Shifting contexts, shifting identities:

A realist exploration of transnational mobility, change and identity construction in South African Higher Education expatriates in Abu Dhabi, UAE.

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Thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Rhodes University

December 2018

ABSTRACT

Positioned in relation to the globalization of higher education, this realist study is approached from an interest in identity and focuses on nine South African academics professional contexts in South Africa and Abu Dhabi, UAE.

As the context of identity formation and emergence is always local, the intention of this research was never to generalize. Rather, in using Bhaskar's critical realism as its underpinning philosophy, and Archer's social realism, theories on self, personal and the development and attainment of social identity - her concept of analytical dualism and her morphogenetic framework, this qualitative case study was designed to explore how global and national powers and mechanism effected change in this sub-group of academic's respective higher education sectors and institutions in post- 1994 South Africa and in Abu Dhabi between 2008 and 2016 .

The study suggests that participants perceived their academic roles and role-incumbent professional identities to have been negatively impacted by the changes that were implemented in the South African higher education sector as a result the countries reintroduction to the global stage. Their response to become transnational educators in Abu Dhabi's presented them with conditions that allied their professional experiences of the transformation of South African's higher education sector. This led to a continued sense of loss of academic agency and powerlessness. This effecting the emergence, through the personal power of reflectivity, combined with discourse and affinity powers and mechanisms, in a social identity that supplanted their academic identities.

KEY WORDS

Globalization, higher education, realism, identity, expatriation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to the following people who made this research possible:

My supervisor Professor Chrissie Boughey, whose quiet support and guidance was central to my completing the study.

My expatriate participants for generously sharing their time and experiences with me.

My husband Butch, who believed in, encouraged and supported me every step of the long, long way. If I loved you for no other reason, I would love you for this.

Wesson, my elder son, a Rat himself - the image of us sitting together one day dressed in red gowns was a huge motivator to me. It's your turn now bud. Oh! and by the way, you can call me DocDubes now.

My younger son, Challin, who kept hearth and home while we were away. Thanks for the rather pointed memes - they always arrived when I most needed a laugh.

My sister Jocelyn, thank you for being there when I was tired of writing and just needed to talk.

To my brother Christopher. Hey Doc - you started this. I so wish you had stuck around to celebrate at the finish line.

To my parent's Dr. Gordon and Mrs. Dolly Wright, although also no longer with us, thank you for instilling in me a love of reading and inquiry. For these reasons I have always had a friend, and skills that served me well throughout my career and this study. Thinking back, we were the only children I knew who were encouraged to annotate books and request, politely-no-less, for elucidation of many an adult assertion.

To all my family, friends, neighbours and colleagues (past and present) - too many to name; I thank and bless you all with my favourite (Irish) Prayer and Blessing.

May the road rise to meet you.
May the wind always be at your back.
May the sun shine warm upon your face; the rain falls soft upon your fields.
And until we meet again,
May God hold you gently in the palm of His hand.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADEC	Abu Dhabi Education Council
ADEK	Department of Education and Knowledge
ADCB	Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank
ADNOC	Abu Dhabi National Oil Company
AHEA	European Higher Education Area
CAA	Commission for Academic Accreditation
CCAS	Cooperation Council for the Arab States
CEoE	Concise Encyclopaedia of Engineering
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
DoE	Department of Education
ECSSR	Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research
FCSA	Federal Competitiveness and Statistics Authority
GEAR	*Growth, Employment and Redistribution*
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GNU	Government of National Unity
HCT	Higher Colleges of Technology (HCT
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Committee
HOD	Head of Department
INQAAHE	International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation.
KHDA	Knowledge and Human Development Authority
LoC	Library of Congress,
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoHESR	Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
NAPO	National Admissions and Placement Office.
NCDR	National Centre for Documentation and Research
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NPHE	National Plan on Higher Education
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
OSD	Oxford Student's Dictionary
PwC	PricewaterhouseCoopers
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
QS	Quacquarelli Symonds (Global education analyses)
RDP	*Reconstruction and Development Program*
GEAR	*Growth, Employment and Redistribution*

SAHO	South African History Online
SAG	South African Government
SIE	Self-Initiated Expatriate
SETA	Sector Education & Training Authorities
UA	United Arab Emirates
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UoT	University of Technology

ACT ONE: SETTING THE SCENE

INTRODUCING THE PARTS AND THE PLAYERS

"Pursue what is meaningful,
not what is expedient".
Jordan B. Peterson (2016)
Quora

1.1 FRONT OF HOUSE CALL

Welcome ladies and gentlemen to this production of a realist exploration of transnational mobility, change and identity construction in the lives of a number of higher education South African academics.

This opening segment serves to introduce the producer/director of the study and includes the backdrop, and the scenes in which the experiences of these participants unfold. The background and forthcoming scenes include the purpose for conducting a realist study on the reasons, experiences, contexts and changes that accrued to these participants in their journey as transnational higher education expatriates.

1.2 UNFOLDING THE PLOT

In 2008, my husband and I joined the ranks of the estimated forty-to-a-hundred-thousand South African expatriates (Gerardy, 2008) living and working in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). As a resident of Abu Dhabi, Abu Dhabi, UAE for more than nine years, home became both a physical and an emotional place shared between South Africa and the UAE. When in South Africa, home was in a quiet leafy suburb in subtropical Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal. It is a place I was able to visit frequently; and where, after a very short while, with few adjustments, I was soon able to feel I was in sync with time and space and with the people with whom I come into contact. It was the home that required little conscious planning or thought for me to complete day-to-day activities like driving my car on the left-hand side of the road, selecting familiar food brands and cleaning items or recognizing a good price on an item when shopping at a store. Such stores have a familiar feeling, a cadence, and a layout that seemed to allow for an easy approach and access to required products. Durban, South Africa, is the place where I fell into an easy rhythm knowing that most suppliers and banks would open up at around about 8 or 9 in the morning and close at about 6 in the early evening. It is the place where I easily understood the language

and numerals on bill slips, and easily recognized and was able to use cash currency - without the need to inspect each coin or note closely prior to proffering it in exchange for a purchased item. It is also the place where I know that weekend days are Saturdays and Sundays, and that Monday is the beginning of the commercial working week.

My second home, where I lived with my husband during the northern hemisphere's academic year, was in the capital and island city of Abu Dhabi in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi – the largest and wealthiest Emirate in the UAE (Campbell, 1986; Al-Majaida, 2002; Findlow, 2006; Al-Fahim, 2007; Fortune, 2007; French,2010; Heard-Bey, 2011; NCDR, 2011b; BusinessTech, 2017; Langton, 2017; and Williams 2017). As the place where I spent most of the year and the place where I had chosen to continue my career as a lecturer in higher education, Abu Dhabi became my primary home. It also became the city in which I was able to take up employment as a lecturer in three different institutions of higher education – public and private – and these in turn became the places of employment in which I was able to have many new and interesting experiences as an expatriate educator.

As an expatriate amongst millions of other expatriates, Abu Dhabi became the place where, and with very little effort, I was able to make numerous friends from countries as distant from South Africa and each other as Canada, Australia, England, the United States, New Zealand, Russia and various Balkan states; places as exotic to so many of my expatriate colleagues and myself as Peru and Trinidad and Tobago, and as close as Turkey and 'our' neighbouring Arab countries of Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon. Abu Dhabi too, became a place where, on a day excursion, within a few kilometers distance from each other, I was able to view and experience the vastness of a dry, desolate and windswept desert with summer sunrise temperatures of 35° C then, later on in the same morning, swim with dolphins at a complex that could be likened to any natural tropical paradise with midday temperature of between 45 - 53° C and humidity levels in the upper 70s and, within a few hours and a short trip of less than 100 kilometers, experience an enormously realistic, and icy-cold, man-made indoor ski resort that has a maximum temperature of minus 4° C.

Abu Dhabi was, however, the place that required me to make an emotional and psychological re-adjustment on my every return – even after a very short time away. The feeling of discomposure that I experience on every homecoming to the UAE was, I have worked out, not due to the expected, small, but numerous adjustments one has to make when becoming familiar or reacquainted with surroundings, customs and previously unknown routines like living in a high-rise apartment, driving a car on the right hand side of the road, translating unfamiliar squiggly looking numerals to work out prices, times, costs or distances, finding food and cleaning items that were comparable to 'age old' and favoured tried and tested preferences, carefully having to study the local currency notes and coins to ensure that I had tendered the appropriate amount for a purchase, or indeed having to establish a routine that accommodated a working week that began on a Sunday morning and ended on a Thursday afternoon. The discombobulation that I experienced came about because I was constantly vying between a state of disbelief and one of awe at the wide range and discrepancies between the logical and seamless functionality of both people and systems on the one hand, and what could only be described as illogical, dogmatic, ineffectual, useless and frustrating processes, systems and people on the other.

Living and working in the UAE as a non-national, or more clearly as an expatriate, be it on a fixed or open work-based visa, is not the same as being an immigrant in a country foreign to one's own and wanting to inculcate oneself in the culture, traditions and rituals of a new locale in order to feel settled and truly 'at home'. The reasons for this are few but common to all transnational expatriates in the UAE. One of the reasons for this is that all expatriates who live in the UAE are, and can only ever be, temporary residents (Richardson & Zikic, 2007). Living and working in the country is permitted only with the support of a sponsor. This means that everyone who is not a 'National' or 'Emirati', has no permanent residential status. At the time of writing, expatriate residency was dependent on one's employment status through a company, self-employment through a free zone, via property ownership or a spouse or parent who act as a guarantor for a 'temporary and visa-bound' stay in the Emirates. A second reason, in my opinion, for the somewhat emotional and confusing state that so many expatriates experience while living in the UAE is, that although the country is geographically small, it has a sizable and ever-growing population. Most of these expatriates live and work in high density apartments

and complexes in a handful of densly populated cities situated mainly along the coastline. Additionally, as the now more that 9 million inhabitants of the UAE hail from any one of more than two hundred nations around the world (UAEeGP, 2005; Al-Fahim, 2007; Society, 2011; Al-Shehhi, 2011; Heard-Bey, 2011 and The National, 2014), I believe made one feel as if one was in a place akin to the Tower of Babel - as amongst hundreds of people, one can hear almost an equal number of unfamiliar languages spoken by people dressed in unfamiliar clothing from distant shores.

In addition to the multiplicity of nationalities, languages, cultures and traditions that reside side-by-side in the UAE, requiring one to be socially mindful and sensitive and generally exquisitely respectful to the point often of obsequiousness. One is required also to be constantly on-guard not to proselytize if not Muslim, and to be politically careful and socially in-tune in order not to accidently insult or cause offence to anyone - particularly an Emirati, as personal insult is punishable that include heavy penalties and perhaps even the loss of one's job and residency (Heard-Bey, 2011). Not to behave in a way considered to be correct can result, and has resulted, on a number of well-documented occasions, in expatriate transgressors' immediate arrest, jail time and ultimate expulsion and banning from the country. One, therefore, has to be constantly alert and aware of what and whom one is dealing with. This is an exhausting exercise, and one that requires continuous personal thought, reflection and often leads to personal censorship and suppression of words and actions. Positively, however, it is most enlightening and exciting to be in a locale where one can learn first-hand about other nationalities home countries, their beliefs and traditions and the reasons for their expatriate status. Most optimistically, one is given the feeling that anything and everything is possible in this young, opulent and fast developing Middle Eastern Country. For me, the most exciting aspect of my expatriate experience was that I believe I was occasioned to meet someone or learn something new every day in my 'home from home'.

Although these reflections follow the many years I lived and worked in Abu Dhabi, and to some extent is a product of this study, I realized, after a few years of living between my two homes, that I no longer perceived daily occurrences as I did when I first arrived in the Emirates. This led me to consider if my experiences of living and working in Abu Dhabi had changed me. I further wondered if they had, how, who or what factors or combination

of factors brought about the changes. Given these thoughts, and following general events and specific events in higher education back in South Africa and having become aware of the many reasons for emigrating, opportunities and difficulties people who become transnational migrants, specifically those who chose the UAE in which to live and work, had encountered and had to deal with, I came to consider the idea of developing my thoughts into a study. I particularly wanted to know what had compelled fellow expatriate South Africans to leave their higher education institutions in South Africa to work in the UAE. I was also interested to explore the effects that their new environment and its systems and people had on their ideas, beliefs, practices, and indeed on their identities.

One of the main reason for considering this subgroup of expatriates as participants for my study is that I am a born-and-bred South African. My forays beyond South African borders prior to moving to the Middle East had been limited only to vacations in various Southern African Development Community countries (SADC). These countries and their sights and sounds had always had a familiar resonance and were largely in keeping with my experiences of home. As such, these places seemed to be extensions of languages, places, people, systems and practices that I was familiar with. As such, my travels had been enjoyable but had held few surprises. In contrast, the very few, short sightseeing trips to the European and Asian countries that I had had prior to becoming an expatriate, had me reeling from the unfamiliar that I was presented with by the local people, their languages, the natural landscapes and man-made buildings. These were feelings that experienced again when we moved to Abu Dhabi, and ones which were initially only quieted when in the company of other South Africans. I soon came to realise that this was due to the ease of conversation and companionability that our common understanding and use of familiar terminology, places, people and history seemed to bring to our meetings. As will be explained further on in this thesis, the participants for this study were selected from a group of people who Kramsch (2001: 106) would have describes as being members of “a discourse community (in which) they share a common social space and history, and common imaginings” (brackets mine). By limiting this study to South Africans, I was hoping to avoid having to first understand the unfamiliar backgrounds, different contexts and varying terminology participants from other countries would bring to the conversation. Such aspects would require me to understand who it is that they were, before I could begin the exercise of trying to determine why they left their home countries

and who it is they had now become by virtue of the experiences that they had had with systems and people in Abu Dhabi. This, I contend, was by no means a shortcut, but rather a germane way of investigating a set of causes and reasons for events and experiences that may have acted as 'push' factors for a homogenous group of people to move to Abu Dhabi. I was also interested to explore what systems and practices, in their new higher education contexts, are the same and which are different from those in South Africa and how these affected their practices and their notions of their professional roles and identities.

My second main reason for wanting to investigate South African educationists was because, while navigating the process of acquiring the paperwork required for the bureaucratic rigmarole of moving to the UAE to work and live, I had to go through the long but obligatory bureaucratic process of having my qualifications notarized. One of the procedures necessitated my obtaining a letter from the Department of Education (DoE) in Pretoria in order to confirm the authenticity of my transcriptions. During a consultation with one of the DoE officials, she commented that "the UAE should become the tenth province of South Africa, as it has so many South Africans educators living and working there". This insight into the numbers of South African educationists in the UAE was borne out frequently in Abu Dhabi as, whenever I was introduced to yet another 'Saffer' [1] they were inevitably involved in education in some way or another.

Thirdly, as one of those 'Saffers' who had been a lecturer and academic manager for more than 20 years at a number of South African higher education institutions prior to 1994 and during a period of great change in South Africa post 1994, I was under the impression that I had experienced all the challenges that could be experienced as a lecturer in a higher education institution. I believed that few things could surprise me, or further require me to alter my views and practices. This notion had, however, been proved wrong as my daily experiences and interactions with people and systems in UAE higher education institutions were both different but equally challenging as those that I had faced at work in South Africa. I wondered, therefore, if other South Africans had had similar experiences. These thoughts therefore led to a desire to investigate what it was that other

[1] 'Saffer' is a derogatory term, originating from the United Kingdom and commonly used by western expatriates, to denote South Africans.

South African educators had moved away from, what their new circumstances were and how they operated with people in organisations, and system underpinned by the social and cultural contexts of a religious and relatively conservative Muslim country. In addition, I also wanted to explore participants' awareness of potential differences between themselves and other's values, beliefs, and systems, as well as the ways their new conditions caused them to behave and operate. I wondered if, as a result of their professional interactions, they had recognized when it had been more appropriate to adapt and change their beliefs and practices, and when they felt compelled to try and change other people's ideas and practices. More importantly, I wondered if the changes had been guided by awareness, prudence, care and respect.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

According to Tomlinson (1999: 2 in Fairclough, 2006: 107), different traditions, customs and systems "may add to the extension of the individuals' phenomenal world". In relation to this statement I would contend that such experiences foster adaptation and change on the part of individuals in terms of behaviour and self-identity and as such have reference to my study. It was therefore to the concepts of change and adaptation that I directed my research by exploring what had prompted the participants of this study to move from their academic positions in South African higher education institutions to institutions in Abu Dhabi. The purpose was also to explore how participants Abu Dhabi working conditions affected their roles and identities.

Through extensive reading it became apparent that globalization generally, and the globalization of knowledge more specifically, along with the processes that emanated from a rapidly integrating world and an ever-increasing dependence on the so-called 'knowledge economy' are not only the subjects of much research but were pertinent to the study that I wished to conduct. The literature, however, also seemed to indicate that there is a scarcity of research both on the reasons for expatriation and the effects it has on higher education professionals. There also appeared to be a dearth of research on the effects that expatriate academics have on the systems and people with whom they work. My goal, therefore, was to conduct a case study on expatriate South African academics working in higher education instituitions in Abu Dhabi, UAE, as an under-researched subpopulation, to establish the reasons that initiated their transnational migration, as well

as to explore the culture and structural conditions they encountered in their new work-based contexts and the impact these had on their roles and identities.

1.4 FIELD

This study, positioned in the field of Higher Education, seeks to explore the reasons expatriate South African academics moved to work in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, UAE. The study is located in work on globalization in relation to higher education and is approached from an interest in identity.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION

How did cultural and structural conditions in South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors alter participating academics' work experiences and identities?

As my study drew on a critical and social realist lens which will be explained later in this thesis, my sub-questions were framed in terms of this.

1.5.1 SUB QUESTIONS

- What cultural emergent properties did educators encounter?
- What structural emergent properties did educators encounter?
- How did they exercise their agency in response to these?

1.6 THE BACKSTORY

As mentioned previously, my interest in this study was as a result of personal and professional experiences and an interest in South African expatriates who had moved from positions in institutions of higher education in South Africa post-1994 to work in higher education institutions in Abu Dhabi after the UAE's higher education sector had itself undergone an enormous transformation as a result of social and economic factors. I was consequently most surprised to discover that my initial, and probably more superficial, interest in the expatriate South African educators who had become global educators in Abu Dhabi went beyond the individual, their identities and their experiences of the conditions and structures at their local contexts. Rather, I was to discover that my enquiry would encompass critique on larger issues such as the globalization of education, the marketization and massification of the international higher education sector and, to some extent, higher education in a "chaotic situation" (Barnett, 2005: 790) and in a 'state of crisis' (Webster and Mosoetsa, 2001; and Johnson, 2006). My enquiry would also find me delving into whether participants' understanding of global and neo-colonizing influences, and as expressed by Kim (2010: 584), their "overall orientation towards life

and epistemic paradigms" (*ibid*: 584), resulted in any awareness of their potential to be "vehicles for the imposition of Western modes of reasoning" (Barnett, 2005: 785) in the 'foreign' institutions in which they were teaching.

The following section therefore serves to provide a broad background to higher education in both South Africa and the UAE in order to explain the starting points from which the South African expatriates commenced and played out their academic roles. The reason for including this information is twofold. Firstly, and as will be explained in greater detail in subsequent chapters, "This is the human condition, to be born into a social context (of language, beliefs and organizations) which was not of our making" (Archer, 1995: 72). In other words, our contexts condition, but do not determine, our lives. In order to understand the choices that the participants in this study made in their home countries and in their adopted milieu, we need to understand the contexts from which they came and those to which they moved. The following sections have therefore been included to provide a broad perspective on both South Africa and Abu Dhabi and the UAE as a whole.

The second reason for including a broad description of participants' backgrounds and old and new contexts is because, according to Stark & Torrance, in order to "understanding the peculiarities of particular situations or events" one needs "to pay attention to the social and historical context of action, as well as the action itself" (2005: 33). Further to this, Sayer expresses the opinion that "there is no view from nowhere – all knowledge is socially situated, and contextual" (2000: 53). These comments, and my decision to include the following information would, I believe, have been supported by Maxwell, who claimed that "how individuals act is influenced by how they think and make sense of what is going on" (2012: 19) and "individuals' physical contexts have a causal influence on their beliefs and perspectives" (2012: 20).

1.7 SCENE ONE: SOUTH AFRICA, A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW PRE-1994

Situated at the southern end of the African continent, South Africa has a prehistory that dates back more than two and a half million years - with archaeological evidence of Homo sapiens having occupied the region approximately 125 thousand years ago (Woodhouse, 1996). As a result of the 'Age of Discovery', European exploration, and the beginning of what was to become the culture and concept of globalization, indigenous Khoisan and

other migratory Bantu-speakers, who had inhabited the Cape Peninsula for more than two millennia (Sadr, 2008), were brought into contact and conflict with Portuguese, Dutch and British explorers and colonists who, as a result of the Cape's natural resources and strategic maritime position (Noble, 1893), invaded, settled and governed the Cape at various times from the late 15th century onwards.

Following a period of occupation and rule by various European colonists between the 17th and 19th centuries, conflict arose between the ruling British and a number of Dutch settlers. This resulted in a period of expansion from the Cape into the interior of South Africa in the early 19th century by groups of Dutch settlers. While the expansion and migration of white settlers from the Cape created engagement and wars between whites and blacks, the discovery of diamonds and gold in the interior also resulted in a period of hostilities and wars between the English and Afrikaners (descendants of Dutch settlers) (Hart, 2013).

In the early 20th century, power brokering on the part of Britain resulted in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, a fully sovereign dominion of Britain. In terms of education this meant that there was a large British influence with many institutions and systems established, influenced and run by churches and missionaries (du Pré, 2004; and Hart, 2013). In 1948, the National Party, a mainly Afrikaans party, came to victory on a manifesto based on racial segregation and further reductions of what was already a limited set of black rights (SAHO, 2016).

Formed in 1961, the Republic of South Africa was a divided country ruled by the white minority under the restrictive and discriminatory concept of 'separateness' or 'Apartheid'. During this time, the Nationalist government took control of the whole education sector and separated it along racial lines for the purpose of maintaining "racial hierarchies" (du Pré, 2004; and Hassim, 2009: 63). This resulted in a binary system that provided higher education at a provincial level for the African, Coloured and Indian populations under the Department of Education and Culture, and higher education at a national level for the white population under the Department of National Education.

In addition to this divide, the Provincial higher education sector was made up of separate institutions for Black, Indian and Coloured students. These institutions were severely underfunded and limited in numbers, size and the qualifications they could offer. The Department of National Education made provision for a number of more privileged institutions designated for White English and Afrikaans students. In comparison to institutions designated for black students, these 'historically advantaged institutions[2]' (HAIs) were favoured in terms of funding, qualified human resources, number and variety of academic programmes available to students, location and support for research (OECD, 2008).

Higher education institutions were also separated into different types (Bunting, 2002). There were universities that awarded degrees and were designated for science and knowledge production; 'technikons' that were higher education institutions - much like polytechnics in the UK that were intended for the training of career orientated technicians and technologists that awarded diplomas; and colleges (some of which fell outside the Education ministries) for nursing, police, agriculture and teacher education that also awarded certificates and diplomas (CHE, 1998 and Bunting, 2002).

The political end to the general system of segregation and repression began to untangle towards the end of the 1980s. This was the result of years of sanctions, and growing economic problems faced by the country. There was also the recognition that the social conditions, continuing and escalating isolation, hardships and very importantly, the successful national and international anti–apartheid activity - including the volatile social action taken by secondary school students in the late 70s, was no longer a tenable situation (du Pré, 1994; and SAHO, 2016). Considered the 'polecats of the world' for almost 50 years, South Africa made great strides to redeem herself politically, socially and economically. As a result, in 1994, under the banner of the African National Congress's (ANC) Freedom Charter, South Africans revoked the yoke of Afrikaner nationalism and the apartheid government, and voted in the Government of National Unity

[2] In South African it is common to speak about 'historically advantaged institutions' (HAIs) and 'historically disadvantaged institutions' (HDIs). Sometimes, the division between these two kinds of institutions is indicated by the terms 'historically black institution' (HBI) and 'historically white institution' (HWI). For a number of reasons and in spite of the fact that twenty-five years have passed since the first democratic election, these divisions continue to this day.

under the presidency of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (Meredith, 2010; and Sampson, 2011).

1.8 SCENE TWO: A COOK'S TOUR OF THE UAE AND ABU DHABI

"It's life, Jim,
but not as we know it,
not as we know it"
The Firm (1991)
Star Trekkin'

This following background to the geographical and historical characteristics of the UAE are the realities in which, and with which, locals, expatriates and tourists are required to engage when living, working and visiting the UAE. As much as one's context, as expressed by Tomlinson (1992: 2 in Fairclough, 2006: 107) "may add to extension of the individuals' phenomenal world", there are, I believe, general matters that still require consideration, accommodation and adaptation on the part of expatriates in order for them to straddle the divide between the demands of their academic positions, their inclinations to share their Western views, and the continuing (and growing) struggle this small Middle Eastern county has to contend with in order to preserve its social, cultural and religious heritage. Especially if one takes into account the modern, western and secular influences brought about by liberal, democratic, and global discourses in a transforming and increasingly integrated world.

Figure 1: Position of the UAE against a map of the world.

Mapquest. (2011).
http://www.mapquest.com/maps?country=AE [Accessed 2011]

1.8.1 GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS

1.8.1.1 LOCATION

Positioned in the area where Europe, Asia and Africa meet, the UAE can be classified as a Middle Eastern country of the Gulf Region (Williams, 2017). This definition, according to the World Atlas explore your world (World Atlas, 2011), as with so many aspects of this area, is subject to personal and political opinion. As one of seven countries on the Gulf Peninsula, the UAE borders the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Sultanate of Oman and has a seaward border on the Persian Gulf called the Strait of Hormuz. The Strait of Hormuz is geographically very strategic as it is through this passage that a great deal of the world's oil is transported (World Atlas, 2011).

