthermore, in as much as rainbow nation is premised on eradicating racial binaries of black and white, rainbow cosmopolitanism regards discrimination on skin pigmentation as a form of racism. While rainbow nation counters the black and white people social discrimination, rainbow cosmopolitanism is counters the negative perceptions associated with dark pigmentation. In other words, rainbow cosmopolitanism confronts the racism between black South Africans and ‘dark pigmented’ African international students.

8.6.3 Competition for Resources

Rainbow nation is not indifferent to economic matters. I argue that rainbow nation metaphor encompasses the imperatives of access to economic distribution among South Africans. In addressing issues of economic access for all the races and people represented in the social diversity in the rainbow nation, there is a rupture from the apartheid order. Apartheid established structures that advantaged some, while economically disadvantaging others. However, the new post-apartheid social order ideally envisaged equal access to economic resources for all the nationals.

In international public higher education, economic resources that are available at public universities have usually sources of afrophobic attitudes and practices. In the broader society of South Africa, African immigrants are perceived as threat to the economic welfare of nationals. However, in developing the rainbow cosmopolitanism, African international students are more of a source of financial revenue source than expenditures for the universities. International students contribute towards the economy of the host country through financial expenses associated with studying in a foreign country. On this view, African international students contribute towards the public universities as well as the broader society. In as much as rainbow nation metaphor facilitates the ideals of economic distribution among South African citizens, rainbow cosmopolitanism envisages African international students as possible economic and social contributors to the South African society.

8.6.4 Rainbow Cosmopolitan Cultural Worldview

I have pointed out in Chapter six that an underlying cause of afrophobic attitudes and practices in the public universities in South Africa is the cultural stratification that categorises cultures of foreign (international) students as inferior. For instance, the English accent spoken by African international students is sometimes referred to insultingly as *kwerekwere*. The tolerance of linguistic and accentual differences that the post-1994 dispensation emphasises should be extended to foreign nationals. In this linguistic tolerance, then the values of rainbow
cosmopolitanism are affirmed. The formation of a cultural worldview is one of the possible benefits that can emanate from the social interactions between international and local students. Since cosmopolitanism envisages the norms of cultural universalism, in the framework of rainbow cosmopolitanism cultural worldview of both international and local students is broadened. Taking into account the tenets of transformation as advocated in critical race theory, rainbow cosmopolitanism challenges the parochial understanding of culture within the student body. In other words, cultural symbols such as language, dress code of English accent should not be regarded as inferior just because they are different from what is considered as familiar.

8.6.5 Do African International Students Have Negative Stereotypes?

This inquiry has shown that African international students harbour negative stereotypes against South African students that need to be eliminated. In critical race theory, the marginalised tend to perceive the dominant group with negativity. Some African international students view South African students as lazy or unable to manage the pressures and rigours of university study. Furthermore, some African international students perceive South African male students as aggressive and therefore prone to be violent.

8.7 POSSIBLE CRITICISM AGAINST RAINBOW COSMOPOLITANISM

This study cannot ignore the fact that rainbow cosmopolitanism may be equally dismissed on the same grounds that rainbow nation national myth encounters. Rainbow cosmopolitanism could be dismissed as re-invention of the nationhood of South Africa by seeking to accommodate and extend social diversity tolerance towards international students who are in most cases temporary residents. Since many international students return to their nation states of origin upon completion of their studies, the ramification of the conceptual framework of rainbow cosmopolitanism is that it constantly fluctuates. In other words, a new cohort of African international students may imply a new set of cultural values. However, since all cultures are constantly changing, rainbow cosmopolitanism equally changes depending on the social demographic composition of the students’ body.

Furthermore, rainbow cosmopolitanism may be perceived as a threat to the economic, social and political arrangement of South Africa as a nation state. In other words, the social inclusivity of rainbow cosmopolitanism may become problematic given the distribution of the economic resources which is fundamentally meant to rectify the legacies of apartheid. On the basis of rainbow cosmopolitanism, African international students may begin to demand economic resources such as student funding which is are currently reserved for domestic student. This
may further heighten the competition for economic resources in public universities. To this end, rainbow cosmopolitanism does not attempt to eradicate the citizenship rights that South African students possess. On the contrary, rainbow cosmopolitanism makes African international students accept the fact that on the basis of the concept of nation state, they are not entitled to all bursaries and scholarships on offer.

Another criticism against rainbow cosmopolitanism is that it can be interpreted as suggesting that students, both local and international, in an internationalised university should not be too nationalistic in relating to others. The implicit claim is that nationalistic approach to social relations may end up creating national antagonism that can impede the possibilities of social relations across diverse nationalities represented in the social composition of the student body of an internationalised university. As an illustration, rainbow cosmopolitanism may entail that regarding oneself as a Zimbabwean student is tantamount to discriminating against other nationalities. National identities are not only political, social and cultural markers, but are associated and linked to economic access within universities, especially towards financial assistance such as bursaries and scholarships. From a critical race theory perspective, the concept of nationality is encumbered with power as access to economic and social resources within a public university. For instance, a South African student (citizen) has more access to financial assistance offered at a South African public university in comparison to an African international student. In recognition to the economic and social benefits associated with national identities in the public universities, rainbow cosmopolitanism could be viewed as problematic as it gives the impression of advocating equal access to bursaries, scholarships and languages of instruction for all students irrespective of nationalities.

In defence of rainbow cosmopolitanism, I argue that the notion promotes heterogeneity rather than homogenisation of cultures and nationalities. From a critical race theory perspective, rainbow cosmopolitanism primarily envisions internationalised public universities in South Africa where students can socially coexist despite the nationalistic, race and cultures differences. In this regard, critical race theory which informs rainbow cosmopolitanism enables social integration of international and domestic students within the student social body. In most internationalised public universities, international and local students tend to have minimal social contact because of the national stereotypes and prejudices.
8.8 CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the interface of afrophobia and internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa is a self-contradictory situation. Chapter five has outlined the patterns of afrophobia in the broader South African society, while Chapter six has discussed the forms in which afrophobia manifests itself in public higher education. It is my the submission that South African public universities are going to remain attractive as study destinations for a long time to come for international students from Africa. For the reasons outlined in chapter four, South African higher education system, infrastructure, rankings and the high possibilities of securing a job in an economy and political establishment that is considered stable are some of the attractive factors associated with South African public higher education. Regrettably, the subtle afrophobic tendencies, practices and stereotypes in higher education in South Africa need not only to be exposed and challenged, but there is need to conceptualise social diversity that is inclusive of international students. In advancing the observation that internationalised public higher education universities are advantageous social spaces to eliminate afrophobia, this chapter proceeds by way of looking at the possibilities of rainbow cosmopolitanism. Rainbow cosmopolitanism is an extension of the rainbow nation concept proposed in post-apartheid South African political dispensation.

The literature on the notion of rainbow nation in South Africa seems to suggest that much was researched and analysed about it during the first decade of democracy. It could be that such a research interest life span was closely attached to the euphoria and optimism that was associated with the prospects of a new unified socially diversified country. However, the interests in researching and focus on rainbow nation seem to have dramatically faded with the realisation that the advent of political democracy did not necessarily translate into social harmony among the diverse racial, ethnic and linguistic social demographics that constitute South Africa. It may for the reasons of realisation of continual and obstinate incidences of racial tensions that some scholars and ordinary people alike now regard the rainbow nation notion as an unattainable state. There is scant literature on rainbow nation in the past five years, a probable sign that the notion may be gradually fading away.

Furthermore, the relevance and sustainability of rainbow nation notion was additionally put under severe challenge with the huge numbers of African immigrants since 1994. Chapter five has shown that South Africa has come to be intermittently characterised by the afrophobic attacks. Arguably, the rainbow nation myth is not suggestive that social values of non-
discrimination should be an entitlement for South Africans only but should be extended to foreign nationals as well. To this end, this chapter is discussed in recognition of the extension of the concept of rainbow nation to rainbow cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, there rainbow cosmopolitanism avails social cohesion possibilities that can enhance learning at higher institutions of education.