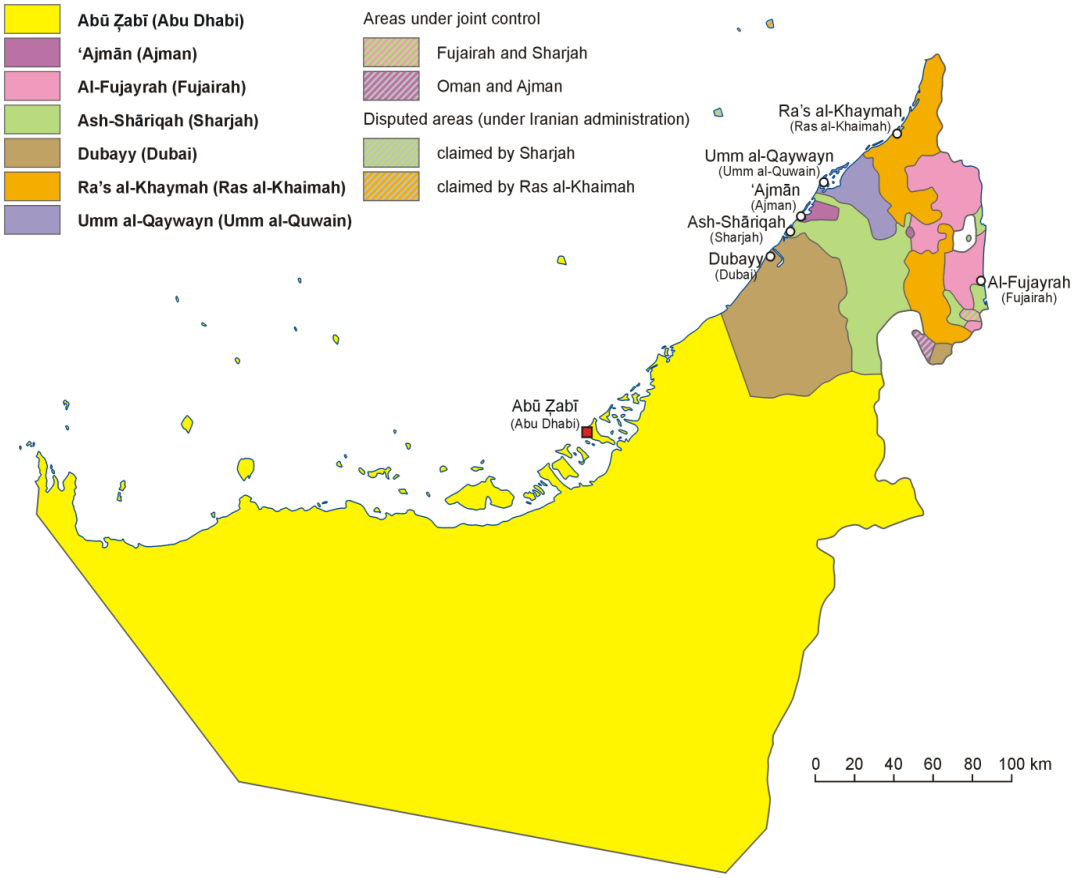

Figure 2: Map of size and positing of each of the Emirates.

Wikimedia, (2011).
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e0/UAE_Regions_map.png
[Accessed 2011]

1.8.1.2 CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

With a long seaboard, the UAE has a subtropical-arid climate with summer temperatures occasionally reaching 50 degrees and possibly even higher in July and August. These high temperatures are made more unbearable in the later part of the northern hemisphere summer by damp air from the Indian monsoons. Warm winters bring the annual rainfalls. This unfortunately equates to the drier coastal belt experiencing fewer than 120 mm of rain per year. Dust storms are not infrequent and emanate from the immense desert area south of Oman and Yemen and west of The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (World Atlas, 2011; and Hurriez, 2013).

A consequence of the intense heat that is experienced in the country for approximately eight months of the year is that the indigenous population became nocturnal by nature. Historically, residents of the region learned to get about and perform many of their daily functions after the sun had set so as to avoid the debilitating daily temperatures. This practice continues in the current context despite ample air conditioning systems that are ubiquitous and found in all forms of transport, commercial and private buildings. There are even air-conditioned bus and taxi stops. This has resulted in many businesses only opening and operating after 10h00 in the morning, closing during the afternoon, and then reopening until midnight (Heard-Bey, 2011). Many higher education institutions operate between 09:00 and 21:00. The majority of the country's cities have been built along the coast and, with the explosion of the expatriate population brought in to build and work in the economy of the country, this has resulted in dense high-rise areas and congestion (Heard-Bey, 2011).

1.8.1.3 WATER

Although there are no rivers in any of the seven emirates, the natural flora and fauna and traditional Bedouins, or desert dwellers, were sustained by aquifers (ground water) found in oasis areas (Losleben, 2003). A number of irrigation systems developed since prehistoric times are still in use today and can be seen at sites in close proximity to these aquifers (Hurriez, 2013).

The acquisition of fresh water is, however, a growing problem as more than 70% of fresh water is desalinated. This process currently costs the country almost Dh12 billion (+- $3,25 billion) a year and is creating a multitude of environmental problems to the region's oceans and fish stocks (Gulf News, 2016a).

1.8.1.4 DESERTS

The desert is starkly beautiful and astonishingly varied. As can be observed from the following photographs the sand has different colours. Interestingly, there are distinctly different shades of sand – red, rose, peach, brown, biscuit, white and stark white.

Figure 3: Desert Images

The commons Getty Collection Galleries. (2011). https://images.search.yahoo.com/search/images;_ylt=AwrExdqWTY5cr3YAfQqLuLkF;_ylc=X1MDOTYwNTc0ODMEX3IDMgRiY2sDZjYyajJhbGU4c2lsbyUyNmlIM0QzJTI2cyUzRGoyBGZyAwRncHJpZAMybXB4NWJvWVRoR1N6UHB6QWp3NFNBBG10ZXN0aWQDbnVsbARuX3N1Z2cDMTAEb3JpZ2luA2ltYWdlcy5zZWFyY2gueWFob28uY29tBHBvcwMwBHBxc3RyAwRwcXN0cmwDBHFzdHJsAzEwBHF1ZXJ5A1VBRSBkZXNlcnQEdF9zdG1wAzE1NTI4Mjk4NjUEdnRlc3RpZANudWxs?gprid=2mpx5boYThGSzPpzAjw4SA&pvid=0IIaQDEwLjLzCmJVXI5KuABQMTA1LgAAAABfYZ49&fr2=sb-top-images.search.yahoo.com&p=UAE+desert&ei=UTF-8&iscqry=&fr=sfp [Accessed 2011]

Figure 4: Empty Quarter .

Mishmish, S. (2011). http://images.search.yahoo.com/search/images;_ylt=A0LEV0gJpvBTYioAGY5XNyoA;_ylu=X3oDMTByaHEyNGMxBHNlYwNzYwRjb2xvA2JmMQR2dGlkA1VJQzFfMQ--?_adv_prop=image&fr=aaplw&sz=all&va=desert+uae [Accessed 2011]

Figure 5 : The Road Less Travelled

Satrajit, M. (2011). http://images.search.yahoo.com/search/images;_ylt=A0LEV0gJpvBTYioAGY5XNyoA;_ylu=X3oDMTByaHEyNGMxBHNlYwNzYwRjb2xvA2JmMQR2dGlkA1VJQzFfMQ--?_adv_prop=image&fr=aaplw&sz=all&va=desert+uae [Accessed 2011] Position of the UAE against a map of the world.

1.8.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The indigenous people who originated from the tip of the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Baluchistan and East Africa are followers of Islam (Al Qatami & Banda, 2005) and, culturally, are Arabic Semites (Oxford Student's Dictionary, 2007; and Williams, 2017). One of twenty-two members of the League of Arab States (Al-Bab, 2011), the UAE is made up of a federation of seven emirates. In descending order of size, these are, the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Shārjah, Fujaira, Ra's al Khaimah, Umm al Qaiwain and Ajmān (Al-Fahim, 2007; Heard-Bey, 2011; and Williams, 2017).

Each emirate can be likened to a province or a principality and is ruled by a hereditary emir or Muslim ruler (Williams, 2017). These rulers are referred to as Sheiks and are always male descendants of the original ruling families within an area/emirate (Al-Fahim, 2007; and Heard-Bey, 2011). According to Williams (2017), most ruling families achieved this position through dialogue rather than through conflict.

Prior to becoming a union of emirates, the UAE was known as the Trucial States. Having once fallen under the control of the Portuguese (NCDR, 2011a), it was, at the stage of its independence, protected and governed by Britain (Al-Fahim, 2007; Heard-Bey, 2011; and NCDR, 2011b).

When the British withdrew from the Gulf in 1971, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan bin Zayed Al Nahyan (1918 – 2004), a much loved leader for more than 30 years, and a visionary by all accounts, utilized the wealth generated from the oil reserves discovered mainly in the emirate of Abu Dhabi in the late 1950s and early 1960s, to begin the task of building the country and guiding the nationals, then poverty stricken nomadic Bedouins, into becoming the wealthy nation and thriving metropolis that it is today (Campbell, 1986; Al- Majaida, 2002;Findlow, 2006; Al-Fahim, 2007; Fortune, 2007; French,2010; Heard-Bey, 2011; NCDR, 2011b; BusinessTech, 2017; Langton, 2017; and Williams 2017).

1.8.3 GEO-POLITICAL OVERVIEW

1.8.3.1 GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL (GCC)

The UAE is a member of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (CCASG). Also known as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), the GCC came into existence in 1981 when the countries of Bahrain, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE came together in regional collaboration (Ridge, 2014; and Naithani, nd). As a group of Arab countries, they share a common culture, religion and historical background (Kirk & Napier, 2008; and Ridge, 2014). They also have a number of common economic features. These include a dependence on oil and or gas as their main source of income, a reliance on a skilled and unskilled expatriate workforce, a shortage of technically and professionally qualified nationals, a young but growing, a push to diversify their economies and equip nationals to take up employment positions in both the public and private sectors of the economy (Benjamin, 1999; Godwin, 2006; (Sturm, Strasky, Adolf & Perschel, 2008; Forstenlechner, 2008 and 2010; UAEInteract, 2009; Ridge, 2014; and Williams, 2017). Although none of these countries are “considered to be democratic or liberal” they have, according to Romani (2009: 5) become known “as islands of wealth, stability and freedom in an ocean of turmoil”.

A country little known to the rest of the world until very recently, the UAE will celebrate its half century as an independent constitutional federation of seven emirates in December 2021. As with other Middle Eastern countries, the UAE does have a legislative body - the Federal Supreme Council that governs the country with the assistance of elected and appointed councilors - now made up of both men and women representatives, but, as described by Brooks (2004), it operates as a feudal federation and does not fully enjoy a democratic system. In addition to general rules and laws enforced throughout the country, each of the seven emirates is empowered to enact independent powers not allocated to federal institutions (Library of Congress, 2007; and Heard-Bey, 2011). The UAE is presided over by a President who is elected by the Federal Supreme Council. The current and previous Presidents have been members of the Abu Dhabi Royal family and the Prime Ministers have been appointed from the Dubai Royal family. Contrary to popular belief, these positions are not hereditary by Constitution but it has been a common/de-facto practice – most probably because the oil and gas wealth of the country lies in Abu Dhabi and while Dubai is an important financial and industrial hub (Campbell, 1986; Al-Majaida, 2002;Findlow, 2006; Al-Fahim, 2007; Fortune, 2007; French,2010; Heard-Bey, 2011; NCDR, 2011b; BusinessTech, 2017; Langton, 2017; and Williams 2017).

1.8.3.2 GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMY

Economically the United Arab Emirates, the UAE, or 'The Emirates', as its more commonly referred to, is one of the region's more economically viable countries with more than a trillion dollars-worth of assets managed globally. In addition, according the CIA's World Factbook (2012), the UAE is purported to have the 7th largest oil reserve in the world and is "the world's third largest exporter of crude oil" (Gulf News, 2011: 37). It also has the 5th largest gas reserve in the world and two of the world's largest wealth funds (ADNOC, 2013).

Despite being part of a region currently undergoing much upheaval and many changes which, as in ancient history, will probably have indelible influence on the rest of the world, it is a country that from outward appearances has nationals who are loyal to the constitutional federation and the ruling families. This allegiance is probably due to numerous factors, the first being the original policy of development introduced by Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan. This policy provided for each Abu Dhabian to be given

property on Abu Dhabi island… "until there was eventually no more land to give" (Al-Fahim, 2007: 141). These properties included a homestead, a farm, and a plot of land that could be utilized for commercial purposes (Al-Fahim 2007). Other policies and procedures providing benefits to the nationals that have continued to the present day include, for example, the exemption of nationals from paying municipal taxes, and has them paying for utilities at a different and lesser rate than expatriates (Al-Fahim, 2007; Gulf News, 2016b; and Williams, 2017). The state also provides free pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary education at public facilities (ADCB, 2011; Ridge, 2014; and Williams, 2017). Housing, medical costs, marriage celebration costs, as well as substantial monthly social grants are also supplied to all nationals above a certain age UAEeGP, 2005; Walter, Walters and Barwind, 2010; and Williams, 2017). It is also a society that consists of a mixed, albeit numerically unbalanced, expatriate population who generally feel "confident and secure" (D'Mello, 2017: 21) within the traditional but economically progressive society that has been created in the past fifty years.

1.8.3.3 POPULATION

As a country with enormous oil and gas wealth, global aspirations, economic growth and work opportunities, its total population has grown exponentially and soared to more than nine million people (Campbell, 1986; Al- Majaida, 2002; Findlow, 2006; Al-Fahim, 2007; Fortune, 2007; French,2010; Heard-Bey, 2011; NCDR, 2011b; BusinessTech, 2017; FCSA, 2017; Langton, 2017; and Williams 2017). Previous censuses carried out by the UAE National Bureau of Statistics in 2009 (The National, 2010) and again in 2013 (The National, 2014) had established that the country had then had a total population of just more than 8 million people but that it had doubled in the previous eight years. In comparison, in the early 70's, during the establishment of the federation, Al-Fahim (2007) estimated that the national population was made up of fewer than twenty thousand people, with another third made up of British officials and Indian merchants.

The current growth, however, has become more and more skewed towards expatriates in the last 50 years, with nationals or Emiratis numbering fewer than a million individuals, and constituting less than 5% of the current nine million plus population. (TheNational, 2010 & 2014; Embassy-UAE, 2015; FCSA, 2017; Langton, 2017 and Williams, 2017). According to the current statistics on the Federal Competitiveness and Statistics Authority

webpage, of the total population of 9,304,277 in 2017 there were only 2,888,335 females in the country. Overall, Indians constitute the largest population group followed by Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, other Asians, Europeans and Africans (FCSA, 2017).

1.8.3.4 EMIRATIZATION

The enormous growth in the oil sector and in the non-oil industries brought about corresponding growth in the expatriate population. It also led to an understanding by the leaders that the country had become very dependent on foreign nationals to run their businesses and, indeed, manage their economy (Romani, 2009). As a result, the Federal Cabinet created the 'UAE Emiratization Council', and introduced a policy of 'Emiratization' in 2000 (UAEInteract, 2009 & 2014).

Emiratization, a form of affirmative action taking the form of a quota driven employment policy, was similar to initiatives introduced in other Gulf States (GCC) including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Saudisation), Bahrain (Bahrainisation), Kuwait (Kuwaitisation), Qatar (Qatarisation) and Oman (Omanisation) (Ridge, 2014; and Williams, 2017). As mentioned previously it is a structure designed to create systems, processes and programmes to encourage and equip nationals to take up employment positions in both the public and private sectors of the economy (Benjamin, 1999; Godwin, 2006; Forstenlechner, 2008 and 2010; , UAEInteract, 2009; Ridge, 2014; and Williams, 2017). It was also introduced as a social component to provide steady employment for nationals in order to achieve "balance and a safe society" (William, 2017: 38). According to Benjamin (1999), UAEInteract, (2009), and Ridge (2014), the programme was seen as a means to (re-)establish national control. It was also introduced, according to G-Mraber (2010), to "limit the erosion of traditional culture". This was because it was felt that non-Muslim, English-speaking Western expatriates brought with them a counter-influence to the region's culture and traditions (Al-Fahim, 2007; and Heard-Bey, 2011).

Education, particularly Higher Education, was recognized as a driving factor in the process of Emiratization in the UAE. This was because the lack of general skills was recognized as the main factor preventing nationals from being employed beyond low-level positions (UAEInteract, 2009 and Ridge, 2014). Perversely, language skills, particularly the inability to communicate in English, the 'lingua franca' (Al Dabbagh, 2005;

Findlow,2006; and Crystal, 2003 & 2012) in commercial and inter-national communication, was particularly recognized as lacking in the young and otherwise economically able, but unemployed/unemployable population (Al Khaili, 2009; ADCB, 2011; Heard-Bey, 2011; Hurriez, 2013; and ADEC, 2015).

As will be discussed in later sections, this policy of Emiratization, and the subsequent recruitment drives to secure employment for nationals has not been particularly successful (Romani, 2009; and Williams, 2017). According to statistics provided by The National by Ahmad (2017), only 5.8% of working Emiratis were employed in the private sector in Abu Dhabi in 2016. Poor English was the main reason given by companies for failing to employ candidates. Other reasons included "failing to meet the criteria, being overqualified, misconduct and lack of experience" (*Ibid*: 1). Reasons given by the Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratization for locals declining job offers included salaries not meeting expectations, despite these being in line with markets, "working hours, family issues and work locations" (*Ibid:* 1). Reasons given in an earlier report by Sadi & Henderson (2005) for the abysmal numbers of locals in the private sector was that the expatriate workforce in GCC countries generally had better discipline and higher productivity levels that the locals.

1.8.4 CULTURE

1.8.4.1 TRADITIONALISM VERSUS MODERNISM

The urbanization, socio-economic changes, and modernization of the country and systems that followed the discovery of oil in Abu Dhabi in the 1950's have been dogged by discrimination and intolerance. This is due to many reasons, not least of which is the enormous wealth and privilege that many Emiratis have accrued due to their capitalization on property and money given to them by Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan as part of the country's independence (Al-Majaida, 2002; Al-Fahim, 2007; Heard-Bey, 2011; and Hurriez, 2013). Even for those Emiratis who were not as lucky to inherit accumulated prosperity from economically minded forefathers, the structures and systems within the country still accrue them much influence, primacy and security (Brooks; 2004; Omeish, 2004; Romani, 2009; and Heard-Bey, 2011). This, unfortunately, often translates to over-confident behaviour, and intolerance of non-Emiratis (Jones, 2011 and Williams, 2017).

The fast-paced modernization of the country, and the increasing western influence has resulted in conflict between more traditional members of society and their modern counterparts. This is because the more traditional members believe that contemporary lifestyles are leading to a breakdown in religious and cultural beliefs, language and traditions within the region's youth (Al-Shehhi, 2011 and Hurriez, 2013). This has recently led to a number of concerted efforts on the part of current governments within the region to support strategies and policies that act towards the preservation and promotion of their authentic traditions, architecture and culture (Kirk, 2010; and Hurriez, 2013).

1.8.4.2. RELIGION

All Emiratis, who make up just less than 5% of the total population of the UAE, are religiously Islamic, as is seventy-six percent of the total population (FCSA, 2017; Langton, 2017 and Williams, 2017). Nine percent of the expatriate population is Christian, with fifteen percent classified as 'other'. While religious freedom prevails throughout the country, no proselytizing is allowed by non-Islamic religions through the media or by individuals, including clergy outside of religious enclaves (Heard-Bey, 2011; Hurreiz, 2013; and Government.ae. 2017).

With calls to prayer broadcast five times a day from every Mosque in the country, of which there is generally one situated within every city block, and with the local Emiratis and most other Muslims wearing traditional religious dress, there is little doubt for anyone arriving in the country that they are in an Islamic state (Heard-Bey, 2011; and Hurreiz, 2013).

Friday is the day of worship in all Muslim countries. Up until a few years ago the weekend in all Gulf States fell over Thursdays and Fridays. This has recently been changed to Fridays and Saturdays. The change was made on economic grounds in order for local businesses to better align themselves with the rest of the world's economies (Williams, 2017; and Government.ae. 2017). This means that the working week in the UAE begins on Sundays and ends on Thursdays. It is an aspect of day-to-day life that takes a little getting used to. It is also a situation that still causes problems in businesses and educational institutions that have close links to international bodies, as online meetings, linked examination periods and the like, frequently occur on Fridays.

1.8.4.3 NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Arabian people of the Gulf area have a heritage and culture that spans many centuries of small sheikdoms. Ethnically diverse and tribally divided, the people of the area subsisted on fishing, agriculture, herding and pearling (Hurreiz, 2013; and Government.ae. 2017).). As an area that straddles the Asian and African continents (Williams, 2017), the culture of the Arabian people of the UAE was, according to Hurreiz (2013), greatly influenced by Persian and African values and practices. This is evidenced in traditional music, poetry, dance, art, architecture, clothing, food and lifestyle. As a result, Alexander (2011), contends that the Emirate national identity is based "on a variety of traditions, concepts, desires, and truths that come together in ways that don't necessarily compose a unified or coherent whole".

With its history of ethnic diversity, the small Emirati population, the constant and continuing introduction of so many non-Muslim expatriates who work in the expanding economy, as well as the country promoting itself as a transportation hub and final-end holiday destination, the current UAE continues to be subject to a number of non-Emirati cultural influences. Some of these, according to Hurriez (2013), are quite aggressive and pervasive. As a country trying to promote its modern development and tourism industry, it frequently finds itself in conflict with traditions and cultural norms (Al-Shehhi, 2011 and Williams, 2017). If statements made by Roberts (2010: 215) that "Culture can only be understood as part of action and interaction rather than standing outside it", and Holliday's (2005: 23) belief that "culture is not a geographical place … but a social force which is evident wherever it emerges as being significant", it is understandable why Al-Shehhi (2011) believes that "many conservative Emirati society suffer the repercussions of an identity crisis".

The mixed and conflicting messages on behaviour, tradition and norms, however, also cause confusion to expatriates and visitors (Williams, 2017). As an example, while one is able to purchase all manner of risqué clothing at internationally branded boutiques that openly advertise western style lingerie and scanty clothing, only conservative clothes, trousers, dresses and skirts worn below the knee, with chests, shoulders and midriffs covered by loose shirts, are tolerated in shopping malls and other public areas (Williams, 2017; and Government.ae. 2017).

1.8.4.4 LANGUAGE

Gulf Arabic or el-lahja el-Kaliyah, translated as 'the dialect of the Gulf', is the main official language of the UAE (Williams, 2017; and Government.ae. 2017).). Gulf Arabic differs from other forms of Arabic in accent, grammar and vocabulary, but is apparently intelligible to other Arabic speakers. The second official language in the UAE is English, and the language most often spoken outside the home (Williams, 2017). This is because the UAE uses English as the new 'lingua franca' (Al Dabbagh, 2005; Findlow 2006; Crystal 2003 & 2012), the language for commercial and inter-national communication, as English was recognized by the government as one of the means by which the country could promote its international status and standing (Al Khaili, 2009; ADCB, 2011; Heard-Bey, 2011; Hurriez, 2013; and ADEC, 2015). As will be seen later in this study, English is also the language of instruction in education in the UAE. This came about as the result of new policies and procedures that were introduced into the education sector. It is a matter that has created much debate and controversy as it has many local and international critics (Zughoul, 2003; Kazmi, 2004; Al Khaili, 2009; ADCB, 2011).

1.8.4.5 CLOTHING

Emiratis "dress conservatively in traditional dress"(Government.ae. 2017) whilst in public, and women traditionally wear a long black cloak called an 'abaya'. The black headscarf that covers their hair, but not necessarily their whole face, is called a 'shala'. The face veil that some women wear is called a 'niqab', and a mask, worn by some older women, is called a 'burka' (Hurreiz, 2013; and Williams, 2017). Traditional clothing is worn by women in public but is only required to be worn in the home if non-family males are present. When in private, or in the presence of females only, traditional coverings are removed. Men can wear western clothing in public unless they are employed in the public sector - in which case it is mandatory for them to wear traditional clothing at work (Hurreiz, 2013; and Williams, 2017).

Figure 6 : Clothing worn by Emirati women

The commons Getty Collection Galleries. (2011). https://images.search.yahoo.com/search/images;_ylt=AwrExdysbY5cDy4A.xSLuLkF;_ylc=X1MDOTYwNTc0ODMEX3IDMgRiY2sDZjYyajJhbGU4c2lsbyUyNmlIM0QzJTI2cyUzRGoyBGZyAwRncHJpZANXaVpnUHhSaFE1V0dKX3JXZ20zU0FBBG10ZXN0aWQDbnVsbARuX3N1Z2cDOARvcmlnaW4DaW1hZ2VzLnNlYXJjaC55YWhvby5jb20EcG9zAzgEcHFzdHIDdWFIIGNsb3RoaW5nBHBxc3RybAMxMgRxc3RybAM0MgRxdWVyeQN0cmFkaXRpb25hbCB1YWUgY2xvdGhpbmcgZm9yIG1lbiBhbmQgd29tZW4EdF9zdG1wAzE1NTI4MzgwODkEdnRlc3RpZANudWxs?gprid=WiZgPxRhQ5WGJ_rWgm3SAA&pvid=K4O7FTEwLjLzCmJVXI5KuAB.MTA1LgAAAABJBDiX&fr2=sa-gp-images.search.yahoo.com&p=traditional+uae+clothing+for+men+and+women&ei=UTF-8&iscqry=&fr=sfp [Accessed 2011]

Men wear long robes that are generally white but can be any colour and depends on the individual's preference. This garment is called a 'kandura'. On their heads, they wear a headscarf called a 'gutrah'. The gutrah is most often white but may also be red and white or black and white checkered. This is held in place by a thin black headband called an 'agal' (Williams, 2017).