Afrophobia denies international students from the benefits that are associated with interaction and integration. Social bias and stereotypes consequently results in the establishment of social barriers that minimises social contact between African international and local South African students. It maintains that only nationals or those who should be socially tolerated at the diversity level are citizens. It may be that like in all nations, the import of a nation building metaphor can inadvertently reinforce and entrench the exclusive nationalism among its citizens.

The social dimension of internationalisation of higher education is basically informed by the constitutive internationalisation. In this regard, it is noted that the term internationalisation is composed of two attached words: inter which means between and national which is derived from nationalities. Rainbow cosmopolitan ideals are therefore, derived from the ideals of interrelations that are embedded in the concept of internationalisation.

CHAPTER NINE:

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The presence of afrophobia in South African public higher education contradicts against the social objectives of internationalisation of public higher education. As noted, tolerance and acceptance of social differences in terms of nationalities cultural norms such as language, dress code or even physical appearances is fundamental from the social objectives perspective of internationalisation of public higher education. The militancy of afrophobia to internationalisation is that it is anti-immigrant of African origin. Paradoxically, African international students constitute the majority number in the cohort of international students in South Africa. Though afrophobia is expressed in subtle forms vis-à-vis the broader society, the end result is similar. Afrophobia results in social exclusion, feelings of alienation, marginalisation and a sense of being unwanted on the campuses of public higher education.
From a critical race theory perspective, students who harbour and perpetrate afrophobic attitudes and practices possess a sense of unwarranted superiority. As a conclusive chapter, I begin by giving summative concluding remarks to the study. Afterwards, the chapter will develop some recommendations that are necessary consequents of the study.

9.2 Concluding remarks

The study has shown that afrophobia is inconsistent to the conceptualisations and rationales of internationalisation of public higher education. In South Africa, it is pointed out that “international students in particular those from Africa are in a contradictory position as on the one hand they are welcomed and encouraged to study in South Africa by universities and government … while on the other hand they face the possibility of xenophobia” (Bolsmann and Miller, 2008:216). This succinct observation by Bolsmann and Miller captures the contradiction that afrophobia brings in South African public higher education universities.

Drawing from this study, afrophobia is an impediment to the potential economic benefits that South African public universities can draw from recruitment and retention of African international students. Bearing in mind the fact that public universities derive financial gains from recruitment and retention of international students, it follows that afrophobia encumbers business sensibleness. In most cases, international students pay slightly higher tuition fees than their domestic counterparts in addition to charges such as international fees. Though, international students from Southern Africa pay the fees equivalent to domestic students, they are still charged exorbitant international levies. Furthermore, from an economic perspective, internationalisation creates employment opportunities for the host nationals through establishment of administrative offices such as staff manning international offices. Additionally, amenities such as accommodation and medical insurance are drawn from the host study nation state. Therefore, internationalisation of public higher education has positive financial ripple effects towards the broader society. Summarily, it could be stated that international students are economic investors to both the university and the broader society.

At a social level, afrophobia hinders the cultural value exchange which is supposed to occur at internationalised public universities. Internationalisation of public higher education envisions notions of social integration through the interactions of different people from different nation states. In this way, the internationalisation is supposed to bring a paradigm shift in conceptualisation and tolerance of social diversity. Accordingly, the conceptualisation of social diversity is overextended from parochial nationalism to broader international sphere. Ideally,
internationalisation of public higher education offers to students both local and international, an opportunity to learn culturally and socially from each other. For instance, it could be that African international students resist learning local languages for fear of being ridiculed for their accent in that particular language. Also, in a world that is increasingly becoming more global, internationalisation instils dispositions in students that will enable them to live and work with people of different nationalities.

At a political rationale level, afrophobia undermines the possibilities of eradication of negative stereotypes on other African nations. Most black South Africans tend to associate international students from nation states such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe or Mozambique with crime, diseases and poverty. Given this, public universities whose student social body is composed of these nationalities in addition to South Africans can be social spaces that facilitate dialogue and understanding through academic and social interactions. From the critical race perspective, academic education should ideally challenge stereotypes, misrepresentations, distortions and inaccuracies that may lead to afrophobia. International students are sometimes regarded as ambassadors of their host study nation states when they return back home. In other words, if they experience afrophobia at the university, they may develop negative attitudes towards South African higher education. Eventually, African international students may discourage their friends and relatives back home against the idea of studying in South Africa. To that end, afrophobia is an obstacle towards the numerical growth of international students as well as the general expansion of internationalisation of public higher education in South Africa. In this respect, it is noted that the number of African international students in South Africa appear to be declining (News24, 09th June 2017).

Debatably, the current ‘influx’ of African international students into South Africa should not be taken for granted. Owing to the disruptive nature of afrophobia, the number of African international students can further decrease. In this line of thought, while South Africa has remained a top destination for African international students, there are also other alternatives nation states with reputable public universities. Indeed former colonial nation states such as France and United Kingdom host many African international students.

From an academic perspective, afrophobia is counterintuitive to the nature of academia at university level. The knowledge that universities pursue is ordinarily supposed to be borderless (universal). It responds to the national, regional and international social, political, economic and cultural issues. In that way, knowledge cannot be demarcated as belonging exclusively to
a particular nation or region. In this regard, the increase in the numbers of African international students undertaking post-graduate research studies is in itself, a fulfilment of the vision of academia. Therefore, the mobility of international students is in alignment with pursuit of universal knowledge that is associated with public universities. As already discussed, some nation states such as Australia, United Kingdom or United States are devising measures to attract international students not only for economic, but for academic purposes. In view of the significance of academic objectives of internationalisation of public higher education, afrophobia is incontestably detrimental to the inclusivity and universalism that characterises academia. **Basing on these concluding remarks and the findings articulated, it becomes consequential that recommendations are submitted.**

### 9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AS DERIVATIVES OF RAINBOW COSMOPOLITANISM

Incontestably, the metaphor of rainbow nation is the informally employed in the process of nation building. The rainbow nation metaphor captures and represents the nation state’s collective efforts towards the eradication of racial attitudes and practices that were implanted during the apartheid era. For critical race theory, the national myth of rainbow nation sought to terminate the social arrangement in which the white race was considered to be superior to all other social groups in South Africa. However, besides addressing the social diversity challenges among citizens, the post-apartheid South Africa is now confronted with social diversity that arises within the framework of increased international immigration particularly from other African nation states. Considerably, internationalisation of higher education is a facet of international immigration in which rainbow cosmopolitanism is propounded to eliminate afrophobia in public universities in South Africa.

Accordingly, the recommendations in this chapter are primarily underscored by the need to extend rainbow nation (nationalistic) to rainbow cosmopolitanism (international).

#### 9.3.1 CONTINUOUS INTERNATIONAL INTER-CULTURAL ENGAGEMENTS

In this study, it has been noted that afrophobia arises because African international and South African local students know little of each other’s cultures. I am aware that most public universities hold celebratory cultural diversities week per year. For instance, the University of Johannesburg has slots a full week in September yearly, in which all cultural diversities are expressed through dance, music and food. The values of rainbow cosmopolitanism require social tolerance across nationalities so, more programs on cultural understanding should be put
in place. As a suggestion, public universities can introduce that besides English, international students can be taught a dominant indigenous language within the location of the university. As an example, international students can learn isiZulu at University of KwaZulu-Natal, seSotho at universities of Witwatersrand and Johannesburg, sePedi at the University of Limpopo. Knowledge of a language is critical since it enables the understanding of the embedded cultural symbols and values. A language is storage of people’s cultural worldview. Furthermore, in consideration of the possibility that some African international students do not return to their nation states of origin upon completion of their studies, learning a language assists in cultural integration at the work-place.

9.3.2 INSTITUTING SENSE OF BELONGING

In the course of this study, it has become evident that the subtle afrophobic tendencies that occur in the South African institutes of public higher education revolve around the notion of belonging. Accordingly, there is a misconception that public universities belong to nationals and not African international students. Perhaps, one of the contentious terms within the broad scope of internationalisation is the concept of public as constituted in public higher education. It is not the intention of this recommendation chapter to go deep into the intractable debate on the concept of public within internationalisation of public higher education. It suffices to state that from a rainbow nation perspective, public will exclusively refer to South African local students as nationals. However, from a rainbow cosmopolitanism viewpoint, the concept of public should be ‘extended’ to African and all other international students. To that end, South African institutions of public higher education should promote social cohesion not only at a national but international level. While the racial legacy of apartheid tend to resurface through racial cases such as the 2008 University of Free-State case, it is crucial that public universities pay attention to afrophobia within the student body. Deriving from this observation, it is ideal to recommend that symbols of belonging within the public university should not be exclusive and discriminatory against African international students. An international student should not be made to feel more foreign at a public university.