Figure 7 : Clothing worn by Emirati men

The commons Getty Collection Galleries. (2011). http://images.search.yahoo.com/search/images;_ylt=AwrTHRgbIPBT.S0AR4ZXNyoA;_ylu=X3oDMTByNDV0ZTJpBHNlYwNzYwRjb2xvA2dxMQR2dGlkA1VJQzFfMQ--?_adv_prop=image&fr=aaplw&va=clothing+worn+in+Abu+dhabi [Accessed 2011]

1.8.4.6 WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Unmarried women need to be accompanied by a chaperone consisting of at least one other older (and married) woman when they go out in public although many women appear to have a fair amount of freedom in that they are allowed to drive, shop and go to movies within their groups. Women are generally required to be submissive, deferential and obedient to their fathers, brothers, uncles and husbands. No matter how old or

educated a woman is, she does not have the freedom that her brothers and other male relatives enjoy (Heard-Bey, 2011; and Williams, 2017).

Plural marriages are not uncommon and bearing children for Islam and country is seen as one of the main purposes of marriages. Marriage between first cousins is allowed (Heard-Bey, 2011) and, from hearsay, apparently encouraged between the more influential Emirati families. This practice, according to Williams (2017), however, is less common today due to economic restraints.

1.8.4.7 LAWS AND SAFETY

As a relatively moderate Islamic county, although as described by Romani (2009: 5) not one that would be considered "democratic or liberal", the UAE would define its governance, according to Johnson & Vriens (2010), as a dualistic Secular / Islamist system. This apparently is because the court system consists of civil and Sharia courts (LoC, 2007).

As Sharia or Islamic religious laws are the principle source of law, a number of laws would, in my opinion, be considered outdated or draconian by western standards. An example of this would be the practice of paying blood money as compensation for some crimes that are committed. While (Winslow, nd) considers punishment in the UAE to be generally harsh, crime is considered to be low, and according to D'Mello (2017) and Williams (2017), locals and expatriates enjoy a very safe environment.

1.8.4.8 LABOUR AND VISA REQUIREMENTS

There are no trade unions allowed in the country and dissention regarding work conditions has traditionally results in immediate firing and expulsion from the country – especially in the public sector. As the majority of the migrant labour is unskilled and from impoverished countries, they have few choices of employment outside of the UAE and are therefore generally prepared to work under any conditions. The Anti-Discriminatory Laws issued in 2015 – specifically Article 17, offers some protection for workers. This Law , however, does not mitigate other legislation that protects and prioritizes UAE nationals and other Arab nationals (Marshall, 2015). As non-Arab expatriate professionals are generally remunerated better than they would be in their home countries (Williams, 2017), and who,

except for expatriates from the United States of America, do not pay any personal income tax[3] at home or in the UAE, and given the issue that Article 9 of the Anti-Discriminatory Law limits the prohibition of discrimination to 'public employees' (Marshall, 2015), the custom of being prepared to work with little protection from summary dismissals, unequal remuneration, changing conditions of employment, short term work and residency visa status, and a host of other conditions that favour employers, continues. The lack of clarity and testing of the law 'pursuant to the UAE labour Law' (Marshall, 2015:1), combined with urban fables, rumours and horror stories regarding people been summarily retrenched and fired without apparent cause, has unfortunately resulted in a pervasive sense of job insecurity and uncertainty for expatriates (Shah, 2004 & 2009; Al-Ali, 2008; Sambidge, 2009; and ITUC, 2012).

1.8.4.9 PROHIBITIONS

"They can have a church; they can have a pub and they can have a prison. And they can by their behaviour decide which of these they will go to".
Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum.
1st ruler of modern Dubai (1912-1990)

Alcohol can be purchased and consumed by non-Muslims in all emirates except Sharjah – a particularly conservative and religious emirate. To imbibe, however, requires one to have a liquor license that is annually renewable and dependent on a variety of conditions – not least of which includes selected nationalities, religion, and salary bracket (Williams, 2017). The sale of alcohol only takes place at very few, secluded, out-of-the-way, and unmarked outlets, or at international hotels and restaurants. Consumption of alcohol is also only permitted behind closed doors in private homes, or at the international hotels and restaurants where one is staying or dining (Williams, 2017). The cost of alcohol is extremely expensive (Fenton, 2012).

Smoking, although not barred to Muslims, is permitted in designated areas only (Williams, 2017). During each year's Holy month of Ramadan, no public consumption of food or drink, or smoking, is permitted by anyone. This includes non-Muslims. Transgression results in warnings, fines, and imprisonment (Fenton, 2012; and Williams, 2017).

[3] This situation is expected to change in the near future as the South African Revenue Service (SARS) is expected to change its tax laws with reference to expatriates earning money abroad (PwC, 2017a &b and TimesLive, 2017).

No public displays of affection are allowed between adult males and females - even between married couples. Imprisonment for a short period of time and subsequent deportation is the usual punishment for this contravention (Fenton, 2012; and Williams, 2017).

1.8.5 EDUCATION

1.8.5.1 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Given the nomadic nature of the religious Islamic Bedouin tribes in the region that was to become the UAE, it is unsurprising that their education tradition was oral and based on the Quran. Given also the poverty of the small populations of Bedouin tribes in the country (Trucial states) prior to the discovery of oil, it is also not surprising that the education systems that were practiced within the rest of the Middle East were late in coming to the area. In tracking the development of education within the area that what was originally known as the Trucial States or Sheikdoms and what was to become the UAE, Alhebsi, Pettaway & Waller (2015) were able to identify four separate parts or phases to the system. These comprised firstly, the Mutawa and the Katateeb. Secondly, the Educational Circles. Thirdly, the Semi-Organized Education and finally, the Modern Education System (*ibid*).

According to Alhebsi *et al* (2015), the first phase consisted of a 'Katateeb'- teacher and a Mutawa - a place to study. Most often the teacher was the Imam of the local Mosque owing to his ability to read and his knowledge of the Quran. His task was to teach both boys and girls how to read and recite the "Quran and to learn about the Prophet Mohammed (peace be unto him)" (*ibid: 2*). Due to a lack of materials and with few Qurans, little writing and a great deal of reciting and recall was the norm (Ridge, 2014; and Williams, 2017). More prosperous communities, according to Heard-Bey (2011) and Alhebsi *et al* (2015), who were in a position to secure a more permanent property (Kateeb), with a permanent teacher and teaching resources, often extended their instruction to include writing and basic mathematics. A situation that suited local and wealthy traders and sponsors of the 'Mutawa and the Katateeb', as their children were taught skills required in the family business (Alhebsi *et al,* 2015). Writing in these establishments was, however, most often limited to boys as it was considered "undesirable for girls to be able to write and thereby to communicate with the outside

world by letter" (Heard-Bey, 2011: 156). There was no evaluation conducted in these forums as individuals were only considered to have completed their education when, according to Heard-Bey (2011:156), "they could recite the whole Quran".

The second phase, known as the 'Educational Circles' phase resembled modern schools with many teachers, other than the Imam, whose purpose it was to instruct students in their specialties. According to Alhebsi *et al* (2015) teachers from Saudi Arabia were very often invited by a patron, including the local Sheikhs, to teach in these schools that were set up in the teacher's or the patron's home, including the local palace - if the patron was the Sheikh.

The third phase of the region's educational system was referred to as the 'Semi-Organized Education' phase. This phase, according to Alhebsi *et al* (2015: 3), was as a result of a religious movement known as "Alyaqadha Alarabiya". This Arabic awakening called for a return to the teaching of the Holy Quran. It also called for the relinquishment of influences that were not consistent with Islam and the teachings of Prophet Mohammed (peace be unto him). This phase ran between the period 1907 and 1953 and, although regressive in many ways, it did involve the physical construction of many purpose-built schools (Alhebsi *et al,* 2015), a situation that Heard-Bey (2011) believes to be a first as up until the middle of the 20th century schools – even more 'permanent' arrangements – had always either been in Mosques or in patrons' establishments.

The final, 'Modern Education System' phase began in 1953 when a formalized school curriculum from Kuwait was introduced at one school (Ridge, 2014; and Alhebsi *et al,* 2015). The Kuwaiti Curriculum and systems included the adoption and introduction of traditional teaching and learning approaches, and examination procedures and methods. It also including the introduction and overview of the structures by a number of Kuwaiti teachers and administrators. Due to its success the curriculum and systems spread throughout the region and included schools for girls. The practice of external Kuwaiti set examinations at secondary school level continued until 1971 when the UAE was formed. Thereafter examinations were set and conducted by each school. Education was made free and compulsory at primary level for nationals (Ridge, 2014; and Alhebsi *et al,* 2015). According to Rupp (2008) and Williams (2017), traditional Arab education did not,

however, encourage individual thought, investigation or debate. Rather it was designed and functioned around skill acquisition and rote learning (Romani, 2009; and Anderson, 2011).

1.8.5.2 HIGHER EDUCATION

It was also only in 1976, with the opening of the UAE University, the first university built in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, that higher education was able to be offered to nationals within the Emirates. Prior to this, most locals wishing to further their education post school were typically educated in India and other Arab countries (Williams, 2017). A few, according to Heard-Bey (2011) and Williams (2017), went to Western universities. Between 1976 and the late 1990's, the majority of the teaching staff for the UAE University and other newly formed higher education institutions came from Arab countries such as Egypt, Kuwait and Iraq (Heard-Bey, 2011; and Ridge, 2014). The programmes and subjects initially only included business and administration. These were later extended to engineering and medicine with the first doctors graduating in 1993 (Heard-Bey, 2011; and Ridge, 2014). The UAE higher education sector has grown tremendously in the last forty years with institutions including Universities, Polytechnics, Vocational Education & Training institutions, Colleges, Institutes, and Academies. Currently 78 of these institutions are licensed with 935 accredited programmes (CAA, 2017). Of special mention from this list, however, are the Higher Colleges of Technology (HCT). Introduced in 1988 by the then chancellor of the first University in the UAE, Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak Al Nahyan, an Oxford University graduate, they were developed to provide the UAE with "young national manpower" (Heard-Bey, 2011: 401). A forerunner of what was to become the system called Emiratization, the HCT's were built and developed to introduce programmes that would supply industry with graduates. Originally designed to supply young Emiratis with skills and knowledge, including English and Computer Skills, to take up employment, and work in the banking and government sectors. These programmes and subjects have since been greatly extended in both scope and number. They now include (but are not limited to) many Health Sciences such as Nursing and Paramedics; other Sciences such as Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics, and other career programmes such as Aviation Operations, Applied Communications and Human Resources (HCT, 2017).

Having started with four campuses, the public national HCTs to date (2017), have more than 20 000 Emirati students attending the seventeen men's and women's colleges that have been built in all emirates - except Ajmān, the smallest of the seven emirates (HCT, 2017). The greatest success of these colleges, and their wide range of programmes and subjects, was the attendance and graduation of young women, as a previously sidelined group and potential source of labour to the country, been particularly encouraged to attend these institutions (Heard-Bey, 2011). So successful was this endeavor that females soon outnumbered their male counterparts at the HCTs' separately constructed campuses and graduated in larger numbers (Williams, 2017). Many women, who had previously been denied professions due to limited space in local higher education institutions and/or the restrictions placed on them through their culture, families and finances to move abroad and study, were now able to further their educational aspirations in these local and 'separate' campuses (Heard-Bey, 2011; and Williams, 2017). Although academics at these colleges now include expatriates from more the 60 countries – including staff from all over the Middle East, South Africa, Australasia, Great Britain, the Americas, Asia and to a lesser degree Europe - they now particularly encourage local Emiratis to take up teaching posts in these institutions to act as role models and mentors (HCT, 2017).

In line with modern educational practices, the UAE decided to establish the Commission for Academic Accreditation (CAA) in 1999. A department of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MoHESR) it is a member of the Arab Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ANQAHE) (CAA, 2009 and MoHESR, 2011). * Further description on this aspect is to be found in Act Five.

Further to this it should be noted that at the start of the writing this thesis - in about 2014, Abu Dhabi's Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MoHESR) was a separate entity from the Ministry of Education (MoE) and Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC) - the structures that directed and controlled schools in Abu Dhabi Emirate. It was also separate from, and independent of the other six emirate's education authorities. For example, the emirate of Dubai has its own education authority – the Knowledge and Human Development Authority (KHDA) that regulates all schools and higher education institutions in Dubai (LoC, 2007; and Heard-Bey, 2011).

Following a decree issued in September 2017 by HH Sheikh Khalifa bin Sultan Al Nahyan (current) president of the UAE and Emir of Abu Dhabi, (EducationJournalme.com, 2017), the ministries were merged. The consolidated ministries will now operating under the auspices of the government Department of Education and Knowledge (ADEK and will supervise all levels of learning; having created a higher council of education and human resources - with plans to set up an autonomous authority to manage public schools. There are, however, still some questions regarding the ministry's oversight of federal universities and other universities and colleges (EducationJournalme.com, 2017).

With regards to this information it should be further noted that the names and acronyms used at the time of writing remain and reflect the name of the ministries and councils prior to 2017.

1.8.6 EXPATRIATES

Despite the UAE's prosperity following the discovery of oil in the late fifties, fifty-four percent of the region's national population was still illiterate when the UAE was formed in 1971 (UAE-Embassy, 2015). This was understandable, in Hurreiz' (2013) view, due to local traditions and a lifestyle that did not require formal education; as the region's people were either isolated and remote Bedouins living in the desert, or were pearl divers and fishermen living along coastal regions. Having, in the early years, neither the capacity with regards to local population to supply sufficient labour, nor local expertise to supply and keep pace with developments, new businesses and the government were compelled to employ foreign nationals to operate and manage the public and private enterprises that had been established as a direct result of the oil industry, as well as those businesses that had been generated as part of secondary support industries (Williams, 2017).

Of particular interest regarding this employment drive and the subsequent population explosion in the country is that the majority of people who constitute the population are expatriates who herald from more than two hundred nations (Al-Fahim, 2007; Society. Management Trends, 2011; Al-Shehhi, 2011; Heard-Bey, 2011 and The National, 2014). This had become a concern of the Federal Government as, although they had tried to curb the employment of expatriates since the results of the 2011 census, the number of

expatriates, according to the Gulf News (2016b), is expected to continue to grow by another million-or-so, and then only remain constant beyond 2030.

The employment of such great numbers of particularly Western, English expatriate professionals is also something that causes a number of contradictory conditions in the country (Romani, 2009). For example, the increase in the population includes expatriates who are employed in the education sector (Ali, 2001; Al-Majaida, 2002; UAEInteract, 2009; and Noori & Anderson, 2013). It has provided education institutions in the last decade with, on average, a hundred percent qualified academic staff, and a staff-student ratio of 1:21 respectively (UNESCO, 2010: 99; and ADCB, 2011). This is a situation, as will be seen in the further discussions, that cannot easily and quickly be resolved without upsetting a number of bold and ambitious aims and goals that the Federal government established early on in the new millennium.

Following the 2008 world economic downturn, the subsequent drop in oil price (CIA - The World Factbook, 2011), and apparently also being cognizant that the oil reserves have a limited lifespan (Rupp, 2008), the Federal government set in motion several strategies to diversify the economy and reduce its dependence on its oil and gas industries in order to remain sustainable long-term in a high inflation, post-oil future (Sturm *et al,* 2008; and Heard-Bey, 2011). In order to achieve this the UAE positioned itself to become a global manufacturing hub by building a knowledge-based industrial sector to drive economic growth through education, innovation and technology (Sturm *et al,* 2008; and Heard-Bey, 2011).

With an open business environment and liberal trade policies created by a stable government, this approach proved to be successful and the UAE was able to expand its range of industries and move the country into the diverse and competitive global economy that the federal government so desired (Brooks, 2004; Romani, 2009; Heard-Bey, 2011; and Williams, 2017). As a result, there are now large construction, manufacturing and commercial industries and businesses in the UAE; and the oil and gas sector now account for less than two thirds of the revenue of the country (Saif, 2008; and Sturm *et al,* 2008). Unfortunately, however, while the oil and gas sector employed only one percent of the labour force, this new and diverse economy accounts for fifty percent of the workforce

(Omeish, 2004). This has resulted in expatriates being continually employed to fill positions in these new industries. Combined with the general downturn in the global economy it has also resulted in high inflation and increased cost of living (Saif, 2008; and Sturm *et al,* 2008).

As will be discussed further on in this study, the expatriate workers in the GCC countries – including the UAE – face many cultural and social challenges in their day-to-day lives (Shortland & Cummins, 2007). One of the reasons for this, is, as described by Malecki & Ewars (2007), a social hierarchy - with locals at the top, professional westerners occupying the next rung and Arabs from other GCC countries just below them. Asian Indians follow the Arabs, and Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans then follow them. This information, however, contradicts Marshall's (2015) account of some privileges Arabs from other countries apparently enjoy over western expatriates in terms of the law. This hierarchy translates into different treatment, social status, salaries and benefits for each rung (Bayt, 2007; Sambidge 2009; and Williams, 2009). Location and standards in accommodation are also generally different for each group. Separation of housing areas due to differences in housing benefits adds to the diminution of social interaction between the different groups (Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2007). This in turn very often facilitates the close social ties and support systems that expatriates develop between affinity groups (Gee, 2000) and reduces the interaction that would typically occur in such an extensive cross-cultural setting (Adelman, 1988). (A description of the larger and more specific issues such as globalization, as listed above, that influenced the international as well as the South African and Abu Dhabi national higher education sectors will be discussed in detail in Act Five).

1.9 CONCLUSION

In addition to explaining my personal and professional reasons for perusing this study, this chapter provided me with the opportunity to explain the significance, I believed, the research holds for future South African higher education academics who are considering expatriation to the UAE. Most importantly it provided on opportunity to introduce the broad details of the historical and cultural basis from which and to which the participating South African expatriates played out their academic roles.

1.10 THE PROGRAMME: STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

ACT ONE: SETTING THE SCENE
INTRODUCING THE PARTS AND THE PLAYERS

"Pursue what is meaningful,
not what is expedient".
Jordan B. Peterson (2016)
Quora

This chapter served to introduce the background and reasons for the study, its purpose and significance, as well as to list the research questions and sub questions. It also provided some general historical and cultural background to South Africa, Abu Dhabi and the UAE.

ACT TWO: GROUNDING THE STUDY: THE BEGINNING, MIDDLE AND THE END

We routinely disqualify testimony that would plead for extenuation.
That is, we are so persuaded of the rightness of our judgment as to
invalidate evidence that does not confirm us in it.
Nothing that deserves to be called truth
could ever be arrived at by such means".
Marilynne Robinson (2005:27)
The Death of Adam

This chapter introduced Roy Bhaskar's critical realism as the underlabouring philosophy (Hartwig, 2007: 96) and metatheory for this study. As I had found Bhaskar's (1986, 1998, 2002, 2008) books difficult to read, and his concepts difficult to understand, I also found this chapter difficult to write.

Margaret Archer's (1995, 1996, 1998a & b, 2000, 2003, 2007a & b and 2012) social realism is also introduced in this chapter for the purpose of substantiating and clarifying some aspects pertinent to 'the pillars' of critical realism. I found her theories and style of writing far more approachable, easier to read and easier to understand. As agency and agents are such important aspects of identity in this study, Archer's (2007b: 39) views and stratified concept of people are used to balance the emphasis that Bhaskar's critical realism seems to place on 'structures. The chapter concludes with a description and explanation of the *sui generis* properties and powers that Archer (1995, 1996, 2000, 2003) accords to structure, culture and agency in her theory of analytical dualism and the morphogenetic cycle.

ACT THREE: UNDERSTANDING THE CAST

IDENTITY THEORIES

"*As man imagines himself to be,*
so shall he be,
and he is that
which he imagines".
Paracelsus (16th C)
Physician, alchemist and astrologer

This chapter deals with the concept of identity, and its relationship to the way people as individuals, and as part of a group; interact with others and the structures that they are presented with as part of their lives. As the material in this chapter will show, identity is a subject studied across many disciplines, and has many theorists and definitions. This study makes use of Archer's (1995, 2000, 2007 and 2012) route to identity formation and Gee's (2000) four perspectives or ways of viewing identity to provide a theoretical lens through which to explore the sources and processes of power from which personal and social identities emerge. Other perspectives of identity, such as Wenger, McDermott & Snyder's (2002) concept of community of practice, and Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990) explanations of capital resources and habitus are introduced in this chapter and used to both support and critique Archer's realist ideas and her view of identity.

ACT FOUR: LIGHTS – ACTION: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

"arrows of insight have to be winged
with the feathers of speculation".

Bernard Cornwell (2004)
The Last Kingdom

This chapter deals with the nuts and bolts - or the practicalities that are followed in laying out this thesis. As such it is divided into several sections that describe the principles of qualitative and case study design. It also lays out the method by which data was generated, collected and administered.

Joseph Maxwell's (2012) notion of validity was used to complement the underlabouring philosophy of this study as according to him a realist study is less about the methods used to acquire the data, and more about the "accounts, conclusions, or inferences" (*ibid*: 13) that result from the analysis.

The main ethical consideration taken into account in this study was participant anonymity. Strict procedures were therefore followed to ensuring participants could not be identified through the information they shared through their narrations. Equally strict measures are continuing to be followed to safeguard all original documents and recordings that bear reference to their identities.

ACT FIVE: CENTRE STAGE, PROPS, CAST AND SCRIPTS

"All the world's a stage".
William Shakespeare (1868)

PART ONE: UNPACKING THE PARTS

Nothing and no one,
resides outside a system:
that's the way it is.
Lynne Tillman (2018)
Men and Apparitions

This section of Act Five lays out the cultural and structural conditions that influenced the changes that occurred in the international higher education sector.

PARTS: BACKDROP AND PROPS: NATIONAL TRENDS SOUTH AFRICA 1994 – 2008 AND ABU DHABI 1975 – 2008

Separated into two parts, these sections describe the conditions that influenced the changes that occurred in the South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors post-1994 and between 1997 and 2008 respectively. It should be read in conjunction with the summary of historical and background information on South Africa and Abu Dhabi introduced in Act One.

PART TWO: UNDERSTANDING THE PEOPLE

No man is an island,
Entire of itself,
Every man is a piece of the continent,
A part of the main.
John Donne (17th C)
For Whom the Bell Tolls

ENTRANCE: FACULTY - SOUTH AFRICA 1994 – 2008

It was the best of times,
it was the worst of times,
it was the age of wisdom,
it was the age of foolishness
it was the epoch of belief,
it was the epoch of incredulity,
it was the spring of hope,
it was the winter of despair,
…
Charles Dickens (1868)
A Tale of Two Cities

This section lays out the conditions that influenced the changes that occurred in the South African higher education sector post-1994. Conditions that unfortunately resulted in academics no longer recognizing their roles and functions in their higher education institutions – causing them to lose their anchoring, role-incumbent academic identities. In presenting the reasons for the loss of participants' academic identities due to the many changes introduced to the South African higher education sector post-1994, I added participants' reflections to each of the major structural changes that they had discussed during their interviews to emphasis the ways that these affected their notions of their professional identities.

ENTRANCE: FACULTY - ACADEMICS: ABU DHABI 2008 – 2016

The illusion of control
makes the helplessness
seem more palatable"
Allie Brosch (2013)
Hyperbole and a Half

In the final section of Act Five I made use of metaphors developed by Richardson & McKenna (2001) to present a simple but comprehensive arrangement of themes or codes to exemplify the ways that participants of this study made "sense of their experiences of expatriation" (*ibid*: 67) in Abu Dhabi. I used Gee's (2000) definition and explanation of Affinity Identity as the perspective that best described their common nascent emergent identity.

ACT SIX
CURTAIN CALL
BOWING OUT

"Life can only be understood backwards
but must be lived forwards".
Søren Kierkegaards (1843)
Research Center

This chapter served to conclude the research with a brief summary of the study. Given the understanding that, as time passes and cultural and structural conditions change, so too will academics' reasons for embarking on an expatriation journey. These may well provide reasons for further investigations of this under-researched group of people.

ACT TWO: BACKSTAGE

GROUNDING THE STUDY: THE BEGINNING, MIDDLE AND THE END

We routinely disqualify testimony that would plead for extenuation.
That is, we are so persuaded of the rightness of our judgment as to
invalidate evidence that does not confirm us in it.
Nothing that deserves to be called truth
could ever be arrived at by such means".
Marilynne Robinson (2005: 27)
The Death of Adam

2.1 INTRODUCTION

My explorations into this research project began with the understanding that the theoretical framework I selected would guide my choice of theory, methodology perspectives and methods to reach a balanced interpretation of all that had emerged by the end of the study (Broido & Manning, 2002: 434). According to Archer (1995) one's theory, methodology and methods form the tripartite relationship between ontology, methodology and practical social theory. She explains that as "none is dispensable, then each has to be adequately conceptualized in itself and consistently related to the others" (*ibid*: 57). Following Archer, I begin this process in this chapter.