9.3.3 ETHICS OF HOSPITALITY IN UBUNTU

It is my submission that through seminars, public lectures or academic conventional lectures, the ethics of hospitality need to be reinforced within the student body in South African institutions of public higher education. As noted in chapter seven of this study, Ubuntu envisages humanness on the basis of affirming the common humanity. In this connection,
deriding other languages as *kwerekwere* is basically deriding the humanity of those speakers. In other words, afrophobia is an affront to the notion of humanity as encapsulated in Ubuntu. Therefore, the academics in public universities can further develop research on the relationship between Ubuntu and afrophobia to mitigate the tendencies for social discrimination.

**9.3.4 RAINBOW COSMOPOLITAN STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE LEADERSHIP**

I have noted that there is an imbalance of the nationality composition in the leadership structures of Student Representative Councils (SRC). Consequently, chapter six discussed some cases in which African international students find it ‘uncomfortable’ to report the Afrophobic experiences to such student bodies. In most public universities, the leadership of SRC is entirely composed of South African students who may not only be conversant with afrophobia, but regrettably, some of the SRC leadership members have also been alleged to be perpetrators of afrophobia. Predictably, given the interconnection between the explicitly violent afrophobia in the broader society and the subtle afrophobia in the public universities in South Africa, it is conceivable that SRC members can discriminate on nationality basis.

Deriving from the observation of the imbalance of the composition of the leadership in the SRC, this study recommends a rainbow cosmopolitan leadership composition. Instead of only having leaders from South Africa (rainbow nation), more students from other African nation states could be incorporated in SRC structures. Perhaps, a structure within the SRC could be put in place so that it serves concerns of the African international students. For instance during the 2015-2016 students’ demonstrations for free higher education, it was pointed out that the specific concerns of African and other international students were rather trivialised. For example, African international students at the University of Witwatersrand were sometimes reminded that the demand for free higher education was an exclusively South African local student’s immediate issue. In this connection, the recommendation on SRC’s compositional reflection of the rainbow cosmopolitanism does not seek to suggest that the economic perspective of internationalisation of higher education should be eliminated. Rather, the numerical increase in African international students into the SRC leadership composition may assist in the general cultural understanding and tolerance between African international and South African students.

**9.3.5 INCREASED AFRICAN STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES**

Rainbow cosmopolitanism that this study advances is essentially inclined towards addressing social challenges between international and domestic students. In other words, rainbow
cosmopolitanism is an international undertaking that seeks to address the social challenges at an international level. One observation that this study took notice of is that afrophobia is often caused by perceptions that other African nation states are economically underdeveloped. Subsequently African international students are often accused of competing for scarce resources that are meant for South African domestic students.

It is with regards to internationalisation that this study recommends increased students exchange programmes between public universities in South Africa and other African nation states for cultural purposes. In any case, regional protocols such as the 1997 SADC protocol on Education and Training and Arusha agreement exhort increased mobility across the African continent. An understanding of the economic, social and political circumstances that prevail in other African nation states could assist South African domestic students to be more tolerant, hospitable and compassionate towards African international students. In any case, the tenets of tolerant, courtesy and compassionate are some of the characteristics of both Ubuntu and cosmopolitanism. The increased academic exposure towards the social, economic and political issues in Africa could be promoted in public higher education in South Africa.

In addition, it has been noted, African international students arrive in South Africa with preconceived ideas that seem to suggest that all South Africans are afrophobic. Inadvertently, preconceived ideas may lead to oversensitivity and imagined forms of social exclusion or rejection. Accordingly during the recruitment process, public universities need to give correct information to the prospective students about the social challenges of afrophobia. Instead of African international students relying on the media about afrophobia in South Africa, it should be incumbent upon public universities to engage prospective African international students. As alluded to during the recruitment process. In other words, recruitment teams on international assignments should only concentrate on administrative issues of entry qualifications; visa applications, medical aid and so forth, but must discuss and deliberate on the social issue of afrophobia.

9.3.6 INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL COHESION OFFICES

On the recommendations of the 2008 Ministerial Committee on Social Cohesion and Elimination of Discrimination, some South African institutions of public higher education established Social Cohesion offices. Primarily, the tasks of Social Cohesion appear to concentrate on the immediate issue of racism and sexism within public universities. However, it is the recommendation of this study based on the model of rainbow cosmopolitanism that
Social Cohesion offices must reflect and deal with the international dimension of the respective student body. If Social Cohesion offices become international, then they can deal with issues of discrimination that occurs between a local and an international student. The necessity of international Social Cohesion offices cannot be overemphasised given the point noted that International offices seem to be more concerned with administrative than social challenges facing international students.

9.4 CONCEPTUAL CONTRIBUTION OF STUDY ON RAINBOW COSMOPOLITANISM

The significant contribution that this study has made is the highlighting of the concept of afrophobia to the corpus of knowledge. To arrive at afrophobia, the study has interrogated xenophobia in South Africa, and established that inherent power relations point are to blame for this type of xenophobia. Most academic literature conceptualised the discrimination against foreign nationals in South Africa as xenophobia, but this misrepresents the actual patterns and manifestation of this phenomenon. Literature that is informed by empirical research was analysed to establish the primary target of xenophobia. In South Africa Africans from other African nations were targeted, hence afrophobia. Consider the follow example that accentuates the importance of concepts: There is a ‘new’ concept called Islamophobia that represents the fear, dislike or hatred of Islam and its adherents. On this account, it is misleading to talk of hatred of all religions because it certainly gives a wrong impression that all other religions are hated. In consideration of this, afrophobia constitutes a conceptual shift from generic xenophobia.

The conceptualisation of race is the second major contribution of this study. The seemingly obvious understanding of race especially in the political history of Africa, confines race to the binary of white and black skin colour. It may be for that reason that there is a race called coloured which from the definition by binary of white and black, becomes a composite of white and black. However, the concept of race has been broadened to refer to social categorisation that defines other national groups as superior over and above other nationalities. Furthermore, in the framework of afrophobia, race is central for it is the determining factor of the basis of discrimination of people from African nation states.

In South Africa it may appear like a contradiction that European international students are exempted from xenophobia in a country with long historical tensions of racism. The focus of afrophobia is black African international students. In this regard, the seemingly social
tolerance of white European international students, defy the ordinary idea that there is racial tension between white and black South Africans. This study has contributed to the theorising of the notions of racism to avoid the oversimplification of the term.

On the account of critical race theory, I have observed that African international students can be categorised as an inferior race. On the other hand, domestic South Africans and European students are the arguably the superior race. But critical race theory allowed me to conceptualise that race is a fluid term that changes with given social contexts. To that end, this study did not confine race to biological definitions that entail physical appearances and traits that include skin colour or types of hair; rather, I extended race to connote social categories of people. The justification for using social categorisation of race is primarily informed by the political and historical context of South Africa. During the apartheid political dispensation, the white race was constructed to represent material and economic superiority. Inopportunely, the black race symbolised inferiority, underdevelopment, poverty and chaos among other negative connotations.

Additionally, the global media often portray the continent of Africa as primitive and in other negative images that people would not want to associate themselves with (Matsinhe, 2011). However, there is a theory of exceptionalism which suggests that South Africa as a relatively industrialised nation state is an exception to the primitive and undeveloped image of the African continent. Accordingly, it is stated that in view of exceptionalism the prevailing idea is that South Africa is not really like all other African nation states in terms of economic development, rather it should be compared in reference to highly developed nation states in Europe (Neocosmos, 2008). Consequently in line with critical race theory, black people from other African nation states are often derided upon as backward and uncivilised as pointed out and discussed in Chapters five and six of this study. The incident in which the President Jacob Zuma of South Africa points out that South Africans should be proud of their road network as compared to those in Malawi further reinforces the theory of exceptionalism (SABC, July 2013). The rest of African countries are stereotyped as ravaged by perennial wars, political, social and tribal conflicts that have plunged these countries into poverty and misery. But, South Africa is judged as comparatively developed with better democratic credentials. While some of the negative perceptions of other African countries are a good reflection of the economic and political existing states, these conditions tend to cascade into both the public and the universities.
The conceptualisation of internationalisation is always specific to a given region because of its political, economic and social circumstances. In some regions because of advanced technologies, internationalisation may mean the use of technologies such as skype or electronic mails especially at post-graduate level or the establishment of satellite campuses in another country. However, in Africa the dominant conception of internationalisation implies physical international mobility of students across geographical national borders. Mobility across borders is common despite the presence of an established international distance education from the University of South Africa (UNISA).