It initially seemed to me, having done some reading, that Activity Theory (Engeström, 1999) might serve the goals of my study. As I had also learned from reading Maxwell (2012:16), that "critical realists see 'mental phenomena' as inextricably involved in the causal process that produce behaviour and social phenomena", and having come to realize that Activity Theory placed more emphasis on "the interactions between all the elements that make up the activity system in which the group is situated" (Wheelahan, 2007:191), it seemed to me that Activity theory did not provide sufficient balance between the properties and powers of people and the systems conditioning their experiences and events, and that a study based more on realism would.

As Maxwell further pointed out "meanings, thoughts, beliefs, emotions values and intentions of individuals are neither abstractions from behaviour nor reducible to neurological or other physical phenomena" (2012: 16), I began to appreciate that I would also have to adjust my understanding and approach to the study. I therefore began to appreciate that I would need to adopt a process that would supply me with material that

went beyond an empirical study, or from that which LeCompte, Preissle & Tescher (1993: 232) referred to as “description and data”. I needed rather to find a process and a method that would provide “inference, explanation and suggestions of causation” (*ibid*) if I wanted to uncover the systems and conditions that individuals experienced in their working contexts, and the changes that emerged as a result of these (Barnett & Coate 2005 and Dall’Alba & Barnacle 2007). If this was not done, the study would merely provide descriptions and stories of a group of South African academics’ higher education work-place experiences in South Africa between 1994 and 2008, and their expatriate higher education work-place experiences in Abu Dhabi between 2008 and 2016.

I read a number of works on and about critical realism, namely Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson & Norrie (1998); Archer, Collier & Porpora (2004); Bhaskar (1986, 1998, 2002 & 2008); Sayer (1992 & 2000); Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, L, & Karlsson (2005); Elder-Vass (2005, 2007, 2011, & 2013); and Maxwell (2012). I was particularly struck by Maxwell’s statement that “individuals’ physical contexts have a causal influence on their beliefs and perspectives” (2012: 20) and by Archer *et al* (2004: 4) assertion that “all our judgments are socially and historically situated and are conditioned by our circumstances, what we know at the time and by the prevailing criteria of evaluation”. As a consequence, I came to see that critical realism spoke directly to my proposed study, as well as to the concerns I had about the way it needed to be conducted.

As a result of recommended readings, I came to understand that critical realism functions as “an underlabourer” (Mutch, 2004: 430) to research and serves, according to Sayer (2000), as a philosophy and not a substantive theory. As an underlabouring philosophy critical realism thus provided the ontological backbone or explanations to reality that underpinned the study. I therefore came to realise that I would have to adopt and implement a social theory that would both build on this support and ‘talk’ to an appropriate methodological framework. I thus turned to Margaret Archer’s social realism (1995, 1996, 2000, 2003 and 2007) as her theories not only offered a strong basis for concepts and models of identity, it also provided a methodology based on analytical dualism. A system that would allow for the exploration of the interactions that people have with different socio-cultural contexts, how they are impacted by these and how they emerge as a result of their experiences.

2.2 CRITICAL REALISM

Critical realism, a name derived from a combination of the term *transcendental realism* and *critical naturalism* (Archer *et al,* 1998: ix; and Sayer, 2000: 7), "is *a philosophy of – and for science" (Bhaskar in* Archer *et al,* 1998: 575). It developed originally from Bhaskar's *A Realist Theory of Science* (1978) and *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (1979). Acknowledging the appropriateness of the name for both its distance from and proximity to Immanuel Kant's philosophy (Archer *et al*, 1998: ix), Bhaskar's question "What properties do societies and people possess that makes them possible objects for knowledge?" posed in *The Possibility of Naturalism* (1998: 15) is, according to Danermark *et al* (2005), an ontological question, and the starting point for a philosophy and metatheory of reality.

In posing scientific questions about people and societies, critical realism seeks "knowledge about a socially produced reality, not just a socially defined one" (Danermark *et al,* 2005: 200). Bhaskar's (2008) explanation of the basic tenets of critical realism is that it is an objective, ontological (what is) and epistemological (what can be known) framework. It therefore provides a foundation on which substantive theories can be positioned. It can also, in Bhaskar (*ibid*) view, be used for the identification and analysis of underlying mechanisms and structures from which experiences and events can be seen to emerge.

Keat & Urry (1982: 232) describe realism as "scientific theories [that] explain observable phenomena by describing the mechanisms and structures through which various, often-unobservable entities possess the 'power' to generate these occurrences". Schwandt, (1997: 133) emphasized this point with the explanation that "scientific realism is the view that theories refer to real features of the world". As a result of engaging extensively with a number of authors writing on critical realism, I came to understand it as a philosophy that alters the emphasis from what we believe we know to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that produce the events that people witness and their experiences and observations of engaging with these events.

The *critical* part of the name for this 'new' philosophy of science, purportedly has several meanings. According to Sayer (2000), a reason for adopting 'critical' as part of the name

for this new philosophical movement was because Bhaskar wanted to introduce a social science that had both a depth ontology, and one that was "critical of the social practices it studies" (*ibid*: 10). The name was also adopted in Danermark *et al's* (2005) view because Bhaskar was critical of claims made of a 'universal truth' (*ibid*: 2008). A further view of the origins of the term 'critical' also comes from Sayer (2000: 27) who notes that the "critical element in understanding society cannot be avoided, even by those who believe social science should be value-free and *disinterested*". Cohen, Manion & Morrison's (2011: 31) take on the name is that *critical* also reflects the intention of critical realists and theorists to "not merely understand situations and phenomena but to change them". This relates to critical realism's ethical dimensions that, according to Archer *et al* (1998: 567), are *"rooted in the analysis of ethical practice".*

Hartwig describes critical realism as

> *"A movement in philosophy, social theory and cognate practice that seeks to underlabour for science and other ways of knowing in order to promote the cause of truth and freedom, hence the transformation of social structures and other constraints that impede the cause and their replacement with wanted and needed ones, or emancipation" (2007: 96).*

In turn Sayer (2000: 2&3) describes critical realism as a "fallibilist philosophy" that "proposes a way of combining a modified naturalism with a recognition of the necessity of interpretive understanding of meaning in social life". Philosophy as a viewpoint, outlook, epistemology, logic, or set of beliefs that are able to provide researchers with procedures to understand or inform a viewpoint or set of beliefs on relevant aspects of the research enquiry/focus or object. Furthermore, according to Bridges & Smith, (2007) it also provides a methodology for the claims that are made on the ontology of the object of the study. In the case of this study - it could provide an insight into the underlying mechanisms and structures that have led to the emergence of events experienced by participants in my study, and perhaps a means to understand their own emergence in responses to these. Danermark *et al* (2005) contend that another way of understanding critical realism is as a metatheory. They accordingly describe metatheory as "theories about the foundational assumptions and preconditions of science" (*ibid*: 118). As such "metatheories deal with ontological and epistemological issues, that is, questions about the nature of reality and how we gain knowledge about it" (*ibid*: 3). Keat & Urry (1978: 4

& 5) would, I believe, have concurred with Danermark *et al* (2005) as they stated that "a scientific theory is a description of structure and mechanism which causally generate the observable phenomena, a description which enables us to explain them".

In the 70's Bhaskar envisioned that the

> "essential movement of scientific theory will be seen to consist of the movement from the manifest phenomena of social life, as conceptualized in the experience of the social agents concerned, to the essential relations that necessitate them. Now it is through the capacity of social science to illuminate such relations that it may come to be 'emancipatory'. But the emancipatory potential of social science is contingent upon, and entirely a consequence of, its contextual explanatory power" (1998: 28).

Bhaskar believed that these *illuminations* would become apparent as a result of "posing and answering transcendental questions about what the world and human beings must be like for science to be possible" (Bhaskar & Norrie in Archer *et al,* 1998: 567). On the basis of these beliefs, he created both an underlabouring philosophy and a metatheory and one that Danermark *et al* (2005: 4) advocate as a "tripartite regulatory relationship" between "ontology → methodology → social theories and practical research". Bhaskar's theories discount Emile Durkheim's (1968) position that *society creates man,* and Max Webber's (1949) opposing position that *man creates society.* For realist social scientists, this means that the context and the people who inhabit it have to be viewed as part of a dynamic and ongoing physical, social, cultural and peopled system, a system that has independent and historical perspectives that are separate from but are able to influence whatever or whomever it is that one is investigating. Critical realism therefore affords the social researcher with robust philosophical and metatheoretical tools to conduct research by providing the means to understand how the world exists independent of personal theories and perceived and believed constructs of it.

Archer *et al* (1998) and Danermark *et al* (2005) believe that the work Roy Bhaskar produced on critical realism did much to bridge the schism between the opposing paradigms of the individualistic, naturalistic and normative positivist approach and the hermeneutic, anti-naturalistic interpretive approach to science. Danermark *et al* (2005) go further and assert that Bhaskar developed a theory of ontology that could be used to

identify the mechanisms and the structures that make up the events that people experience in the contexts of their natural and social world or, as Archer *et al* (1998: 197) express it, "[which] tells us what structures, entities and mechanisms make up the world". Reinforced in his initial efforts by Andrew Sayer's (1984) *Method in Social Sciences: a realist approach,* and later supported by the parallel writings of Margaret Archer's (1995) *Culture and Agency: The place of culture in social theory,* Bhaskar extended his criticism of duality and the axiological inconsistencies of theory in *Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation* (1986). In this work, he is seen to reemphasize his position on the need to separate society and people:

> "The importance of distinguishing categorically between people and society, and correspondingly between human action and change in the social structure should now be clear. For the properties possessed by social forms may be very different from those possessed by the individual upon whose activity they depend" (Bhaskar in Archer *et al,* 1998: 215).

He thus made a very strong case for the stratified nature of the social world through this work.

Critical realism is said to act as both a 'philosophical underlabourer', and a 'midwife' for the social sciences (Bhaskar, 2008; Hartwig, 2007; Sayer, 2000). This means that critical realism provides a platform for social scientists to structure their research in order to identify and explore the underlying mechanisms and powers from which the phenomena in which they are interested emerge. This it does through its foundational basis of *ontological stratification, epistemological relativism and judgmental rationality,* concepts that Archer *et al* (1998: xi) refer to as the "foundational pillars of critical realism".

2.2.1 ONTOLOGICAL STRATIFICATION

You do not even think of your own past as quite real;
you dress it up, you gild it or blacken it,
censor it, tinker with it…fictionalize it,
in a word, we put it away on a shelf
- your book, your romance, your autobiography.
We are all in the flight from the real reality.
This is the basic definition of Homo sapiens."
John Fowles (1969).
The French Lieutenant's Woman.

Following critical realists, then, my understanding of 'reality' and our knowledge of that reality is that reality (ontology) has its own existence and is independent from, irreducible to, and outside of our necessary understanding (epistemology) of it. In other words, there is a real world that continues to exist and function independently and without us necessarily being aware or understanding anything about it, a world whose wonders and functions we are not even able to access (Sayer, 1992; and Fleetwood, 2005).

Critical realism was developed by Bhaskar (1986) at a time when empirical approaches to research, rather than trying to find an understanding for their reasons and causes, were apparently merely establishing "patterns of social reactions and institutions" (Cohen *et al,* 2011: 20). As a counter to this approach, which Bhaskar referred to as a 'flat ontology', he proposed that reality consists of three levels, strata or domains. These he termed the empirical, the actual, and the real (Bhaskar, 2008).

2.2.1.1. DOMAINS OF THE ACTUAL AND THE EMPIRICAL

Described as nested in the actual domain, the empirical is the domain in which accounts of events in one's immediate environment are recognized as part of one's experiences (Alversson & Sköldberg, 2009). Our experiences are not, however, inclusive of all events that take place in or beyond that event. Relying therefore on this level of conception limits our understanding of reality (Collier, 1994 & 1998; and Danermark *et al,* 2005).

In turn, the domain of the actual, nested in the domain of the real, is the level in which events occur. Events do not have to be observed (at the time) by anyone to have happened, a concept captured and expressed by the oft-quoted question "If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound?"

In addition, critical realists believe that experiences are also not inclusive of all events that occur. Never having had an experience does not nullify the experience itself or its effects.

Acknowledging the reality of events and experiences to which we have not been privy does, however, open up the question of knowledge, or truth statements, in empirical research. It also further opens up avenues to approaches that grant that there are intransitive objects or things in the real world that, although they may not be directly detectable, still exist and impact on our experiences although they are independent of our knowledge, accounts, or explanations of them. This is a viewpoint that clearly distinguishes between reality (ontology) and our knowledge of it (epistemology) or, as Danermark *et al* (2005: 5) express it "critical realism involves a switch from epistemology to ontology, and within ontology a switch from events to mechanisms".

This switch to what critical realists' term 'generative mechanisms' is key to Bhaskar's philosophy. Bhaskar (2008) refers to and explains generative mechanisms as "nothing other than the ways of acting of things" (*ibid*: 51) and explains that they "bring about events as the causal power of things" (*ibid*: 14) in the real world. He emphasizes that as the "world consists of mechanisms not events" (*ibid*: 47), it is the underlying generative mechanisms (deep structures), that cause event to happen. "Causal powers, for example, can only be known, not shown to exist" (*ibid*: 186). These mechanisms are said to be unchanging, real, but unseen, unrecognized and independent of human thought and action.

In the same vein Bhaskar (2008: 51) asserts that critical realists recognize that the real world, as an open system, is not made up of *events* and the experiences one has or does not have of them, but rather of intransitive (relatively enduring) *things* that are found, and generated, in another domain, the domain of the real. As such, neither future events, nor experiences, can be determined as the combination of factors (generative mechanisms and associated tendencies) that brought them to fruition can also be altered by other corresponding sets of generative mechanisms and associated tendencies thereby bringing about different outcomes. Bhaskar (2008: 14), describes associated tendencies "as powers or liabilities of a thing which may be exercised without being manifest in any particular outcome". In other words, given certain conditions, tendencies are the likelihood that certain things will occur. Sayer (2000: 73) simplifies this concept somewhat when he states: "For any particular set of conditions, the results occur necessarily by virtue of the nature of the objects involved, but it is contingent which

conditions are actually present". Sayer (2000: 74) further goes on to explain, "It also means that the discovery of what a given mechanism can and cannot do requires considerable effort and ingenuity".

Archer (1998a) describes critical realist research as a "quest for non-observable generative mechanisms whose powers may exist unexercised or be exercised unrealized, that is with variable outcomes due to the variety of intervening contingencies which cannot be subject to laboratory closure" (*ibid*: 190).

2.2.1.2. DOMAIN OF THE REAL

The third stratum of Bhaskar's philosophy is the domain of the real. While the domains are not reducible to one another, the level of the real incorporates both the empirical and actual domains. The domain of the real consists of structures and mechanisms that have causal powers or tendencies which, while not observable, are able to lead to the emergence of events at the level of the actual, and the emergence of experiences and observations at the level of the empirical.

Although it is possible to conceptualize Bhaskar's layered ontology as a relatively simple depiction of the three strata, reality in itself is much more complicated and multifaceted as higher levels are dependent on lower level structures and mechanisms, which in turn are rooted in even lower strata. All entities be they animate (fauna and flora), or inanimate (elemental, cultural and/or societal), are able to be analysed at a variety of levels. A human being, for example, can be analysed using concepts such as chemistry, molecules, gender, race or class. To complicate matters even more, structural mechanisms, potentials or tendencies can either enable or constrain an event to occur, not to occur, or modify its occurrence.

Structures and their associated mechanisms are as real as the events they generate at the level of the actual as our experiences of them at the level of the empirical are. At these levels, however, events and experiences are different from the generative mechanisms of the real having changed as a result of *emergence.* Each stratum is therefore different from, and irreducible to, the others. As a simple example, water is used to illustrate a concept of stratification that involves different structures at different levels. Water at a biological level hydrates the body for cellular function in processes that

can be conceptualized as a series of events. On a 'higher' socio-cultural level, water can serve (i.e. be experienced) as a symbol of hospitality and friendship when proffered as a means to quench one's thirst. Water, in turn, is dependent on, amongst other things, a lower elemental and chemical level as its very existence is dependent on the combining of the components of hydrogen and oxygen at a biochemical level. Many other substances, however, are also made up of molecular hydrogen and oxygen and have, therefore, the potential to form other substances with other properties for function at diverse levels of reality.

The occurrence or materialization of higher-level features from lower-level features is referred to as *emergence* (Sayer, 2000; and Danermark *et al,* 2005). Lower level emergent entities connect in a variety of particular ways to produce higher-level entities, and so there is an infinite number of possible outcomes. As mentioned before, however, as close as their relationship may be, these entities are different from and irreducible to each other. Through this perspective, we understand that structures and mechanisms are transfactually independent (operating over open and closed systems), and that they operate out of, or without, a particular sequence or pattern of events and, as a result, are constantly changing (Bhaskar, 2002). This then can be translated into there being no linear link between knowledge and reality.

While it is important in scientific studies to establish the connections between the empirical, the actual and the real in order to observe and identify the effect of underlying generative mechanisms, Bhaskar (1998) emphasizes the importance of keeping ontology and epistemology separate, and recognizing that structural mechanisms "operate prior to and independent of their discovery" (*ibid*: xii). This avoids confusing things that exist with our knowledge of them.

In relation to this study, drawing on a critical realist ontology meant that I needed to peel back research participants' empirical 'experiences' in the sectors and institutions in which they worked in order to try and tease-out the structures and mechanisms, at the level of the real, which led to the emergence of these experiences and observations of events. As an example, in the contextual setting of an Abu Dhabi university, a regular failure on the part of students to complete reading preparation for classwork would be interrogated to try and discover what 'real' structures and mechanisms could be posited as leading to

behaviour. Importantly, the interrogation of these structures and mechanisms would be 'critical' in the sense that it would seek to identify prejudice and bias in pursuit of globalized assumptions in their identification.

Table 1: Bhaskar's layered ontology

(Bhaskar, 2008: 13)

	Domain of the Real	Domain of the Actual	Domain of the Empirical
Mechanisms/ causal powers/liabilities, tendencies	X		
Events (and experiences)	X	X	
Experiences	X	X	X

2.2.2 EPISTEMIC RELATIVISM

To judge validity, knowledge needs to be viewed in relation to its time and place in history. This, according to Archer *et al* (1998: 236), is because "all beliefs are socially produced, so that all knowledge is transient, and neither truth-values nor criteria of rationality exist outside of historical times". This means that the understanding of an event or experience must be viewed against the backdrop of the place, the society, and the time in history in which it was produced. This point is critically important for my study as the expatriate educators who participated in this research were drawing on beliefs developed in different socio-historical contexts to the one in which they originally studied and worked.

This brings us back to the crux of critical realism which is that ontology (the necessary features of that which exists) cannot be reduced to epistemology (assumptions of belief) as there is a distinction between the intransitive objects of knowledge, the structures, mechanisms and processes which, as Bhaskar (2008: 22) noted, "for the most part [are] quite independent of us" and the transitive, which Danermark *et al* (2005: 206) explain as being "our conceptions of that which exists". The conflation or reduction of ontology and epistemology involves submitting to what Bhaskar (2008) refers to as the 'epistemic fallacy' or the idea that "statements about being can always be transposed into statements about our knowledge of being" (*ibid*: 16).

Summarized by Morén & Blom (2003), knowledge as a social construct means "there are truths, but these are not exhaustive or definitive (reality might change or be explored at deeper levels or from different angles), and our observations are dependent on theory, but not *determined* by it". In my study, expatriate educators' statements about what should be the case in relation to higher education structures and systems will be based on their 'knowledge of being', initially a knowledge of being that was developed in a South African context and, later, about their 'knowledge of being' having worked in very different contexts in the UAE. My need, therefore, is not to commit the 'epistemic fallacy' by failing to look beyond the experiences and observations reported by the educators. Rather, the need is to go beyond this level of reality to look for the structures and mechanisms that brought about the emergence of their experiences.

2.2.3 JUDGMENTAL RATIONALITY

In support of critical realists' explanations of knowledge, Sayer (2000: 42) states that "Realists do *not* need to suppose that knowledge mirrors the world; rather it interprets it in such a way that the expectation and practices it informs are intelligible and reliable". Maxwell (2012: 5) concurs that critical realists "accept the possibility of alternative valid accounts of any phenomenon" as 'they deny that we can have any objective or certain knowledge of the world".

Through thought, prior experiences and language, human beings create a perspective, or knowledge, or truth. Whilst this may be the best truth for the time (epistemic relativism), it is fallible and incomplete as it lacks the whole perspective of the stratified layer of underlying structures, generative mechanisms and causes that make it what it is (ontological stratification). In Bhaskarian terms, this means that as more information becomes available, *the knowledge of the day,* being transitive and subject to change, changes, resulting in a newer, altered body of knowledge. Bhaskar emphasizes this point when he notes "that transcendental realism is fallible, as corrigible as the outcome of any other piece of human argument. I . . . regard it as merely the best account [at present] available" (1998: 188).

In summary, this means that some explanations or knowledge of our socially constructed world must have the potential to be better than others and understandably this depends on the extent to which explanations are interrogated and critiqued. The point being made

is that the task, duty and responsibility of researchers is to find the "best account" of their investigation. This may, however, only be achieved by them firstly acknowledging their own fallibility.

2.2.4 SOME THOUGHTS

As I have begun to indicate above, ontological stratification, epistemic relativism and judgmental rationality are important concepts in this study as they provide a means to unpack and explore the emergent cultural and structural conditions that brought about change in the South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors at the time of participants' employment in these respective contexts, and how participants responded to these.

In more practical and superficial terms, what I am claiming is that the empirical data generated as a result of interviews with educators provides relative accounts of their experiences and observations conditioned by their previous experiences. As a researcher, my aim is to go beyond the relative accounts to try to identity the relatively enduring mechanisms from which they emerged. As I do this, I acknowledge that any account I may be able to provide of these mechanisms is fallible. The acknowledgment of my own fallibility as a researcher offers the potential that any account I do provide is the 'best' available at the time because of the critical interrogation to which it has been subjected.

2.3 SOCIAL REALISM

Margaret Archer (1995) refers to Bhaskar's critical realism as a philosophical under-labourer for her own work and as a "generous platform, capable of underpinning various social theories" (*ibid*: 136 & 161).

The value in using Archer's social theory in this study is because of her insistence on the fact that, as entwined as social and cultural structure/s and agency are in the social world, they are analytically distinct. As I have tried to indicate in the first part of this chapter, critical realism places enormous emphasis on structure, or on the mechanisms from which events and our experiences and observations of those events emerge. Archer's position is that, in Bhaskar's work, not enough is said about agency: about who it is that agents/actors are, what their roles are and the ways they enact these roles through their personal and collective histories and, then, "what effects that these have on structure"

(Archer, 2007b: 39). As this study relates to the way participating South African higher education academics exercised their agency as educators in response to the prevailing cultural and structural conditions in their local, as well as in their expatriate contexts, Archer's (1995) work offers the potential to provide a means of exploring the interplay between the 'people' and the 'parts' or the 'social' and the 'system' (*ibid*: 12).

In order to better understand Archer's stratified model of reality and the role of the people and the parts at this stage of the study, some key terms used in her work need to be explained.

The term *'people'* is used by Archer (1995) to refer to "*Persons, Agents and Actors"* (*ibid*: 254). The distinctions between 'persons', 'agents' and 'actors' will be explicated later in this section.

Archer (1995, 1995) used the concept of '*culture'* to refer to beliefs, values, theories and ideologies.

Structure or structures are defined as "distributions, roles institutional structures, social systems" (Archer, 1995: 176) and consist of material resources and recurring patterns of social behaviour. 'Structure' thus refers to the interrelationship between different elements of society. *Social structures,* most often referred to as *structures,* are described by Sayer (2000: 14), as "a set of internally related elements whose causal powers, when combined, are emergent from those of their constituents". Whilst these structures are, according to Archer (1995), "historically specific and only relatively enduring", they are understood to "exert systematic causal effects on subsequent actions" (*ibid*: 167). As structures exist as a result of past interactions, in the sense that they preexist people, they therefore objectively affect and influence people's (as persons, agents and actors) situations and subsequent actions. In turn, only people, through their actions (or inactions) are able to effect cause. On this point, Archer cites Bhaskar who maintains that the "causal power of social forms is mediated through social agency". It is not difficult to see how, for example, gender functions as a structure in all societies in the sense that one's gender functions to distribute access to resources in significant ways.

Structures, Culture and People [as both agents (collectives) and actors (role players)] have generative powers referred to as *emergent properties* (Archer, 1995: 175). These

properties are then distinguished as

- *Structural Emergent Properties* (SEPs),
- *Cultural Emergent Properties* (CEPs),
- *Personal Emergent Properties* (PEPs).

Building on the example of gender used above, Archer would see gender as a structure with the power or property to distribute access to resources. In a similar vein, discourses, understood as 'sets of ideas' that hold together in language and other sign systems, are understood to have the power to enable or constrain what it is possible to do, value, believe and so on.

Emergence is always *activity-dependent* as a result of actions by people (Archer, 1995: 167). The accordance of PEPs to people is thus key to Archer's theorizing. Without the exercise of agency, CEPs and SEPs remain dormant. A discourse may exist, but it will only constrain action to the extent to which agents choose to draw on it. In the context of my study, this aspect of Archer's work allowed me to explore how South African educators chose to draw on CEPs and SEPs in order to contribute to the emergence of particular kinds of events in the institutions in which they work. Ultimately, this could have led to the emergence of globalized teaching and learning practices, along with experiences associated with those practices.

2.3.1 ARCHER'S METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.3.1.1 ANALYTIC DUALISM

To accord structure, culture and agency due regard, they have to be recognized as operating as autonomous and separate strata, each with their own distinctive causal powers and emergent properties. Often referred to by Archer (1995, 1996, 2000 and 2003) as *sui generis* properties and powers, these properties are irreducible to each other in a world that in itself operates as an open system. Ontological stratification, originally based on Bhaskar's (1998) transcendental realism, allows for the understanding that structures and agency emerge from different strata, each with self-determining variations. This means that, in relation to the concept of agency, it is possible to conceptualize the biological self of a person from which groups of agents and social actors occupying particular roles in society emerge. Each of these strata has generative mechanisms that

are able to bring about change to social and cultural structures that operate at the level of the real in this ontologically stratified, open and complex world.

Elder-Vass (2007) explains this by noting that:

> "Social structures have causal powers in their own right, which arise from the combination of individuals and relations that constitute them, but which are different from the causal powers that would be possessed by these same individuals if they were not organized into these social structures. They are therefore causal powers of the structures and not the individuals" (*ibid*: 40).

This said, it must be emphasized that nothing happens in social life without the causal powers of people having activated the properties of other structures. In other words, structures or social *structuring* (Archer, 1995: 165) is always mediated by people. Archer's (1995: 43) contention is thus that structure and agency are "activity-dependent" on one another. Although pre-existing social and cultural systems provide the context in which agents (as collectives) or actors (people in social positions) experience events, it is the properties and powers of agents that bring about change, which Archer terms 'elaboration' or 'morphogenesis', or leave the world unchanged in a condition termed 'reproduction' or 'stasis'. As an example, the cultural system of the UAE conditions women to behave in particular ways. Structural changes at both local and global levels have resulted in the appointment of women educators from societies where women have been conditioned to behave very differently. Changes to the structural system resulting in the appointment of expatriate female educators could thus result in a clash as incoming educators are confronted with entirely social and cultural conditions to those to which they are accustomed in, for example, classes of male students. This could impact on classroom practices, as well as on the expatriate educators' sense of themselves. Working from an Archerian perspective, this would mean a researcher would need to explore the way educators as individuals or as groups exercised their PEPs in relation to an entirely different set of CEPs and SEPs in order to pursue the concerns they have as educators and the projects they have identified to address them (in, for example, the form of a particular set of classroom practices) in their new contexts. As they did this, they would also draw on the CEPs and SEPs from contexts with which they were familiar.

The open system of the real world, described by Archer (1995) as "a special kind of system" "which is only like itself and is itself because it is open, and is open because it is

people" (*ibid*: 166), is an objective structural system that preconditions agential action. It is only through agential action – some of which is unwanted or unintended – that society or social and cultural structures are able to remain as they are, or are changed (Archer, 1995; Sayer, 2000; and Fleetwood, 2005).

It is because of my understanding and appreciations of the thinking I have outlined above that I chose to select Archer's (1995) methodological framework, based on analytic dualism, or the separation of the 'parts' from the 'people' for this study. Archer's (1995) methodology avoids "upward conflation" or the positioning of agents in an exalted position as propounded by individualist theories (*ibid*: 4). It also avoids "downward conflation", in which structures are understood to determine all human action as advocated by collectivist thinking (*ibid*: 19). It also serves to eschew the position that conflates agents and structures and reduces them to a co-existence in which they are defined in terms of their relation to the each other, what Archer (*ibid*: 2) terms the "central conflation", promulgated by structuration theorists. Rather, "*linking structures and agency without sinking either into the other,"* allows for the distinction Archer (*ibid*: 65) believes is required to examine the *"interplay between them [structure and agency] over time"*. By drawing on this framework, my intention was to try to see how expatriate educators drew on different CEPs and SEPs as they engaged with the new context in which they found themselves in Abu Dhabi.

2.3.1.2 MORPHOGENETIC CYCLE

People are generally born into societies "which nobody wants" (Archer, 1995: 165). Fortunately (for people), the process of "social structuring" (: 165) is continuous, and as such transformation, elaboration and change is ongoing. The shaping and re-shaping of structure and agency is not, however, predictable, cyclic or consistent. Sometimes it is not even probable. As described by Archer (1995), "Society is only like itself and the basic task is to conceptualize how ordered social forms have their genesis in human agency, just as social beings have their genesis in social forms*"* (*ibid*: 167).

Archer's (1995) 'morphogenetic framework', based firmly on ontological stratification, the powers and properties able to lead to emergence (SEPs, CEPs and PEPs) and the "historicity of emergence", provides the means by which it is possible to explain, for the purpose of scientific analysis, what, when and how structures and people change "over time*"* (*ibid*: 66).

In the following illustrations of the morphogenesis of culture, structure and agency the letter 'T' represents temporal measure points as, according to Archer, "time is incorporated as sequential tracts and phases rather than simply as a medium through which events take place." (1995: 89). Archer identifies three phases in a morphogenetic cycle:

T^1 This phase represents the structural/cultural/socio-cultural conditioning in place at the start of a cycle that, in practical terms, could be any point in time.

What is thus required at T^1 of any study is an examination of existing cultural and structural systems. It is these properties that condition and shape (but do not determine) future agential action. "This is the human condition, to be born into a social context (of language, beliefs and organizations) which was not of our making" (Archer, 1995: 72). With respect to this study, T^1 represented the systems that pertained in both the South African and the Abu Dhabi higher education sectors as a result of the global changes that had taken place in the international education arena. It also represented the changes that occurred domestically and resulted in changes to the respective higher education sectors and institutions in each country.

T^2 - T^3 This represents the stage during which agents/actors respond to the systems that they encounter and describes the processes that unfold. Any change that ensues involves a morphogenesis of systems but may also result in a morphogenesis of agency as, according to Archer (1995: 253), "the self-same sequence by which agency brings about social and cultural transformation is simultaneously responsible for the systemic transformation of social agency itself. In other words, a double morphogenesis is involved". In addition, a *triple morphogenesis* may also result. Triple morphogenesis is described as a "process [in which] the particular social identities of individual social actors are forged from agential collectivities in relation to the array of organizational roles which are available in society at that specific point in time" (Archer, 1995: 256). In this study, this would represent the changes that occurred with regards to participants' perceptions of their roles and identities in their Abu Dhabi contexts.

T^4 T^4 represents the final stage of the cycle in which elaboration/change/morphogenesis can be identified or reproduction/non-change/morphostasis can be discerned. In my study this involved identifying the changes or non-changes that had occurred to participants' concerns, practices and identities. The conditions that pertain at T^4 of one cycle become the T^1 of the subsequent morphogenetic/static cycle.

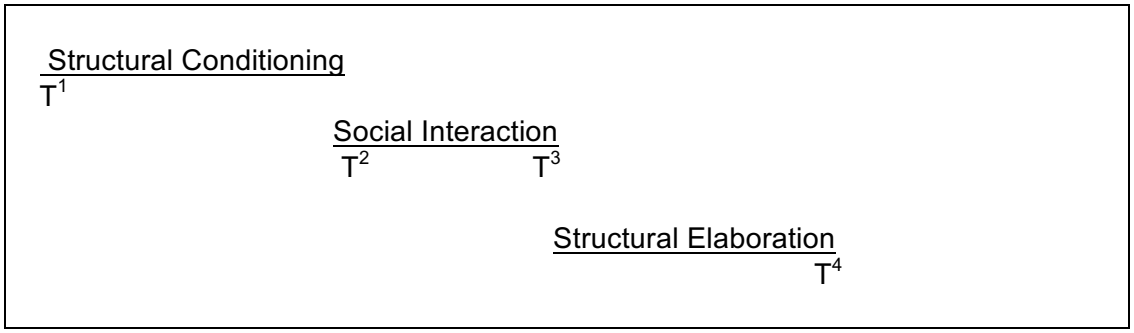

Figure 8 : The morphogenesis of structure

(Archer, 1995: 193)

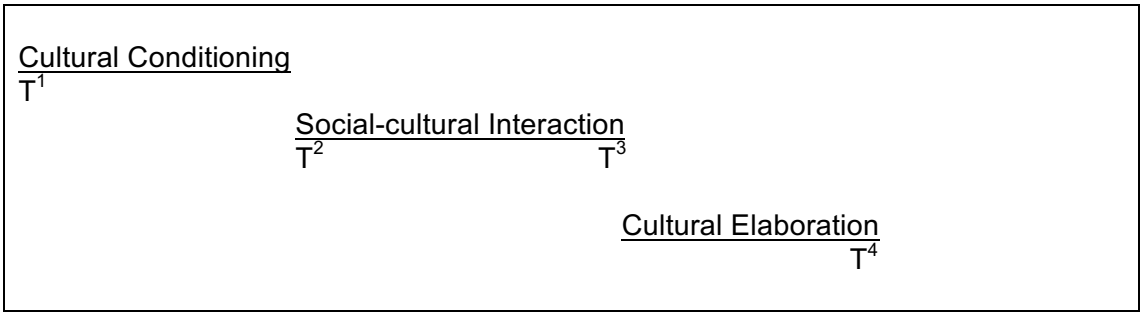

Figure 9 : The morphogenesis of culture

(Archer, 1995: 193)

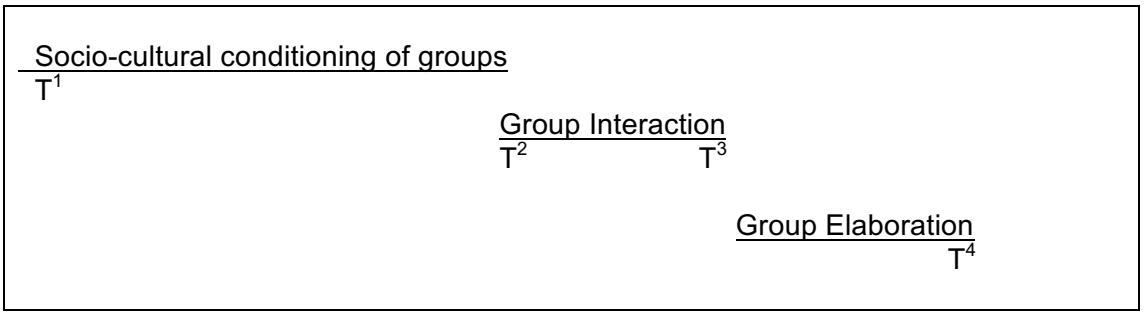

Figure 10 : The morphogenesis of agency

(Archer, 1995: 194)

These sequences, as represented above, are repeated endlessly over time. T^1 in each new cycle begins with the end product or results of the previous T^4 cycle. Each cycle has the potential for elaboration/morphogenesis, or reproduction/morphostasis. Depending on circumstances, each cycle may take a short, or a protracted period of time to play out

2.4 MORE THOUGHTS

Archer's analytic dualism and morphogenetic framework are well suited to the intention of this critical realist study as it facilitates analysis beyond the mere listing of expatriate educators' personal and professional descriptions and accounts of experiences and events. Rather, it supplies the means to develop an explanation of those experiences and events and, thus, of change or non-change to the educators themselves and of the potential impact of this on the Abu Dhabi higher education system. As stated by Elder-Vass (2013: 260), "For *scientific* realists, events are not just a random jumble of occurrences but are *caused,* and caused by potentially identifiable factors". The explanation of these factors is an overall aim of realist research.

ACT THREE: UNDERSTANDING THE CAST

IDENTITY THEORIES

"As man imagines himself to be,
so, shall he be,
and he is that which he imagines".
Paracelsus (16th C)
Physician, alchemist and astrologer.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As I have already indicated, the purpose of this study is to explore the conditions that caused the participating South African higher education academics to become transnational migrants, the culture and structural systems that they encountered as self-initiated (Bird, Osland, Mendenhall, Schneider, 1999; Lyon, 2001; Lee, 2005; Car *et al,* 2005; Biemann & Andersen, 2010; Selmer & Lauring, 2010; and Reynolds, 2012) expatriate academics in Abu Dhabi, and the changes that their expatriate experiences brought to their roles and identities.

Critical and social realism functioned as philosophical 'underlabourers' for the study and other, substantive theories were used to explore the interplay of mechanisms leading to the experiences of academics and the shifts they encountered in relation to their sense of identity.

As the following chapters will show, participants in the study were experienced educators with established professional identities who experienced the enormous change in the South African higher education system that emerged from the structural and cultural shifts related to the transition to democracy. By 2008 all participants had moved to work in the Abu Dhabi higher education sector, a move that brought the need to engage with enormous change. Expatriation requires engagement with new socio-cultural contexts in both personal and working lives involving changes to practice and shifts in social ties that, ultimately, challenge longstanding attitudes and beliefs (Johnson, Kristof-Brown, Van Vianen, De Pater & Klein, 2003). These terms, collectively and singularly, are also often associated with the notion of identity and, more particularly, with occupational roles and social identity.

The concept of identity, and its relationship to the way people as individuals, and as a member of a group, interact with others is a subject that is studied across many disciplines, including education, philosophy, social psychology and organizational and management studies. It is also a subject that has generated a great deal of writing, including work by Harré (1983), Turner & Oakes (1986), Weinreich (1986), Taylor (1989 & 1992), Giddens (1991), Bourdieu (1977, 1990 & 1992), Thompson (1995), Wenger (1998), Archer (2000), Gee (2000), Richardson & McKenna (2001), Boyd (2002), Côté (1996 & 2006), Korfmacher (2006), Kim (2010) and Olson (2010).

Given the concerns I noted at the beginning of this thesis regarding the hegemony of global education (Barnett, 2005; and Kim, 2009a, 2009b & 2010), my assumption was that the concept of identity would assist in allowing me to explore how hegemonic discourses played out in context since I anticipated that the participants in my study would carry such views to their new working contexts.

3.2 DEFINING IDENTITY

Identity is a concept that seems to have as many definitions and interpretations as there are authors working with it. For example, drawing on work centered on the concept of 'community of practice', Wenger (1998) regards identity as 'the constant work of negotiating the self' (*ibid*: 151) and as

> *". . .being concerned with the social formation of the person, the cultural interpretation of the body, and the creation and use of markers of membership such as rites of passage and social categories. They address issues of gender, class, ethnicity, age, and other forms of categorization, association, and differentiation in an attempt to understand the person as formed through complex relations of mutual constitution between individuals and groups"* (Wenger, 1998: 13).

This is a very broad-based definition, but one that is important to a variety of features of this study as it touches on aspects such as inclusion, belonging, involvement, relationships, participation and interaction with any one of a variety of groups, institutions, traditions or structural and cultural systems the participants may have encountered as a member of academic communities in South Africa, and as expatriates and educators in Abu Dhabi.

Wenger's discussion of identity acknowledges the many factors that both affect and effect a person's inner being, including social status, something which is pertinent to this study given the changed social status of the educators in their new country.

Boyd (2002) offers an alternative view involving a distinction between the 'inner' and 'outer' aspects of a person's being. His concept of an inner identity refers to "an individual's self-perception in relation to their experiences and the world" (Boyd, 2002: 21). These are aspects that could be likened to Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *habitus* which he described as traits that are "laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing" (*ibid*: 82) as "an acquired system of generative dispositions" (*ibid*: 95), "in the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56).

The outer, 'social identity' is "perceived externally, relying not on the intention, but the effective expression and perception of an individual's presentation" (Boyd, 2002: 22). The idea of an "individual's presentation" can be seen to be akin to Bourdieu's (1977) identification of the *embodied state* of cultural capital, or the set of resources that people are generally motivated to increase in order to further themselves in society.

Boyd (*ibid*: 22) goes on to explain that "one's social identity emerges from one's internal identity". In Thompson's (1995) view, these two facets of identity are in a state of constant interplay and are linked to the socio-historical and cultural capital that is derived from the "pre-existing set of symbolic material" (*ibid*: 186) available to an individual. More simply put, Boyd (*ibid*) believes that one's internal and social identity evolves and develops in relation to one's experiences over time.

With reference to the definitions offered by Boyd (2002), it should be noted that I am cognizant of the contradiction of using terminology such as 'self-perception', as this I think would be considered by Archer (1995, 1996, 2000 & 2003), Sayer (2000) and Bhaskar (2008) and other social and critical realists, as an *epistemic fallacy.* This is because the elision of self-perception with a personal sense of self, confuses *that which exists* with *processes of knowing what exists* or, as Bhaskar (2008: 16) notes, as involving the belief "that statements about being can always be transposed into statements about our

knowledge of being". In my defence, however, I am, at this stage, just offering a variety of definitions to demonstrate the variety of views, options and opinions on the subject of identity.

Weinreich's (1986) definition of identity, "as the totality of one's self-construal, made up of those dimensions that express the continuity between one's construal of past ancestry and one's future aspirations in relation to ethnicity", display some similarities to the concepts of *embodied states* (Bourdieu in Richardson, 1986) and of 'core identity' and 'sense of self', (Taylor,1989; Harré, 1991; Archer (1995 & 2000); and Gee (2000), and thus, may have reference to some features that are of significance in this study. This is because, as expatriates', living and working in a country other than their own, participants' will have had experiences with colleagues and students that have different ethnicities, cultures and traditions with different "meanings, thoughts, beliefs, emotions values and intentions" (Maxwell, 2012: 16), from their own. As such they will either have to adjust to the differences, or they will knowingly or unknowingly try and change the systems and people around them. Either option has the potential to bringing about an emergence of structures, systems and people.

Taylor (1989: x.) refers to identity as "the sense of ourselves as beings with inward depths and the connected notion that we are selves". Although this notion of identity is one that Harré (1991), Archer (1995 & 2000) and (Gee (2000) would probably more closely relate to a person's 'core identity' or of their 'sense of self', it is a view that, as well as 'complying' with the realist tenant of epistemic relativism, and more specifically to Archer's (1995) concept of a human person as the anchoring stratum of "a stratified model of people" (*ibid*: 254), also links to Archer's beliefs about the importance of self-talk and reflexivity in "shaping our social biographies" (1995: 126), aspects important to this study, and which will be developed further on in this chapter.

Finally, Locke (Essay II, xxxvii, 2 in Archer, 1995: 282) defined identity as "a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing in different times and places". Archer (1995) refers to this definition as having "considerable intuitive appeal" (*ibid*: 282). It is one that I believe she must have been cognizant of when developing her theory of identity as it seems to closely reflect her

concepts of a stratified being with a continuous sense of self, reflexively living and operating in a stratified world with a role-incumbent social identity.

Given the range and scope in which the term 'identity' is defined in the literature Côté, (2006) considered the multiplicity of these definitions and theories to be a growing problem. This, Côté (2006: 6) explains, is because "it leaves us in a state of confusion about exactly what identity is".

3.3 IDENTITY IN THIS STUDY

Mindful of this warning, the following definition of identity, obtained from Reber's (1985: 341) Dictionary of Psychology*, "… a person's essential, continuous self, the internal, subjective concept of oneself as an individual",* has been selected as the definition that informs this study. The reason for selecting Reber's definition is that this depiction of identity suggests introspection and reflection. These are features that are in alignment with Archer's (1995, 2000, 2007 & 2013) concept of identity, as it positions identity as encompassing the aspects of core or self-identity, personal and social identity and emphasises the way persons view themselves in relation to their concerns, their current contexts and their social roles. I therefore believe this definition and the following thoughts on identity provided by Archer (1995, 2000, 2007 & 2013), Gee (2000), Bourdieu (1977,1984, 1990, 1998) and Wenger (1998) will allowed me to explore the ways that participating educators exercised their agency in relation to their emergent identities in their professional contexts both in South Africa and in the UAE.

3.3.1 RATIONALE

The selected understanding of identity comes with a few provisos:

- That the way *a person sees themselves* is as a result of their *sense of self* in relation to their interactions in the (open and stratified) world. It would also include ongoing adjustments they make in response to their reflective practices and reflexivity in order to adjust to emergent structures encountered in the higher education contexts of South Africa and Abu Dhabi.
- That the definition is understood to encompass *social identity* as being dialectically developed and achieved in relation to personal identity (Archer, 1995 & 2000). This point will be explicated further on in this chapter.

- That the definition works on the tenet that people's understanding of themselves, otherwise referred to as one's *sense of self*, is "essential to social life" (Archer, 1995: 285). In addition to this it is understood that one's *sense of self* is an emergent entity that comes about as a result of processes of emergence, and acts as an anchor for agents and actors by means of the human person (Archer, 1995 & 2000). As emergent entities one's *sense of self*, one's personal identity and one's social identity develop as a result of interacting with the structures of an open system in the natural, practical and social orders of reality (Archer, 2000).

In addition to the above, the understanding is based on the principles of critical realism, analytic dualism and the morphogenetic framework. Firstly, this is because each individual is seen as being a stratified person in a stratified world, and secondly because personal and social identities are viewed against a background of 'contexts'. These contexts are understood to consist of systems, cultures and particularly people from diverse backgrounds and roles who, in turn, bring reason, cause and PEPs with them as elements of their own circumstance (SEPs and CEPs) of being part of an open world and a stratified ontology. Adjunct to this is the understanding that the social and cultural structures that individuals encounter and experience daily in their particular contexts, have, in turn, emanated and emerged from a variety of systems, cultures and traditions. The concept of 'context' is an integral notion of this study, and therefore has to be part of the understanding of identity on which this study is based. This embracing of the concept of 'context' is supported by both Maxwell's (2012: 20), who ascertained that an "individual's physical contexts have a causal influence on their beliefs and perspectives", and Sayer's (2000: 53) claim that, "[t]o be sure, there is no view from nowhere – all knowledge is socially situated, and contextual".

Further to this, the concept of 'context' aligns with Gee's (2000) explanation of the development of identity, and the sources and processes of powers from which various identities emerge. Gee identifies 'Nature-Identity' (biological being), 'Institute-Identity' (roles), 'Discourse-Identity' (traits) and 'Affinity-Identity' (collective practices or interests). These will be shown to link somewhat to Archer's three orders of reality - Natural, Practical and Social; aspects that will be discussed in greater detail further on in this chapter. Viewed together, Archer (1995, 2000, 2007 & 2013) and Gee's (2000) concepts will assist

and support the understanding of how participants' social identities emerged in relation to the higher education sectors in post-1994 South Africa and thereafter in Abu Dhabi.

3.4 ARCHER'S ROUTE TO IDENTITY FORMATION

Key to the understanding of identity used in this study is Archer's (2000) explanation of the means by which a person's social identity and their abilities and ways they interact with the world, develops in relation to their dialectically related personal identity. Archer's (1995, 1996, 2000, 2007 & 2012) interpretation of the way in which a person's identity is formed results from a combination of her work on analytical dualism, the relationship between structure, culture and agency and her morphogenetic framework. It is also based on her later works: *Being Human: The Problem of Agency* (2000), *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation* (2003) and *Making our Way through the World: Human Reflexivity and Social Mobility* (2007) as well as on her latest book in this area in which she seems to have moved her attention away from the 'parts' to focus more on the 'people', *The Reflexive Imperative in Late Modernity* (2012).

In this body of work, Archer (2000, 2007 & 2012) provides a detailed account of the way in which people, as agents and actors, are able, through their 'continuous sense of self', which she describes as the "most fundamental of all PEPs"[4] (Archer, 2000: 254), to develop a social identity. Social identity, according to Archer (*ibid*: 257), is the identity one "assumed in society". Social identity is also the identity associated with people's purpose and worth in social contexts (*ibid*). It is the identity, Archer contends, people employ when they encounter the constraints and 'enablements' presented as others exercise their own PEPs in social contexts. Remaining true to her realist roots in developing her theories of identity, Archer (1995, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2007 & 2012), continues to argue that people are analytically separate and irreducible to structures (parts). She sees people as subjective beings whose actions affect the objective, but

[4] People's emergent properties (PEPs) are defined by their *causal* effect or relationships between people and the social and cultural systems. They interact within the open system of the world and are allied to the use of power and influence. (*ibid*: 179).

preexisting, social and cultural mechanisms with which they interact. For the purposes of understanding the way people function with, and within, their contexts (but never creating them), Archer (2000: 160) examines 'biological persons' using analytical dualism and the morphogenetic approach.

In describing her views on the development of identity, Archer (2000) firstly stresses that, while people live in a stratified and open world, they too are stratified beings: "[the] human Person, the Agent and the Actor" (*ibid*: 255). Identities, personal and social, she explains, are neither preordained as a result of biological heritage, nor are they merely the person individuals have become because of having adopted and been moulded by social norms. Rather she sees abilities, intentions and strengths as resulting from nurtured development and as a result of people 'being one' with their surroundings and exercising free will to make choices of their own. As a result, they become the person in whom they are able and willing "to invest enough of themselves to feel at home with what they have become" (Archer, 1995: 256). In summarizing her position, Archer states that the "mind is emergent from neurological matter, consciousness from mind, selfhood from consciousness, personal identity from selfhood, and social agency from personal identity" (2000: 87). In addition, Archer (1995) emphasizes that people, as active agents and role-incumbent actors, have their own generative mechanisms and emergent powers and properties "*in potentia"* (2000: 189). By emphasizing the concept of *in potentia,* she highlights the concept that people's actions are able to effect change in a world that, although it has structures that pre-exist or "pre-date" people (temporal priority) (*ibid*: 106), is in itself an open system, and, very importantly, made up of what she refers to as the "three orders of reality" (Archer, 2000: 160). This view of the world, and the way in which people live in it, would, I believe, have been fully supported by Bhaskar (1986, 1998, 2002 & 2008), as Archer's (1995 & 2000) thoughts and concepts are in accord with the following point made in his *A Realist Theory of Science*:

> "More specific to men is their power to initiate and prevent change in a purposeful way. The possession of this power seems to stem from the fact that men are material things with a particular degree of neuro-physiological complexity which enables them to monitor and control their own actions" (2008: 239).