The conceptual distinctions of forms of internationalisation of higher education are of critical importance since they have a bearing on the recommendations that I make. In this regard, the conceptualisation of international education such as the use of communicative technologies (virtual learning), and the establishment of satellite campuses has reduced social contacts with study destination country’s cultures and people. The establishment of satellite campuses in a foreign country enables students to receive international education without crossing international borders. Conceptually, international migration implies contact with other people and cultures. This contact is the basis for xenophobia and afrophobia that involves internationalisation owing to cross border travelling. Next, I discuss the limitations of this study.

9.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study adopted a conceptual methodological inquiry within the domain of philosophy of education. In the application of this methodology, secondary data from sources such as journal articles, books, government documents, regional protocols and some few current newspaper articles have been used to outline afrophobia in both broader society and public universities in South Africa. Subsequently, a limitation of the study is that secondary data can result in flawed interpretations. So, this study has entirely relied on published literature on the questions of xenophobia, afrophobia and the internationalisation of public higher education.

Also, a literature based research can be accused of selective approach to suit the desired objective of the researcher. In other words, a researcher can choose to include types of literature sources that are aligned to a certain goal. Conversely, a researcher can simultaneously choose to reject or exclude literature that contradict or does not advance his or her preconceived notion of the subject of investigation. In this connection, the key limitation of this study lies in the source of information, namely it is limited to published literature.
To the extent that this study is conceptual, it has incorporated elements of critical race theory as a unit of analysis. For example, one such element is the analysis of power relations in the ideals of internationalisation and the ideals of afrophobia. In both internationalisation and afrophobia, there are inherent power relations that define the dominant and marginalised social groups. South African universities are more internationalised in terms of social composition, research interactions with other leading universities, and also enjoy international ranking. The fact that South African universities enjoy higher standards gives South African local students some sense of superiority against African international students.

Lastly, in outlining the issue of power relations, an evident weakness is that of excluding primary data that could have been collected through interviews to get the voices and stories of students as narratives to inform the discourse of the study. Narratives ordinarily form the basis of critical race theory, but as it were, I did not conduct empirical researcher to provide primary data. Methodologically, the study confined itself to narratives from secondary data in the literature. In the section below, I discuss the recommendation of this study.

9.6 CONCLUSION

The ever-increasing demand for higher education in Africa has resulted in an upsurge of the international mobility of African students. For Africa, the most popular destination for higher education is South Africa due to better quality education, advanced technological and infrastructural system as well as the prospects of securing a job in an economically stable nation. Regrettably, the presence of afrophobia in both broader society and the public universities is an anti-thesis to the broader scope of internationalisation of public higher education. To this end, this study has expounded the rainbow cosmopolitanism to eliminate the detrimental practices of afrophobia.

I have argued that afrophobia can be mitigated or eliminated by drawing on the metaphor of rainbow nation. The metaphor of rainbow nation was coined to unify a socially diverse society in terms of racial and ethnic groupings. However, the inadequacies of this concept drove me to develop the term rainbow cosmopolitanism — to be inclusive of African international students, a recognisable feature of the social composition of the South African student body at public universities. Rainbow cosmopolitanism is a new identity that is intended to forge social inclusivity, foster social tolerance and non-discrimination norms that are captured in the metaphor — rainbow nation. Rainbow cosmopolitanism negates exclusive nationalism and afrophobia in the international public higher education institutions.
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