I believe if Bhaskar had expressed this view a little differently by utilizing Archer's terminology, the alignment between Archer and Bhaskar's views would become even more apparent, and the statement would, I propose, have read somewhat like the following:

> People as active agents who have their own generative mechanisms, emergent powers and properties in potential, primarily develop as a result of the practical order of things with a particular degree of neurological matter that develops into a consciousness from mind, providing them with an ability to interact with and within the natural order of the world, thereby enabling them to monitor and control their own actions as role-incumbent role models with a personal and social identity.

This version, I further suggest, would more clearly depict how well Bhaskar's philosophies and Archer's theories work together, and how their realist concepts developed and came to dovetail.

3.4.1 ARCHER'S THREE ORDERS OF REALITY

According to Archer (2000), the factors that most influence and impact on an individual's identity development in order for them to function as social beings are the three orders of reality. She identifies three orders of realities: the natural order, the practical order and the social order. People live and operate in these orders and thus are inseparable from them "for the duration of [their] lives" (*ibid*: 161). She explains that it is important to understand each of these orders of reality as it is in relation to these orders, and to their respective forms of knowledge that persons develop their identities. Reflecting on and interacting with these orders of reality "helps to make us what we are as persons" (*ibid*: 161).

3.4.1.1 THE NATURAL ORDER

The natural order, as described by Archer (2000) is the order of reality through which we encounter our environments and the natural world. This is accomplished through personal activities such as opening doors and traversing through them, playing sport or through career requirements such as having to commute to and from work. In developing our ongoing, and generally ineluctable interaction with our environments, Merleau-Ponty (1963: 8 in Archer, 2000: 127) describes the learning resulting from it as emanating from

"a multiplicity of events external to each other and bound together by relations of causality". According to Harré (1991: 28 in Archer, 2000: 112), the natural order requires that persons form an awareness of their environment and realize and function as if they are "a thing among things".

Knowledge in the natural order is conceptualized as embodied knowledge, and centers around an individual's physical well-being, a condition that people develop as a result of a conscious or unconscious understanding of their actions and interactions with their surroundings. This sense and ability is, according to Archer (2000), an emergent power that develops as a result of a body/environment relation that involves a personification of knowledge as it always involves "an element of personal bodily discovery" (*ibid*: 162). Simply expressed, Archer summarizes it as a "*knowing how* when doing, rather than a *knowing that* in thought" (*ibid*: 143 & 162). This embodied knowledge is the form of knowledge that all able-bodied and able-minded people share. In addition, according to Archer (2000), the only difference or aspect that separates us from animals in relation to embodied knowledge is "our tendency to enhance or extend our embodied knowledge by the invention and use of artifacts" (*ibid*: 161). As such it is linked to material culture, or the knowledge that derives from the practical order of reality.

3.4.1.2 THE PRACTICAL ORDER

Of the three orders of reality, Archer (2000) bestows primacy to the practical. The realm of the practical order, Archer explains, is the means by which people are linked "historically, cross-culturally, and socially" (2000: 198) in various, and in ongoing ways to both the natural and social orders of reality. In other words, people are personified by the embodied knowledge acquired through the natural order, through and by the things they do, as well as by the manner in which they conduct themselves (discursive knowledge acquired through the social order). This, Archer explains, is because individuals' actions, while autonomous and separate from the embodied knowledge that they obtained from the natural realm and separate too from the propositional culture and discursive knowledge that they obtained from the social realm, have "causal powers to modify them both" (*ibid*: 87). The reasons she gives for this is because "the knowledge we gain from nature and from society has to be filtered through practice – the fulcrum of knowledge" (*ibid*: 9). This is because the practical realm is the realm through which biological humans,

with a continuous sense of self or self-identity, "logically and substantively" progress through the development of "sensory-motor skills" and the concomitant ability to use and manipulate tools and artefacts to work and operate in the social realm (*ibid*: 121 & 155).

As an emergent property, practice is linked to performative achievements. Both individual and social beings need to be competent in and through their actions. They cannot, as functioning humans, be set apart from the world (Archer, 2000). Emanating fundamentally from bodily self-consciousness, the realization of "self and otherness" (*ibid*: 123) develops as a result of our relationship with praxis in a material world, a world that in itself consists of separate, objective, quantifiable, and logical entities. Practical knowledge, in Archer's words, "involves an active process of doing since it its performative in relation to material culture". It is "*implicit, being* encoded in the body as skills" and "*tacit* because it is reality understood through activity [and] the manipulation ... of artefacts" (*ibid*: 166). Archer (2000) further goes on to state, "what is central to human beings are not '*meanings* but *doings*'" (*ibid*: 189) and, because of this, practical actions, activities, outcomes and accomplishments can be equated to "performative achievements". These outcomes are often associated with feelings that can, positively or negatively, be connected to "our self-worth in the social order" (2000: 211).

Finally, Archer (2000) believes that "our durable powers of recognition, our lasting, distinctive eidetic memories and indelibility of our performative skills", as supported by "neurobiology evidence" (*ibid*: 8), is what gives primacy to practice in the practical order, and that which "helps to make us what we are as persons" (*ibid*: 161).[5]

3.4.1.3 THE SOCIAL ORDER

Self-worth, in the realm of the social order, is a person's ultimate concern (Archer, 2000). As mentioned previously, it emerges as a result of an individual's association and interactions with both the natural and physical orders of reality, and their ensuing interactions with social and cultural mechanisms. Simply put, self-worth and self-identity

[5] In addition to being ambulatory and able to manipulate tools and devices for personal and professional needs, practice too involves aspects such as language, speaking, and writing (Archer, 2000; and Sayer, 2000). As aspects integral to identity formation, these will be discussed in a separate section further on in this chapter.

need to be understood as end products that involve a process of reasoned arguments that take place as a result of the process of reflection, or self-talk, by people with themselves on any manner of subject that seems pertinent to them. It also involves the reasoning in relation to the many objects, beliefs, theories and values that an individual is presented with through the three orders of reality. As such it can be said to involve the emergence of propositional culture as a result of discursive knowledge between subject and subject (Archer, 2000: 199).

In maintaining her links to realism in relation to the three orders of reality, Archer (2000) continues to emphasize that, as analytically separate as these realms are, people are both bound by them, and live in them simultaneously. She further insists that the embodied, practical and discursive knowledge that people acquire is transitive, empirical, and fallible (*ibid*: 199 & 254). Bhaskar, I imagine, would take this view even further and argue "that real structures exist independently of and are often out of phase with the actual pattern of events" (2008: 13).

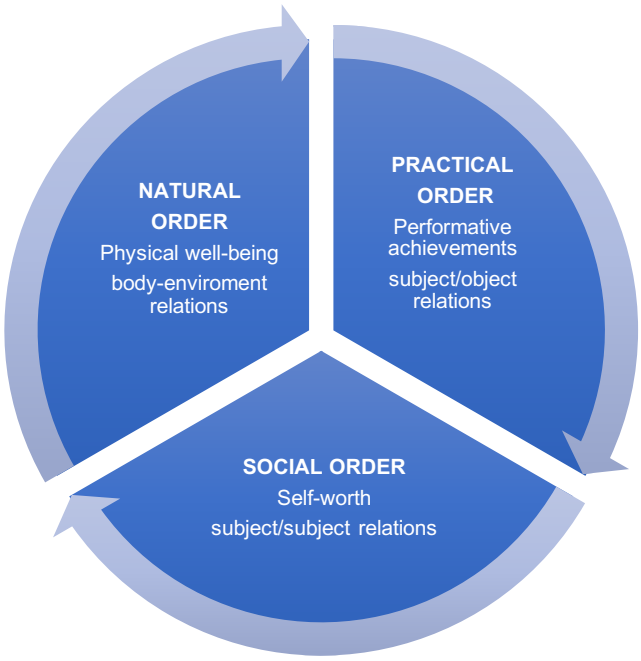

Figure 11 : Archer's Three Orders of Reality

(Adapted from Archer, 2000).

Finally, I would just like to reemphasize that the summary of the three orders of reality has been included in this discussion on identity as they are in Archer's (2000) view, the factors that most influence and impact on an individual's development in order for them to function as social beings.

3.4.2 ARCHER'S THEORY OF IDENTITY FORMATION

3.4.2.1 SELF OR CORE IDENTITY

According to Archer (2000: 7), individuals function in the three orders of reality as "the self, the person, the agent and the actor" and, as Archer notes, by drawing on "[o]ne of the most important properties that we have, the power to know ourselves to be the same being over time" (Archer, 2000: 7). As I will argue, this sense of knowing ourself is akin to Gee's (2000:99) concept of "core identity".

Making meaning and forming an understanding of the fundamental nature of a person's core identity or continuous sense of self, is central to the understanding of the development and maintenance of their personal identities. As a starting point, therefore, core identity is understood to stem from a person's interaction with their environment or 'natural order of reality' Archer's (2000).

Integral to the very being of every person's core identity is that part of a person that engages in the practical activities of life prior to language development, and prior to their introduction to, and understanding of, the way society functions. The core identity functions across an individual's whole life course as "the sense of ourselves as beings" (Taylor, 1989: x.). Described by Archer (2000: 262) as having entered "humanity through the door of the maternity ward at birth", a person's core identity is "prior to, and primitive to, our sociality" (*ibid*: 7), and as such it is the subjective means by which people, as biological persons, begin to interact with the objective world.

According to Harré (1991: 28 in Archer, 2000: 112), "[o]ne's sense of one's uniqueness as a person comes from the fact that one has a continuous point of view as a thing among things". In relation to this, according to Archer (2000: 8), "neurobiology gives evidence of our durable powers of recognition, our lasting and distinctive eidetic memories and the indelibility of our performative skills". These are all facets of our mind and body that work

together to "supply a continuous sense of self" (*ibid*: 8). Sayer's (1992: 121), interpretation of core identity is that "human beings must have a particular make up or nature for it to be possible for them to be conditioned by social influences in consistent ways". It is also, I would contend, what Archer (2000) would see as the origin of the PEPs that individuals draw upon to function in relation to SEPs and CEPs. If viewed from Gee's (2000: 99) perspective on identity, the core identity is that which "holds more uniformly for ourselves and others, across contexts", and it is that which centres people when they operate by drawing on the four categories of identities that he sees people having throughout the course of their lives: the natural identity, the institutional identity, the discourse identity and the affinity group identity.

3.4.2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

In addition to the concept of 'core identity' it is also necessary to consider 'personal' and 'social' identity. Everyone, according to Archer (1995), has a personal identity. Archer (2000) describes person identity as "an accomplishment … that has to be reconstituted day to day" (*ibid*: 12). She suggests, however, that each person does not have a social identity as this is only "achieved by assuming a role(s) and personifying it, by investing oneself in it and executing it in a singular manner" (Archer, 2000: 11).

Personal identity is described by Archer (2000) as attainable only as a result of a "dialectic relationship" (*ibid*: 298) with its mutually and simultaneously achieved social identity. In summary, what this means is that personal and social identities are dependent on each other as neither can develop without the other. In order for the processes that constitute the evolvement of personal and social identities to be more easily understood, their development will be described separately. As Archer (2000: 12) describes social identity as a "sub-set of a much broader personal identity" and in order to lay the groundwork to understand the dialectically related social identity, the concept and development of personal identity will be described first. Working on the basis that every person has a core or self-identity (Taylor, 1989; Harré, 1991; Sayer, 1992; and Gee, 2000), or that which Archer (2000: 255) describes as "[t]he self, that continuous sense of being one and the same subject that emerges early in life", personal identity develops in all humanity because of the way natal conditions and experiences are utilized (Archer, 2000). This

can be likened to Bourdieu's (1977: 95 & 82), concept of habitus and described as "an acquired system of generative dispositions … laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing". Bourdieu also describes habitus as the "past which survives in the present" (*ibid:* 82) and "the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56). Habitus is a concept, according to Richardson (1986: 47), that is linked to embodied states - the first of Bourdieu's three divisions of cultural capital (social structures), and those aspects which are attributed to being "long lasting to the mind and body" and almost 'second nature' to the person.

As part of the process of acquiring skills and knowledge through the natural, practical and social orders of reality, people as "reflexive beings" (Archer, 2000: 290) concurrently utilizing processes and tools related to contemplation in order to consider their past experiences, practices and skills to evaluate the information they need to make decisions about what is important to them in terms of their "ultimate concerns and commitments" (Archer, 2000: 2 & 4) and thus, how they will ultimately act. For example, what job or profession do they want to have? What sport, social activities or hobbies would they like to take part in? Another important consideration that concerns individuals is how they would like to be viewed or regarded by other people. Stones (1996: 49) describes this as "What actors do at a given time is likely to be affected by dispositions which were 'sedimented' at some earlier stage, often in different places. In this sense, the past and other places (now present) are present in the here and now". The combination of experiences and reflection thus work in conjunction with each other to facilitate peoples' choices in selecting their roles in the social realm (Archer, 2000) and facilitating the development of a social identity as part of the process. While Archer (2000) considers that the process of introspection or reflexivity that people utilize as part of the process of acquiring role(s) may well be unconscious, it is, she believes, a necessary step in the process of achieving outcomes. As such reflection or reflexivity may too be considered a generative mechanism, and as such opens up the possibilities or tendencies for things to occur - as part of the process of one's personal identity reflecting on the opportunities or threats that an action or role may ultimately pose or possess. Archer's (2007) opinion is that people's continued "reflexivity' or "continuous internal review" (*ibid*: 12), is "the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa" (*ibid*: 4). In so exercising reflexivity, "it is

the person who strikes the balance *within* their social concerns and *between* them and other concerns" (Archer, 2000: 12) as there is a limit to the energy and time people have to commit to the "multiple social roles" (*ibid*: 12) that evolve and accrue over time as part of their life course. This concept links to Maxwell's (2012) belief that there is a relationship between the way people think and conceptualize the world around them, and the way they subsequently act: "how individuals act is influenced by how they think and make sense of what is going on" (*ibid*: 19).

This description thus brings to full circle the dialectic relationship between personal and social identities, and their congruent development and ongoing association. It also brings to it an understanding of what constitutes a full-bodied stratified person consisting of the "self, agent, actor and particular person" (Archer, 2000: 295) and the development of our social self. This is because our social identity is constituent with subjective personal emergent powers (PEPs) that developed dialectically through the co-dependence of our core/self-identity (continuous sense of self) and our ongoing reflections (personal identity) within the three orders of reality in order. The result is an interactive relationship with structural and cultural emergent powers and proprieties (SEPs and CEPs) or the activity-dependent (Archer, 1995: 66) relationship and interplay between structure and agency.

3.4.3 ARCHER ON AGENCY

According to Archer (1995, 1996 & 2000), a person's first role in the three orders of the open system of reality is as an agent. Always referred to in the plural, primary agents, Archer explains, are members of collectives or groups who later may be able to become corporate agents and social actors.

3.4.3.1 PRIMARY AGENTS

According to Archer (1995 & 2000), primary agents are born into a socio-cultural system or collectivity that is not of their choosing. This "entirely objective", unevenly distributed, "privileged or non-privileged" (Archer, 2000: 11) collective natal inheritance initially binds primary agents with others sharing characteristics such as gender, race, language, educational status, financial status and social class This description of randomly disseminated, and ineluctably obtained "life-chances" (*ibid*: 11), is similar to the concept that Bourdieu (in Richardson 1986: 48), a theorist whom Sayer (2000: 52) describes as a "perspective realist", calls 'capital resources'. These resources, according Bourdieu, are

"acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously".

Primary agents, according to Archer (2000), can only transform the chances associated with the contexts into which they are born by utilizing their emergent power of "subjective reflexivity" (*ibid*: 11) to actively move from this 'passive' condition to become a functioning member of a collective or, in other words, to exercise 'corporate agency'. This change essentially requires the agent to have "ultimate concerns" (Archer, 2000: 2 & 4), and "tak[ing] on a role(s) in which people can invest enough of themselves to feel at home with what they have become" (*ibid*: 75). The capacity of a primary agent to play a part in affecting society is an associated, and necessary, component to the development and acquisition of social identity. Bourdieu (in Richardson, 1986) also acknowledges that agents have to take into account the constraints and enablements that associated structures and other agential intentions and actions pose when they work to increase their capital resources. In my understanding this requires both thought and planning. As such it would seem that Bourdieu recognizes the role of reflexivity, and the part it plays as individuals seek to increase their capital resources. In turn, this aligns with Wenger's concept of situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; and Wenger, 1998) and with Archer's (Archer, 2000 & 2007) concept of the knowledge that social actors require and acquire from the three orders of reality and which is then used, along with self-talk, to consider and reconsider those aspects of their commitments that are important to them, and which promote their self-worth.

Further to this, according to Bourdieu (in Richardson, 1986), agents are generally compelled by both internal and external stimuli to increase their capital resources over time. Sayer (2000: 13), I would suggest, through his statement, "In virtue of the remarkable sensitivity of people to their contexts – which derives particularly from our ability to interpret situations rather than merely being passively shaped by them…." would concur with the view that people, in general, are not content to remain as passive agents and are not satisfied with being defined by the circumstance of their birth. This, however, is unfortunately a development and transformation that is difficult for many primary agents to realize as, although "Initial choice of position is corrigible" (Archer, 2000: 285), it is not just the acquisition and use of material culture and practical, embodied and discursive

knowledge that achieves change and the type of person they become, but also the nature of the social contexts they inhabit. This is because, as Archer (*ibid*) points out, "[c]ertain opportunities and information are open to the privileged and closed to the non-privileged" (*ibid*: 285). Further to this "[o]ur placement in society rebounds upon us" (*ibid*: 10) and, as a result, the beliefs and practices associated with one's background tend to exert influence and endure. As noted by Shilling (1993), this causes some individuals to "tend towards reproducing existing social structures" and, as such, morphostasis rather than morphogenesis remains the norm.

3.4.3.2. CORPORATE AGENCY

By exercising their PEPs in pursuit of change, primary agents can transform themselves into corporate agents in a process termed by Archer (1995: 190) "double morphogenesis" (Archer, 1995: 190). Archer (1995, 1998 & 2000) explains that it is as a result of corporate agencies'' ability to organize and communicate their goals amongst themselves and others that they, as "self-conscious vested interest groups, promotive interest groups, social movements or defensive associations" (2000: 265) are able to pursue their aims and interact with social structures in order to bring about change (morphogenesis) or ensure it remains unchanged (morphostasis).

Social capital, the second of Bourdieu's major capital resources, is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (Bourdieu, in Richardson,1986: 51). Given this (lengthy) description, I would suggest that Bourdieu's notion of 'social capital' could be likened to Archer's (1995, 1998 & 2000), concept of active corporate agents, who through their membership of organized interest groups are able to affect their common affiliations and aims. Likewise, Bourdieu's social capital could be associated with Wenger's (1998) concept of communities of practice and Gee's (2000) Affinity or A-identity.

The concept of collective agency is important for this study as, given the number of expatriate educators in Abu Dhabi, shared reasons for expatriation (Richardson & McKenna, 2001) and the way they predominantly socialize and interact with other western

expatriates in affinity groups (Gee, 2000), it is likely that expatriate educators constitute 'a corporate agency' and that, thus, common assumptions and values may remain unquestioned. As the UAE is so dependent on expatriates in all enterprises this may then mean that the desire to pursue 'emiratization' is curtailed at least in respect of potential changes to the cultural system of the educational sector.

Archer (2000) seems to have pursued a very specific trajectory in her description of the development of human agency. This resulted in her having to re-defend her differences with conflatioary theorists, as her newer theories had her accused of bestowing too much credence in the power of people and, thus, undermining her stance on analytical dualism. The opposite, I believe, is true as she continues to argue for realist concepts of the tripartite reality of structure, culture and agency. Interestingly, I found Archer's concept of agency, in relation to culture and structure, to be very much in line with Bourdieu's thinking as Bourdieu (in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 109-109), depicts the interplay between structures, resources and agency as follows:

> Social agents are not "particles: that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces. They are rather bearers of capitals, and depending on their trajectory and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowments (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity to orient themselves actively either towards the preservation of the distribution of capital or toward the subversion of this distribution.

3.4.3.2 SOCIAL ACTORS

According to Archer (2000), social actors are the next level of stratified beings Actors are individual role incumbents who, through their possession of innate creativity, language abilities, practical skills, and embodied, practical and discursive knowledge are able to "invest themselves in" and "personify the [many] roles they choose to occupy [in society]" [my bracketed inclusions] (*ibid*: 261). Social actors are seen to emerge from corporate agency in a process termed 'triple morphogenesis'.

Social actors emerge as a result of the interaction of PEPs with CEPs and CEPs. Social actors bring "their own ideals and objectives, skills and incompetence, dedication or distancing, inflexibility or creativeness to the roles they occupy" (Archer, 1995: 187). As

a result, the array of roles a woman, for example, can assume at any one time (and to which she may bring any combination of experiences, skills and competencies), may include those of daughter, sibling, wife, parent, lecturer, athlete and voluntary worker. Taylor (1992), I submit, would have agreed with Archer (1995) on this point, as his view was that people's "identities are formed dialogically in social contexts" (Taylor, 1992: 36). As embodiments of their commitments or concerns, and ultimately their most important social concern, their sense of self-worth, people are compelled to constantly monitor and adjust their commitment to the "multiple social roles" (Archer, 2000: 12) in terms of the time, energy and interest they expend in fulfilling them. The occupation of a social role is achieved as a result of self-talk or subjective reflection on their current social and cultural contexts in relation to their situational logic in the natural and physical orders of reality. The exercise of this reflexivity is only possible, however, when they have succeeded in achieving a unique personal identity, concomitant with an array of commitments, feelings, beliefs and values that have developed over time (their life course) in relation to their roles. The development of their personal identities is not an isolated or singular event, rather it occurs with an encompassing dialectically related social identity.

In finalizing this section on Archer's theory of identity, the reader is reminded that whilst Archer foregrounds PEPs as the means by which culture and structures are changed, she continues to oppose the over-socialization of the individual (Archer, 1995 & 2000). In pursuing her views on agency, her intention is therefore not to undermine the emergent properties and powers of SEPs and CEPs, nor their relational roles with agency that constitute the conditioning (constraining and enabling) of systems, but rather to accord, as mentioned previously, due regard to structure, culture and to agency.

3.5 MODES OF REFLEXIVITY

"There's nothing of
so infinite vexation
as man's own thoughts"
John Webster (17th C writer)
The White Devil

This section provides a brief overview of Archer's work (2000, 2003, 2007a) on 'modes of reflexivity' developed as a result of empirical studies she conducted. As will be seen, her thinking in this area follows and extends the work that she completed on reflexivity as a mechanism exercised by active agents exercise in moulding their social contexts (Archer, 2000). Based on this work, according to Archer (2000), the "subjective" (*ibid*: 309) role of agency in society "cannot be ontologically undermined" (*ibid*: 2) by the roles and objective influences of social structures. As such, I propose that the insight Archer provides regarding the role that internal conversations and reflection have as a mediating mechanism between agency and structur may provide some insight into the reasons for the beliefs and behaviour the participants of this study exhibited in relation to the systems they confront in their professional contexts in South Africa and those that they continue to have in their current work based contexts in Abu Dhabi. I believe that Maxwell (2012: 19) would support this reasoning as he stated: "Individuals' meanings have *consequences;* how individuals act is influenced by how they think about and make sense of what is going on". Sayer (2000) too, I contend, would agree with both Archer and Maxwell's notions that our thoughts can have causal effects, as he stated that "[r]ealist social science requires reflexivity. We are always in some position or other in relation to our objects; the important thing is to consider whether the influence is benign or malign" (*ibid*: 53). I am therefore including a short explanation of Archer's (2000, 2003, 2007a, 2008 & 2012) classifications and explanations as to how different types of reflexive agents respond to the structures that they confront in day-to-day life.

The questions "What do I want?" and "How do I go about getting it?" are, as Archer states (2007a: 19 & 20), "a dialectical interplay between (agents') 'concerns' [as they reflexively define them] and their 'contexts' [as they reflexively respond to them]". They are also questions that I am sure that the participants of this study had asked themselves with regards to their role-incumbent higher education positions in both South Africa and Abu Dhabi. In the context of this study, Archer would contend that the way that the participants in this study engaged in, and with, the structures and other agents in their professional

contexts is, in turn, a reflection of their internal conversations and modes of reflexivity. As a realist, she would also contend that it is the ontological means by which the participants, as agents and actors, understand the mechanisms that underlie their empirical reality.

3.5.1 COMMUNICATIVE REFLEXIVES

Communicative reflexives have a need to live in familiar surroundings, and in close proximity to those near and dear to them. This is in order for them to have interlocutors that know them intimately, and who are easily available for the face-to-face conversation they experience as central to their own reflections. Since interlocutors are probably also communicative reflexives, it is most likely that concepts that would bring change to the lives of either interlocutor would be introduced to these conversations.

3.5.2 FRACTURED REFLEXIVES

Fractured reflexives are unable to contemplate any difficult or stress-inducing concepts. As a result, they are usually unable to pursue any purposeful course of action, or be able to take a decision as weighty as any involving a move away from a current context to an expatriate context in another country. It also doubtful whether fractured reflexives would ever have reached the level of professional accomplishments required to be appointed to an academic position in a higher education institution.

3.5.3 AUTONOMOUS REFLEXIVES

According to Archer (2007a & 2008), the group of people she describes as 'autonomous reflexives' tend to be more self-serving: "[t]hey progress up the occupational hierarchy through self-disciplined dedication to work and subordination of all other relationships to this 'ultimate concern'" (Archer, 2008: 6).

3.5.4 META-REFLEXIVES

Meta-reflexives tend to belong to the group described by Archer as "strong universalists, inclusive humanist and participatory democrats" (Archer, 2007a: 265).

Table 2: Modes of reflexivity

(Adapted from Archer 2007a & 2008)

Modes of reflexivity	Description	Outcomes
Communicative reflexives	Those whose internal conversations require completion and confirmation by others before following a course of action.	Communicative reflexives prefer not to change contexts. Rather they favour enabling external conversations with familiar interlocutors on familiar turf. They thereby tend more to sustain and maintain existing structures, even though this may disadvantage them in any of a number of ways.
Autonomous reflexives	Those whose self-contained internal conversations lead directly to tactical actions for long-term positive outcomes.	Autonomous reflexives use and, in many cases, change structures as a result of the pursuit of their personal projects. These are often achieved away from their original contexts as a direct result of a carefully thought out, well-considered, planned, and executed desires for self-improvement, the consequences and responsibility for which they personally accept.
Meta-reflexives	Those who are critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and critical about effective action in society.	Meta-reflexives, as a consequence of their vocational and value-based desires, very often actively facilitate change in structures in order to realize their personal and personally thought-out ideals. These may be both socially subversive and self-destructive to advancement opportunities. They tend not to relate to their natal social contexts.
Fractured reflexives	Those whose internal conversations intensify their distress and disorientation rather than leading to purposeful courses of action.	Fractured reflexives are unable to effect any change in themselves or structures. [6]

[6] A summarized tabulation of Archer's (2000, 2007a 2008 and 2012) different *modes of reflexivity* is provided in order to provide an easy reference to the description and consequences of each. Archer's (2008) full research report entitled *The Internal Conversation: Mediating Between Structure and Agency: Full Research report* was used as one of the means of compiling the table. The Internal Conversation Indicator (ICONI) questionnaire was also used to assess if any of the modes of reflexives predominated amongst the participants of this study.

Given the definitions of the modes of reflexivity (Archer 2007: 93) outlined above, it was not expected that any of the participating South African expatriates in the study would be communicative or Fractured reflexives. Autonomous and meta-reflexives are more likely to consider positions as an educator. This is because academic roles and positions are associated with autonomy as well as with the seeking, inspection and questioning of accepted truth and wisdom (Kuh & Whitt, 1986; Ramsden, 1998; Coady, 2000; Scott, 2004; Lynch, 2006; and Le Grange, 2009), aspects embraced by both autonomous and meta-reflexives (2007a). The reasons for autonomous and meta-reflexives making self-determining choices to involve themselves in teaching, learning and research and or the prospect of becoming an expatriate educator, would, however, differ.

It should be emphasized that the point I wish to make in including this work on modes of reflexivity is to underscore the function and purpose of internal conversations and reflections, and how they relate to the way participants in this study exercised their agency and how this then impacted on the ways they considered and pursued projects.

3.6 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The preceding account has shown that Archer (1995, 1966, 2000, 2003, 2007a, 2008b & 2012) has a stratified view of people as the self, the person, agents and actors. She further shows that, as subjective agents and actors, our social selves possess emergent generative mechanisms and properties (PEPs) that are able to effect change over historical and relatively enduring objective structures and systems (SEPs and CEPs) in an open and stratified world. She further explains that despite the differently distributed antecedent life-chances each person is born into, they are not bound, or determined to act or react in any given manner. This she believes is because each individual is grounded in a human person who, with a "co-dependent" (Archer, 2000: 255) continuous sense of self or self-identity, has developed a personal identity concomitant with the ability to be reflexive, which enables the agent to achieve a social identity as an actor with "roles in which they can invest enough of themselves to feel at home with what they have become" (Archer, 1995: 256).

3.7 GEE ON IDENTITY

To complement Archer's (1995, 2000, 2007a & 2013) explanation of the development of our 'social selves' or social identity, I have primarily used two of Gee's (2000) four perspectives or ways of viewing identity to provide a theoretical lens to view the sources and processes and powers from which different social identities emerge. The purpose of this was to utilize a realist approach to explore the mechanisms and powers of the structural (SEPs), cultural (CEPs), and the people's emergent properties (PEPs) that were involved in the emergence of participants' new concerns and commitments and social identities while working as higher education academics in South Africa post-1994 and in Abu Dhabi after 2008.

3.7.1 GEE'S (2000) FOUR CATEGORIES OF IDENTITY

Gee views identity in four ways. His position is that identities are acquired by virtue of processes that emerge from structures. The processes that he describes begin with each structure having its own source of power: nature, institutions, rational individuals and of affinity groups. As such they are designated as follows:

- Nature-Identity (biological being);
- Institute-Identity (role incumbent);
- Discourse-Identity (traits); and
- Affinity-Identity (collective practice or interest).

In linking Gee's views to the broader, underpinning philosophy of this realist study, I equate the powers and their sources that Gee attributes to each of these four views of identity to realists' concepts of structures, generative mechanisms and their associated emergent properties at the stratified level of the real. Examples of these will be given following the description of Gee's identity categories (Gee, 2000).

3.7.1.1 N-IDENTITY

The N-identity is, according to Gee (2000), derived from nature. Providing an example of his own N-identity, Gee describes his being an identical twin as a result of a biological occurrence.

3.7.1.2 I-IDENTITY

The second of Gee's categories of identity, the 'I-identity' derives its character from the roles we occupy. Again, Gee provides an example from his own life in the form of his

role-incumbent position as a university professor. The source of power of I-identity emerges from the authority attributed to a role within an institution (Gee, 2000).

N- and I-identity can be linked to Archer's concepts of CEPs, SEPs and PEPs. An individual's N-identity can be seen to emerge from her/his biological being and can be equated to a person's emergent properties (PEPs). The I-identity can be seen to relate to the way in which individual draws on the social and cultural emergent properties (SEPs and CEPs) of institution to position their roles in society as well as their professional identities. As participants of this study are all academic faculty members who have worked in institutions of higher education in both South Africa and in Abu Dhabi for a number of years, they will all have been subject to "a set of *authorities*" (Gee, 2000: 102) and powers in the form of "laws, rules, traditions, or principles" (*ibid*: 102). These would have moulded their particular academic identities. Gee's concept of I-identity was therefore seen as a useful tool to view participant's role-incumbent identities against the systemic conditions encountered in the changing landscape that became the South African higher education sector post-1994. In the same vein, Gee's concept of I-identity was also therefore seen as a useful tool to explore the way expatriate educators experienced their work-based conditions in their positions as expatriate educators in Abu Dhabi.

3.7.1.3 D-IDENTITY

The D-Identity is derived, according to Gee, from recognition of the "discourse or dialogue" of rational individuals (2000: 103). This means that individuals and their personality traits are recognized by other people through the way they dress, behave, interact with others and express themselves with "language and other stuff" (Gee, 2000: 7). Gee's description of a 'charismatic' or outgoing person is an example of D-Identity. In further describing the D-Identity as an identity that cannot be achieved alone, Gee explains that it is a trait that is recognized through a person's engagement with others as individuals cannot be 'charismatic' by themselves. Rather, they are 'identified' or recognized by others through their traits. Gee's view of traits as a depiction of a person's D-identity may also, I believe, be aligned with Archer's three orders of reality (2000: 162). The link between Gee's 'traits' and Archer's 'realms' can be seen if one considers that dialogue occurs with others through practical engagement in the practical and social orders of reality. In much the same way, Archer's (2000: 199) concept of 'self-worth', as

acquired through “propositional culture and discursive knowledge” in the social order of reality, is related to the discursive social relationships linked to D-Identity.

3.7.1.4 A-IDENTITY

Gee’s final category is referred to as the ‘A-Identity’. This identity comes about as a result of experiences that people have with affinity groups and stems from the power of shared practices between like-minded individuals. Individuals are linked to groups by means of participation in a set of mutual activities and practices. According to Gee “the process through which this power works, then, is participating or sharing” (2000: 105). Gee emphasizes that a “focus on A-identities is a focus on distinctive social practices that create and sustain group affiliations, rather than on institution or discourse/dialogue directly” (*ibid*: 105). Archer, I propose, would consider that the power of sharing and an A-Identity develop as emergent properties of people, as through her texts, she explains that causal influences from other agencies and actors can translate into *causal consensus* (Archer, 1995: 179).

For the participants in this study, the source of this an A-Identity could be as a result of belonging to any one of a number of groups including their shared profession as educators, their nationality as South Africans or their transnational status as expatriates. This would result in an identity that results in individuals viewing themselves as expatriate higher education South African educators working in Abu Dhabi between 2008 and 2016. If their shared practices involved other expatriate educators working in higher education institutions in Abu Dhabi, this would possibly relate more to Lave & Wenger (1991), Wenger (1998) and Wenger *et al’s* (2002) concept of ‘Community of Practice’. This is because their primary link would be their common profession and their shared practice, that of working in a higher education system that is different to those in which they were educated and first worked within their home countries. Their sharing would most probably mainly occur through dialogue and relate more to any constraining systems and practices that they were experiencing in their new working contexts in Abu Dhabi.

3.8 COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Expatriates, regardless of their nationality, interact with other expatriates to create connections for the purpose of learning from and developing new systems and knowledge in order to function better and more easily in their new contexts. The knowledge derived

from such processes, and the means by which it is created and shared, would be considered by Wenger *et al* (2002: 29), as *knowledge structures.* Members of such groups could also be considered as having entered into, or having become, a member of a 'community of practice' (*ibid,* 2002) and having entered into what Gee (2000: 110) refers to as a "Discourse with a capital "D" or a way of being "certain kind of people".

Research cited earlier in this thesis (Johnson *et al,* 2003; Richardson & McKenna, 2003; Chandra 2005; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Churchman & King, 2009; Kim, 2010) shows that becoming a self-initiated expatriate involves more than just a role-incumbent position and social identity. Rather, a myriad traits, practices and social ties are required to cope with and adjust to new physical and social surroundings. Engaging with communities of practice allows individuals to make the transition to these new surroundings.

Wenger (1998 & 2002) believe that it is as active agents or members of communities that individuals learn. In turn, the practice of learning is central to identity (Lave & Wenger, 1991 and Wenger, 1998). These ideas closely align with Archer's (2000) concepts of knowledge acquisition in relation to the three orders of reality and, in turn, with the idea that learning (and reflexivity) are integral to the development and emergence of people's personal and social identities. Originally associated with skill-based crafts and trades, *communities of practice* now include any group of people that share their interests and knowledge with others. According to Wenger *et al* (2002), "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interaction on an ongoing basis" (p.4). Communities of practice are also "as diverse as the situation that brings them into existence and the people who populate them" (*ibid*: 24). Examples of the vast array of groups that can be considered as communities of practice include, according to Wenger (1998: 6), families, work organizations, students, and musical bands.

Wenger *et al* (2002), however, insist that, as dissimilar as communities of practice may be in regard to their form, situations in and for which they were created along with the homogeneity or heterogeneity of their members, they all share a distinctive set of features. The first of these is the domain of knowledge that tacitly delineates the values shared by members and matters they consider to be important. The second of the features that

Wenger *et al* determines as being salient is the notion of 'community' itself along with the distinguishing characteristics of collegiality and mutual respect afforded to members in all aspects of their personal and professional lives. Thirdly, and most importantly, is the idea that practices are "a set of frameworks, ideas, tools, information, styles, language, stories, and documents that community members share" (2002: 29).

3.8.1 COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AND IDENTITY

Wenger *et al* (2002), go on to stress that communities of practice, as socially created structures, can be classified as 'knowledge structures'. They explain that although, by their very nature, communities of practice are group affiliations, they originate, or are born, from the interdependent needs of members who, as active social beings, desire meaningful experiences and engagements with the world. According to Wenger (1998), communities are created through the production of learning. In turn, learning is created as the result of the formation of communities. Identity results from involvement and participation that "is both a kind of action and a form of belonging" (Wenger, 1998: 4). Learning and participation "shapes not only what we do, but who we are and how we interpret what we do" (*ibid*: 4). I am of the opinion that Sayer (1992: 18 would endorse the idea of the existence of a mutually beneficial bond between work and identity as he notes that "work is the most transformative relationship between people and nature". The concepts of 'community' and practice, I believe, links to Archer's (2000) ideas about the importance and roles of the natural and practical orders of reality, which she contends are the means through which agents and actors, as the social versions of ourselves, *logically* and *substantively* acquire material culture and practical knowledge. Engagement with the natural and practical orders of reality are therefore the means by which personal identities reflectively mediate social concerns.

3.9 BOURDIEU AND IDENTITY

I began this chapter by introducing a number of definitions of identity before suggesting a definition of identity that was broad enough to allow me to root it in critical realism, the 'underlabourer' to this study. I then went on to show how Archer's (1995, 1996, 2000, 2007a & b & 2012) concept of analytic dualism and her stratified model of social reality allowed her to arrive at an understanding of the development of personal identity and the emergence of social identity as a result of the "activity-dependent" (Archer, 1995: 66)

interplay between structure and agency. I then suggested that aspects of Gee's (2000) work on identity could form an analytic lens through which participants' emergent identities could be viewed against the structural and cultural emergent properties of Abu Dhabi's higher education sector. Finally, Lave & Wenger (1991), Wenger (1998) and Wenger *et al* (2002) concept of *communities of practice* was introduced to strengthen the understanding of the relationship between work and identity and Archer's (2000) theories on the relationship between embodied knowledge and the practical and social orders of reality, the development of identity and the emergence of personal and social identities.

This chapter will now be concluded by briefly exploring Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1990 & 1992) views on capital resources and habitus. I have alluded to Bourdieu through the chapter but, in this section, aim to link his work more rigorously with that of Archer.

3.9.1 BOURDIEU, ARCHER, REALISM AND IDENTITY

Bourdieu is described by Robbins (2000: xxiv) as having a "paradigmatic life of creative conceptualization" and by Lash (113: 192) as being "the only game in town". In *Being Human: The problem of Agency* (2000), the text that was the main source used in relation identity formation in this study, Archer both disagrees with Bourdieu's ideas on identity and refutes his realist affiliations. For example, she notes that in explicating the concept of 'human practice', Bourdieu "oscillates wildly between voluntarism and determinism" (2000: 6). As I noted earlier in this thesis, Archer very firmly rejects the conflation of the 'people' and the 'parts' and makes an argument for the temporary separation of these for analytical purposes - in a process she terms, and which was previously describe as 'analytical dualism' (Archer, 1995, 2000, 2007a & b & 2013).

Sayer (2000: 52), however, describes Bourdieu as a "perspectival realist". My reading of Bourdieu's work leads me to understand that he is essentially a realist. Bourdieu identifies sociology, for example, as "a science of dialectical relations between objective structures…and the subjective disposition within which these structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them" (Bourdieu, 1977: 3). Much later, he argues that "[t]he goals of sociology is to uncover the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe, as well as the 'mechanisms' that tend to ensure their reproduction or transformation" (Bourdieu, 1996: 1). Bourdieu's concepts of 'capital

resources', 'habitus' and 'fields' (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1990) are, I believe, useful as a means of exploring further realist understandings of 'mechanisms', 'tendencies' and 'emergence' and, thus, the activity-dependent relationship between structure and agency (Archer, 1995: 66).

3.9.2 CAPITAL RESOURCES

Bourdieu identifies a number of categories of resources in his work: cultural capital, social capital and economic capital. According to Bourdieu each type of capital resource can be converted into another type of capital resource. For Bourdieu, capital resources are associated with power.

Agents are generally compelled to increase their capital resources over time. Bourdieu acknowledges that agents have to take into account the constraints and enablements that associated structures and other agential intentions and actions pose when they work to increase their capital resources (Richardson, 1986). This requires thought and planning with the result that a link can be made to Archer's (2000, 2003, 2007a 2008 and 2012) concept of 'reflexivity'. It is also possible to associate the need to increase capital resources with Wenger's idea of situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; and Wenger, 1998).

Bourdieu in Richardson (1986: 48), describes capital resources as being "acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously". This, I would suggest, resonates with Archer's (2000: 11) concept of "life-chances". These "entirely objective" "privileges or non-privileges" (*ibid*: 11) she describes as being unevenly distributed and ineluctably obtained by agents, depending on their collective natal inheritance.

3.9.2.1. CULTURAL CAPITAL

Bourdieu's notion of '*cultural capital'* is divided into three states. These three states can be seen to relate to Archer's (2000) ideas on the way people learn in the natural, practical and social realms and the use of reflexivity. The first of these divisions of cultural capital, Bourdieu describes as the 'embodied state'. Aspects of the embodied state are understood to be "long lasting to the mind and body" (Richardson, 1986: 47), and almost

'second nature' to the person. A person's accent and posture are examples of Bourdieu's embodied state. As aspects associated with the body, they can be changed to a certain degree, if one is aware of them and if they require alteration for the promotion of self-worth in 'society', a concept closely aligned to Archer's (2000) understanding of the development of social identity. The second state is the 'objectified state'. This state relates to understandings and appreciation of 'social function and worth'. An example of the objectified state structures is the possession of rare books and famous paintings. Cultural capital is thus accrued from such possession. The third and final state is the 'institutionalized state'. The institutional state accrues from academic qualifications, professional position and so on (Richardson, 1986). The institutional state could thus be seen to relate to Gee's (2000) notion of Institutional-identity, as it is a role-incumbent position where powers emerge from authorities within institutions. Bourdieu's *institutionalized state* could also be equated to the "multiple social roles" (Archer, 2000: 12) that our social selves reflexively accept as part of the emergence of our social identities, as well as to the mechanisms that are activated to balance one's responsibilities to secure more, rather- than less social-status, and an ameliorated sense of self-worth.

3.9.2.2 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital, the second of Bourdieu's major capital resources, is, according to Bourdieu in Richardson (1986: 51) "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word". Given this (lengthy) description, I would suggest that Bourdieu's construct of 'social capital' could be likened to Archer's (1995, 1998a & b, 2000, 2003, 2008 & 2012) concept of corporate agency, where agents, as a result of coming together in pursuit of common interests, are able to pursue common concerns and fulfil common aims. In a similar fashion, likewise, Bourdieu's social capita could be associated with Wenger's (1998) concept of communities of practice and Gee's (2000) Affinity or A-identity.

3.9.2.3 ECONOMIC CAPITAL

Economic capital, the third of Bourdieu's capital resources, consists of economic and financial resources that can be used to acquire other forms of capital. For example, economic capital could be utilized to purchase goods such as rare books and famous paintings (*objectified states),* or pay the costs incurred in order to acquire a qualification (*institutionalized state). V*ery often, however, a person's economic capital or financial worth may be increased as a result of having the 'right' social and cultural capital. For instance, by having the 'right' accent resulting from having been born into a privileged natal context (embodied state) and being in a financial position (economic capital) to obtain a 'good' qualification from the 'right' institution (institutionalized state)' Where other 'connected' and important persons (embodied state) are able to help an individual secure a well-paid position that will allow for the accumulation of more economic capital, a positive cycle ensues into perpetuity leading to the "transmission" (Richardson 1996: 49) or 'transferabity' of cultural capital.

Given the dominance of capitalism, and the associated emphasis on economic capital, people generally endeavor to maximize their economic resources. If successful in this regard, they are generally able to transcend the context into which they were born. Although Archer (2000) believes that "[c]ertain opportunities and information are open to the privileged and closed to the non-privileged" (2000: 285), she would, I believe, agree with the idea that *economic capital* could be used to alter agents' ineluctably obtained natal positions and be used to afford them different prospects in life. This, however, is tempered by the idea that the 'privileged' are still advantaged as "[i]nitial choice of position is corrigible, but big corrections entail increased costs which are further reasons why not very many will undertake drastic remedial measures" (2000: 285). The ability to convert one form of capital to another can be seen to link to the idea of 'emergence'. By using PEPs to draw on the SEPs of economic capital, individuals are able to accrue social and cultural capital. This link is particularly strong if one takes into account Elder-Vass's (2005: 317) description of emergence as "the relationship which makes it possible for a whole to be more than the sum of its parts".

3.9.3 HABITUS

Habitus, according to Bourdieu (1977: 95), is "an acquired system of generative dispositions" that is "laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing" (*ibid*: 82). Describing habitus also as the "past which survives in the present" (Bourdieu, 1977: 82) and "the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu, 1990: 56), it is a concept, according to Richardson (1986), that is linked more to embodied states, aspects of which are described as long lasting and almost 'second nature' to the mind and body of a person than to Bourdieu's other capital resources. Sayer's (1992: 73) statement that "[h]uman beings must have a particular make up or nature for it to be possible for them to be conditioned by social influences in consistent ways" is reminiscent of the concept of habitus. Bourdieu (1984: 170) notes that this *acquired disposition* is produced and shaped "without any conscious concentration"; Archer also recognizes that there are aspects of the person that are "prior to, primitive to, our sociality" (2000: 7), and as such, from infancy, people have "a continuous point of view as a thing among things" (Harré, 1991: 28 in Archer 2000: 112). It seems to me that Bourdieu's habitus can be seen to be akin to Gee's (2000) construct of core identity, or what Archer defines as one's "continuous sense of self" or self-identity (2000: 8). Indicating endorsement of these concepts from a slightly different view, Stones (1996) states that "[w]hat actors do at a given time is likely to be affected by dispositions which were 'sedimented' at some earlier stage, often in different places. In this sense, the past and other places (now present) are present in the here and now" *(ibid:* 49).

In explaining that habitus focuses on the *subjective* aspects of the interplay between structure and agency, Grenfell & James (1998: 15), seem to equate it to Archer's (1995) structure-agency, activity-dependency equation. Habitus as a *disposition* or identity is, according to Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992: 133), "durable but not eternal". This suggests that it can be reconfigured or changed as a result of an individual's interactions with objective structural and cultural emergent properties, as well as by interactions with other agents, an observation substantiated by Bourdieu's (1998:72) description of habitus as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (1998: 72). Having made this point, I would argue that Archer (2007a) like Bourdieu, in her identification and classification of *communicative reflexives* acknowledges that some actors "tend towards reproducing existing social structures" (Shilling, 1993), rather than

changing them and, therefore, themselves. Bourdieu is often criticized for suggesting that agents tend not to change the cultural resources into or with which they were born, and that they tend rather to re-establish what they know. Bourdieu does, however, accept that agents have control and power over their destinies. He acknowledges that beliefs and practices associated with one's background tend to influence and endure and, as a result, morphostasis rather than morphogenesis is the norm. He notes, for example, that "[t]hrough the habitus, the structure which has produced it governs practice, not by the process of a mechanical determination, but through the mediation of the orientation and the limits it assigns to the habitus's operations of invention" (Bourdieu, 1977: 95).

3.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have attempted to define and explore a number of theories related to the nature and development of identity and, in doing so, to explicate the links I identified between them. As later chapters will show, I use these theories as lenses through which I can view my empirical data in order to arrive at a position where I see the experiences reported to me by expatriate educators differently.

In the next chapter, I move to explain the research design and methods that under- pinned this study.

ACT FOUR: LIGHTS, ACTION, METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

"arrows of insight have to be winged
with the feathers of speculation"
Bernard Cornwell (2004).
The Last Kingdom.

4.1 APPROACHING RESEARCH

In clarifying the "tripartite connection between ontology, methodology and practical social theory", Archer (1995: 5) stresses that "what is held to exist must influence considerations about how it should be explained" (*ibid*: 16). On the role of social theory in research, she argues that it "has to be useful and useable: it is not an end in itself" (*ibid*: 135). Gee 2001: 5), would, I believe, agree with these views as he wrote "Method and theory cannot be separated, despite the fact that methods are often taught as if they could stand alone". This is an opinion that I believe Broido & Manning (2002: 434) would also support, as they wrote that the theoretical perspectives of research "inform methodology, guiding theory, questions pursued, and conclusions drawn". Taken from this position, Act Four deals with the methods chosen for a study rooted in social theory and draws on critical realist ontology for the purpose of 'goodness of fit' in order to deliver data and findings that reflect the research question and suit the research purpose (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004).

Cautioned by Sayer (2000: 32) citing Outhwaite, (1987) that critical realism is "mainly concerned with ontology, with being, and has a relatively open or permissive stance towards epistemology – the theory of knowledge", I was cognizant of the need to be constantly aware that as a 'realist' researcher my aim was to explore the structures and mechanisms that operate at a non-empirical level and have defining effects on systems and reality. In also remain true to further tenets of critical realism, I was reminded that an individual's understanding of the world is constructed by their world view (Maxwell, 2012) and as a such, I would need to be continually mindful that not all knowledge is equally valuable. At the same time, as iterated by Danermark *et al* (2005: 202) "there are no grounds for deciding when one kind of knowledge should be preferred to another" as "our knowledge is 'contingent: it is historically determined". So in applying the concepts of judgmental rationality and epistemic relativism I would need to accept participants insights to events and experiences in relation to their time and place in history and accept them without 'fear or favour' as the best truth for the time. I was further reminded that as a member of the same community that I not sanction or favour my beliefs and views so as

to not influence proceedings or data. This aspect is further deliberated on in greater detail further on in this chapter. As I was drawing on Archer's social theory, I was also very aware that I needed to view the 'people' and the 'parts' as being ontologically separate and possessing their own emergent powers and properties. The forthcoming design of the methods used in this study are underpinned by the philosophy, concepts and theories discussed in previous acts.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.2.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

Having drawn on studies conducted on expatriates in relation to higher education I recognized I was not intent on establishing empirical generalizability from participants perspectives (Bogden & Biklen, 1992; Scott, 2000; Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Silverman, D. (2001); Boor & Wood, 2006; Manicas, 2009 and Bryman, 2012), but rather a theoretical understanding of the structures and systems in the South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors and institutions that had elicited changes in participant's notions of their identity. Further to this a number of theorists, including Carter & New (2004), "[h]old to the view that the project of empirical research in the social sciences is to investigate social phenomena in order to discover underlying causal process" (*ibid*:1). Intent on this aim I was able to establish from Gonzales, Brown & Slate (2008) that qualitative studies give "[v]oices to participants, and probes issues that lie beneath the surface of presenting behaviour and actions". As I was aware that a great deal of qualitative research has been conducted to establish "patterns of social reactions and institutions" (Cohen *et al* 2011: 20), I was, further reassured by the comments made by Danermark *et al* (2005: 75) that "[i]t is not uncommon for contemporary social science to take the position that qualitative methods provide knowledge about the specific and unique". From a more practical perspective, Danermark *et al* (2005), although preferring the term 'intensive' rather than qualitative, further describe qualitative methods "as having the following principal characteristics: a case study design; study of the cases in their natural environment; orientation towards understanding, 'thickness', and theory-generating" (*ibid*: 158). They also indicate that the relationship between metatheory and methodology is that "qualitative methods [are rooted] in subjective/phenomenological positions" (*ibid*: 162).

My concerns regarding the use of empirical data to conduct a qualitative study were further allayed by Maxwell's (2012) statement that "taking a realist ontology seriously, and systematically and critically applying this to a number of theoretical and methodological issues in qualitative research, can both provide a stronger justification for what qualitative researchers do, and significantly contribute to, and reshape, some of our theories and practices" (*ibid*: viii). This was further reinforced by Easton's (2010) depiction of the connections between critical realism and qualitative research by the emphasis he placed on the importance of linking events in the phenomena that were being investigated in relation to their cause. To this Easton reminds the researcher to visit and revisit these in an ongoing reflective manner in order to identify the mechanism, or combination of mechanisms that may have been the cause. Maxwell's (2012: 77) similar depiction of qualitative research being "an ongoing process that involves *tacking* back and forth between different components of the design, assessing the implication of goals, theories, research questions, methods, and validity threats from one another" confirmed both Easton's views and my conviction that critical realism and qualitative research complimented each other and making it an appropriate approach for this realist study.

Maxwell (2012), however, cautions that there are further implications for research underpinned by realism. The design, as such, must, for two reasons, be considered a *real entity* – firstly, critical realism involves "the real part of people's meanings, motives, and understandings" and secondly because the models of research "are intended to represent what is actually taking place, not simply what the researcher plans or intends" (*ibid*: 71). Sayer's view on research underpinned by realism is that "[s]ocial systems are always open and usually complex and messy" and that "we cannot isolate out [these] components and examine them under controlled conditions" (2000: 19). This I understood to mean that by wanting to go beyond observations, hermeneutic interpretations, and mere generalizations of participant's experience, I would have to put more weight on "establishing the qualitative nature of social objects and relation on which causal mechanisms depend" (Sayer, 1992: 2 - 3). Danermark *et al* (2005) make a similar point by noting that "[s]trata and emergent powers, mechanisms, open systems and intentionality are consequently some of the central conditions determining the view of design and method in critical realism. As the nature of reality is stratified, the social

science focus should be upon the elements of reality which can shed light on the generative mechanisms" (2002: 164).

4.2.2 CASE STUDY

I decided to utilize an intrinsic (Stake, 2000) case study approach for this research as further to Danermark *et al* (2005) describing one of the principal characteristics of qualitative methods as having a case study design, Cohen *et al's* (2011) description of the purpose of a case study to portray, analyze and interpret the uniqueness of real individuals and situations through accessible accounts; to catch the complexity and situatedness of behaviour; to contribute to action and intervention and to present and represent reality to give a sense of 'being there' (*ibid*: 129). would I believed, fulfil both the purpose of empirical research in the social sciences to "investigate social phenomena in order to discover underlying causal processes" (Carter & New, 2004: 1), as well as to satisfy the requirements of a qualitative case study.

I believe that Yin (2009) would support my selection of a case study for this research as his contention is that case studies provide the best method to conduct in-depth exploration of people's experiences. His belief is that a case is less about boundaries and more about setting the case within its real-life context. Danermark *et al's* (2005) statement that "[w]ithin social science, phenomena are contextually defined" (2002: 161), added weight, in my opinion, to my decision. This was further reinforced by Merriam's (2009: x.) stance that a case study "is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a programme, an institution, a person, a process or a social unit". Berg (2001), in explaining that case studies provide an efficient means to obtain considerable amounts of information for the purpose of understanding the subject of the case, and as my research phenomena potential involved a great deal of information regarding the rich and complex working situations of participants, and the causes, processes, conditions and experiences (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Yin, 2009; Merriam, 2009 and Cohen *et al,* 2011) that were involved in transnational migration, the criteria for the use of a case study design seemed well matched to my interests and goals.

in my opinion, Stark & Torrance's (2005) opinion that a case study's focus is on "understanding the peculiarities of particular situations or events" (2005: 33), combined

with their emphasizing that a case study needs "to pay attention to the social and historical context of action, as well as the action itself" (*ibid*: 33) are salient aspects of realism generally, but more specifically of Archer's social realism and morphogenetic framework. I believe that it also provides a link "between social ontology, explanatory methodology and practical social theorizing" (1995: 16) in this realist study. Maxwell (2012), would, I suggest, give credence to my beliefs in relation to realist's views and theories as he maintains "[C]ritical realism also supports the idea that individuals' physical contexts have a causal influence on their beliefs and perspectives." (2012: 20). Maxwell (2012) further notes that beliefs, values and thoughts, amongst other mental phenomena, are as real as physical entities (*ibid*). This is analogous to Archer's (2000: 157) notion that "speech acts be understood as deeds".

As most South African educators work in primary and secondary, rather than higher education, I had come to realize that I would have difficulty finding sufficient number of South African higher education faculty in Abu Dhabi to participants in my study. Danermark *et al's* (2005) following statement regarding qualitative research, or what they prefer to term the "[t]he intensive approach" (*ibid: 163),* provided me, however, with a measure of relief regarding this concert. According to them, as ["T]he intensive approach focuses on generative mechanisms [and as] most social science issues are complex, which often makes it difficult to study a large number of cases, thus forcing the researchers to limit themselves to fewer cases, which are then studied more intensively" (*ibid*: 166). Heeding Danermark *et al's* (*ibid*) remarks and recommendations, I decided that whilst I would not conduct the study with fewer than six participants, I would, however, limit the total to ten; even if more participants became available. As it happened, only nine of eleven people who were identified as fitted the criteria took part in the study.

4.3 DATA GENERATION AND ADMINISTRATION

4.3.1 PARTICIPANT REQUIREMENTS

The explicit use of nationality, transnational status, profession and location clearly defined the criteria used to select eligible participants. In addition to these criteria, however, I also decided that participants had to be first-language English-speaking South African expatriates who had grown up and been educated in South Africa. The purpose of the language requirement was an attempt to hold as closely as possible to a "discourse

community … who share a common social space and history, and common imaginings" (Kramsch,2000: 106), as described in the initial paragraphs of Act One. As language acts as one of the divides in South Africa I was an attempt to reduce possible variables to the phenomena been explored as diversity is an aspect that is so typical of the South African Rainbow nation. The purpose of the education requirement was to ensure that participants had had an extensive experience of higher education pre- and post-1994. To this I also required that they had worked as a lecturer in at least one higher education institution in South Africa for two years before 1994 and for at least three years between 1994 and 2008. No distinction was made between those working in traditional universities, or what, in South Africa, prior to changes to the higher education system in 2002, were named 'technikons'. At this time, technikons, which were similar to polytechnics in other parts of the world, assumed the status of universities of technology (UoTs). In addition to criteria related to employment in South Africa, I also required them to have worked in a public or private higher education institution in Abu Dhabi for an academic year or more a between 2008 and 2016. Although a few participants had been part of the management structure as heads of department (HoDs), and a few had been very involved in research and supervision of students in South Africa, these were not part of the criteria used for participation. Additional contributions from these perspectives were, however, greatly welcomed as they added considerably to the discussions and range of views and experiences that were gathered from the interviews.

In addition to the criteria stated above, participants were required to have obtained their positions as higher education faculty members in an Abu Dhabi institution as a self-selecting or a self-initiated expatriate (SIE). A self-initiated expatriate being an expatriate who has chosen to work as a transnational migrant of their own accord (Lee, 2005; Selmer & Lauring, 2010; Biemann & Andersen, 2010; and Reynolds, 2012). The purpose of this criteria was to ensure that the participants were individuals who had been instrumental in choosing their own contexts, and probably therefore had professional reasons for their move from South Africa to Abu Dhabi – a salient aspect that I wanted to explore as part of this study. Secondly, selecting participants who had worked for at least one entire academic year in Abu Dhabi, meaning that they had worked from August of one year to the July of the following year as the UAE education system follows the Northern Hemisphere academic year, meant that there was an increased likelihood that all participant had experienced the gamut of events constituting the academic calendar.

As with the participants Clegg (2008) used in her research on identity, I did not require the participants of this study to be a particular age or gender, or to be from any particular discipline. Requiring that they had studied and worked in institutions of higher education before 1994 did, however, mean that they were all older than 45 years of age at the time of the interviews. This facilitated the relationship that I was able to establish with the participants as we were of similar age.

4.3.2 SAMPLING

A form of purposeful sampling was used for this study as it is a sampling strategy that matches selected criteria to suitable participants "The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study" (Patton, 2015: 264). According to van Manen (2014: 353) purposeful sampling is "sometimes used to indicate that interviewees or participants are selected on the basis of their knowledge and verbal eloquence to describe a group or (sub)culture to which they belong". The rational for this choice of sampling was that the participants were from a very defined population and common setting, and the goal of the research was, as expressed by Maxwell (2012), "to understand the processes, meanings, and local contextual influences involved in the phenomena of interest, for the specific setting" (*ibid*: 94).

For the purpose of a clear explanation of purposeful participant selection, I extent the concept to include 'snowball selection'. This is a term coined from a combination of snowball sampling and purposeful selection. Selection, according to Maxwell (2012: 93), is a term most often associated with quantitative studies. In the same vein, 'snowball sampling', or that which Cohen *et al* (2011) refers to as "chain-referral methods" (*ibid*: 158), originated from situations in which researchers were compelled to identify an initial individual who had the characteristics or "anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study's research questions (Yin, 2011: 311) - with the hope that that person would have a connection to other suitable candidates. The notion underpinning snowball selection is that the individual identified initially will be able to refer others who qualify for inclusion in the study. In turn, these participants go on to identify others who fit the criteria until sufficient, or all "hard to reach" (Cohen *et al,* 2011: 158) participants are found.

Due to the nature of expatriate life, which means that a person is very often employed in

a particular location for a short period of time meant that my initial South African colleagues that I had met when I first moved to Abu Dhabi, had all left the UAE by the time that I was ready to conduct interviews. I was also no longer in contact, or even knew of, any other South African academics working in Abu Dhabi. I therefore had to ask non-South African colleagues, from both my own and other institutions in Abu Dhabi, to identify possible candidates for me. This was done with some difficulty as I did not want my study to be publicized in open forums as I was cognizant of the need to preserve candidates' anonymity and prevent any knowledge of their participation in the study from going beyond the confines of our interaction.

Once I was able to establish contact with the first South African academic, however, through the snowball selection process, as described, continued efficiently. Within a few weeks I had made contact with eleven potential participants. Two of the nine who agreed to be interviewed left Abu Dhabi prior to their interviews but promised to make themselves available to me when I was next in South Africa.

4.3.3 PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

While Merriam & Simpson (1995: 98) consider it an advantage for the researcher to be located in the site of the study if they are to "consider the total context of the phenomenon", I was aware that the researcher's subjectivity or partiality could be considered problematic. This was a problem for me as I not only qualify to be a participant but had initially intended on being one. The reason for this was that I had originally felt that sharing my experiences in conversations with participants would not be a problem and might even serve the study in a number of ways. Firstly, I expected to have difficulty identifying participants due to the very specific criteria that I had decided on, and by including myself it would mean that I had more chance of generating sufficient data. Secondly, as Freeman (1996) considers that stance, process and category must be taken into account when carrying out data collection, analysis and interpretation, I considered that my own stance as an academic should not be dismissed as I had been involved in teaching and learning in a number of higher education institutions over a number of years - and I not only qualified to be a participant in the purposeful sample, but was willing and able to be one. Thirdly, I understood that, as the biases (or prejudices) that a researcher brings to a qualitative study had long been recognized as unavoidable, and that as long as I engaged in what (Maxwell, 2012: 96) describes as constant reflection on ways that

"prior experiences, beliefs, purposes, values and subjective qualities shape how you conceptualize the study and engage in it" my contributions would be as valuable to the study as those of others. Finally, and most importantly, I considered that my 'peer' status as a participant would encourage other participants to more fully share their experiences.

I eventually, however, decided not to be a participant. I made this decision not only to avoid problems related to validity, but also because I found that the participants recognized my status as a peer anyway. I think one of the reasons for this was that I was correct in surmising that my status as an educator of similar age to each of the participants would stimulate and contribute to open and direct engagement. The overall impression that I gained from conversations was that all viewed me as an 'objective' knowledgeable associate who understood the systems, policies and procedures that they had experienced both in South Africa and Abu Dhabi despite working in different organizations from them. I also believe that by adjusting the questions as I went along, I was able to elicit the *rich descriptions* of experiences and thoughts that, according to Mouton (2001), Yin (2009 & 2011), Cohen *et al* (2011), Maxwell (2012) and Patton (2015), are required for case study research.

4.3.4 INTERVIEWS AND SETTINGS

As I have indicated, I conducted interviews with participants. In order to do this, semi-structured, in-depth (Denzin, 1989), open questions were drawn-up to guide interaction. Interviews were conducted face-to-face in the same or similar settings with each of the nine participants. The location for each interview was selected by the participants. As interviews are not only "data collecting exercises" but also according to Cohen *et al* (2011: 421) "social, interpersonal encounters" each meeting was conducted in a way to ensure a relaxed and positive experience for the participant.

As anonymity had been assured during the selection phase, the methods that I was going to use to maintain privacy were made clear at the beginning of each interview. I took time to explain how I would use pseudonyms for each participant in order to ensure that they would not be recognized if they were quoted. I also detailed the measures taken to ensure the security of all documents and correspondence, including details of telephone calls, emails and other forms of electronic messaging. I indicated that sessions would be

recorded and that both the recordings and transcriptions would be housed securely.

As I had clearly understood from a number of texts (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999; Wengraf, 2001; de Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2005; Cohen *et al,* 2011; and Maxwell, 2012) that the relationship that a researcher establishes with the participants has "a profound influence on the research and its results" (Maxwell, 2012: 100), I was at pains to ensure that each participant felt comfortable sharing experiences and observations with me. In order to achieve this, a few background questions and short personal exchanges were made off record and prior to the voice recorder being turned on. The initial interactions also served to confirm participants' nationality, previous work experiences in South Africa, disciplinary or professional background and the location and type of institution in which they now worked. I also sought to establish the faculties in which they had worked and the exact positions they had held in Abu Dhabi. Thereafter, the interviews took on what Cohen *et al* (2011) describes as a 'guided approach' to the questions and answers. This involved posing questions, listening to, and where appropriate, discussing the responses to the semi-structured set of questions whilst attempting to control any outward appearance of judgment, bias or prejudice. In order to facilitate a free-flow of responses and opinions, the questions were not all asked, discussed and deliberated in a set sequence. As I was drawing on Archer's (1995) morphogenetic framework, the questions were designed around participants descriptions of their work based situations and experiences in South Africa, that contributed to their decisions to Abu Dhabi and their subsequent move and experiences of Abu Dhabi. This was done in this way in order to explore social and cultural conditioning at T^1 and the interplay of the people and the parts between T^2 and T^3.

Rather than writing extensive notes that may have interrupted what (Cohen *et al,* 2011) described as the free flow of information, the interviews were recorded. This allowed me to listen to, and closely observe, each participant's description of systems and structures and their experiences and response to these. By listening carefully to what was being said and unobtrusively (but with their full permission and knowledge) record the accounts of their experiences, a 'win-win' situation was facilitated. Although I was primarily acting as a researcher I was being treated as a confidant of sorts. By maintain eye contact and being able to engage knowingly in the conversation I was easily able to encouraging a very comprehensive description of their particular contexts and circumstances as role-

incumbent academics in both in South Africa and Abu Dhabi. Information that was considered particularly salient to the study was drawn out to elicit longer, and more in-depth descriptions through further questions(Cohen *et al,* 2011).

When required I conducted follow-up interviews. These supplementary meetings were arranged when gaps in the information were found following the transcription and analysis of the meeting I had conducted with the first three participants – as information I had obtained from subsequent participants, through my growing experience of interview techniques and my expanding body of knowledge, had me realise that I had gaps in accounts and detail. These supplementary sessions proved to be particularly informative as it seemed that the participants had reflected on their interviews and were themselves keen to add more details to their accounts. The point that participants were prepared to engage in additional interviews also suggested that an atmosphere of congeniality and trust had been established in the initial meetings. Each of the interviews that were conducted lasted a minimum of two hours, most even longer, without complaint from any of the group. In turn, each of the follow-up sessions, initially intended to be short as elaboration or clarity was required on a few issues, lasted almost as long and were very relaxed and informative. Although I had anticipated having to conduct some interviews using some form of video-telephony application such as SkypeTM® or Zoom Video Communication©, Inc. (CEoE, 2002) in the event of qualifying participants no longer being in Abu Dhabi or South Africa, this fortunately was not the case. While I was on a visit to South Africa, I was able to interview two members of the purposefully selected sample as they no longer lived in the UAE - having moved back to South Africa to live and work. These interviews were also conducted face-to-face in a setting similar to those held in the UAE. Interestingly, these interviews tended to be longer and immensely detailed. They also elicited more negative and blunt responses.

According to Cohen *et al* (2011), there are some negative factors associated with participant interviews. These involve age (in the case of very young participants), status (when it may be lower than that of the interviewer), language and social and cultural differences. The reason for this is that these factors often act as barriers to forming a comfortable and trusting relationship between the two parties. These problems were not anticipated or encountered as participants were either only a little younger or older than me, were academics with years of experience, and were either of an equal or held higher

organizational positions than me. Also, all participants were academics employed (or formerly employed) at either public or private higher education institutions in Abu Dhabi because they were native English speakers. This meant that language was not a problem although some participants did note that they thought they had developed a form of 'broken English' as a result of trying to make themselves understood to those whose first language was not English. I laughingly acknowledged that I too spoke and understood 'pidgin English'. Finally, as all participants shared a common nationality, congeniality was expected and achieved.

In addition to this, at each of the initial contact exchanges, all the participants expressed their keenness to participate in what one participant referred to as a "cathartic unburdening of frustrations and annoyances to someone who gave me their undivided attention without any therapy session costs". Speaking openly on some contentious issues was, however, difficult for some participants still working in the UAE. In relation to this, Richardson & McKenna (2001), note that "one of the negative characteristics of being an expatriate academic is the *precariousness* of their situation" (2001: 69). As a result, some participants initially exhibited reluctance, demonstrated in a variety of ways, to share negative aspects of their experiences. These included looking around, leaning forwards and whispering their response and holding their hands across their mouths. These symptoms of behaviour were evident despite the secure settings in which the interviews were conducted.

4.3.5 INTERNAL CONVERSATION INDICATOR (ICONI)

Each participant was requested to complete the ICONI questionnaire designed by Archer (2008) as part of a longitudinal studies that were ancillary to her two books *Making our Way through the World: Human Reflexivity and Social Mobility* (2007) and *The Reflexive Imperative in late Modernity* (2012). While Archer's *(ibid)* purpose was establish how 'normal people' 'reflexivity' assume tasks to achieve their 'concerns' (*ibid),* their mediation techniques, and how they deal with the outcome of their decisions, my purpose was just to classify them as a Communicative, Autonomous or a Meta- reflexive (Please refer back to the descriptions given in section 3.5 and in Table 2, and forwards to Annexure 4).

4.3.6 FOCUS GROUPS

It was originally envisaged that as there would be a maximum of ten participants in the

study, all participants would be able to get together at the same place at the same time to form a focus group. The reason to try to use a focus group interview was because many researchers (see, for example, Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999; and Barbour, 2007) believe that participants will divulge and share more in a bigger group than in a one-on-one interview situation. Morgan (1988) also states that, because participants are interested in each other's lives, they are more likely to pursue topics in a larger group. In addition, according to Cohen *et al* (2011: 436), in focus groups "participants' rather than the researcher's agenda can predominate" despite the "contrived nature" of participants' attendance at the meeting. On my account, I felt that a focus group between the participants of this study would engender what de Vos *et al* (2005) describe as 'confidence' obtained through group support. A full focus group, however, never became feasible as two participants were already in South Africa, and one other participant, who fulfilled the criteria that included working in and for the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, worked, however, in an area called the Empty Quarter, which is a number of hours south of Abu Dhabi island city. Nevertheless, in re-interviewing a few participants I was able to clarify a few details that I had felt were not covered adequately in their first interview. Also, as I was also an academic who had lived in Abu Dhabi for many years, I found that participants were also interested in my life and experiences. As a result, participants asked me questions and sought my response to some of the questions that I had asked them with the result that each interview session came to draw on some of the advantages identified in relation to the use of focus groups.

4.3.7 DOCUMENTATION

Newspaper articles, as well as other relevant, generally available information and documentation pertaining to higher education in the South Africa and Abu Dhabi were used as discussion points to stimulate responses. It was envisaged, and proved correct, that such documentation would facilitate participants' reflections on their old and new contexts and elicit comment on their own experiences.

4.3.8 OBSERVATIONS

One of the means that I used to collect data on the interaction between students and teacher was to observe and make notes on a few of the participants in their institutional settings and at an off-campus work-place location. The on-campus situations included being in participants' offices while students popped in for unscheduled meetings, as well

as being one of a few 'assistants' helping out during a laboratory theory/practical lecture. The nature of higher education in the UAE is such that security is not a problem and campuses are easy to access. Arab culture also requires strangers to be welcomed and included without interrogation.

The off-campus setting was a 'trade fair' to which two of the participants and their students had been invited. Attendance at the fair was in order to provide the students with some workshop/experiential learning experience to cover learning outcomes for the programme in which they were enrolled. Having been told about the fair at the interviews, I decided that I would use this as an opportunity to further observe students and lecturers, or more specifically the interactions and behaviour between lecturer and lecturer, students and lecturers, as well as students and students. As this was a convention open to the public, I just made myself available to be there when the two participants and their students' cohort was being chaperoned and guided through the various exhibitions, presentations and demonstrations.

The purpose of this data was to add to the information on behaviour and conduct of students that had been provided during the interviews. And whilst I have noted the caution expressed by Becker (1966: 69 in Maxwell 2012: 42), that the observation of social process is "[o]bservable, yes: but not easily observable - at least not for scientific purposes", I agree with Dunn's (1978: 171 in Maxwell, 2012: 42) counter to this, which is that "there are still no cheap ways to deep knowledge of other persons and the causes of their actions". Observing participants in a work situation gave me at least an overview of the dynamics between a few of the participants, and the structures that they encountered in higher education settings and situations in Abu Dhabi.

4.3.9 TRANSCRIPTION

An audio recording device was used to assist with the accuracy of the data. The recordings of interviews were transcribed verbatim and checked by me within 48 hours of each having taken place. This involvement in transcription and checking was carefully planned and executed in order for me to become immersed in, and familiar with, the data as soon as possible (Henning *et al,* 2004). The reason for this was recommendations made by Pope, Ziebland & Mays (2000) who believe that, if analysis begins to take place as data collection progresses, the process of analysis itself is developed and improved. The transcriptions were also printed immediately following their completion in order for

me to add hardcopy notes, where applicable, regarding participants' non-verbal cues and other aspects that were observed and seemed noteworthy at the time of each interview. This practice, according to de Vos *et al* (2005), contributes to the reliability of information. Printed copies of transcripts were offered to participants for comment/correction. None, however, took up the offer even when I offered to forward it to them on their private emails.

4.4 VALIDITY

According to Maxwell (2012), validity in critical realist research is less about the methods of acquiring data and more about the "accounts, conclusions, or inferences" resulting from analysis (*ibid*: 13). As this made sense to me, I endeavored to ensure that this research study, using his terms, met the following categories.

- Descriptive Validity involves the factual accuracy of reports of events, behaviour, settings, places and times as they may or may not pertain to the research.
- Interpretive Validity which involves "the degree to which the research participants' viewpoints, thoughts, feelings, intentions, and experiences are accurately understood by the qualitative researcher and portrayed in the research report" (Burke, 1997: 285). I worked towards interpretive validity by ensuring that I always followed up on statements that were not clear to me with questions and probes and, where appropriate, returned to points about which I was unsure in follow-up interviews.
- Theoretical Validity is the extent to which a researcher 'holds to' theory as s/he develops explanations. In this respect, as a researcher drawing on realist ontology, I understood that my interpretation of the data would be historically situated, fallible, and incomplete (epistemic relativism) and, as such, would be located within transitive layers of reality. Interpreting data would therefore involve the use of judgmental rationality as I excavated to deeper levels of reality and acknowledgement that I was seeking the 'best truth'.

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The main ethical considerations that needed to be taken into account in this research study involved the preservation of participants' privacy and ensuring that they could not be identified as a result of their narratives. In describing anonymity, Marvasti (2004) and Bogden & Biklen (1992: 106) prefer to refer to this type of concealment or obscurity as "confidentiality".

To maintain participants' anonymity or confidentially, a number of procedures were followed. No reference was ever made to names, past or current places of work, departments, institutional position, subjects taught, place of origin in South Africa or home and work location in Abu Dhabi in any communication with other participants or within the dissertation itself. Colours were used as pseudonyms and each participant was invited to choose a different colour as a reference name. All participants are also referred to in the female form. This, however, was not the case as one of the participants was male. Although there was no statistical data at the time of writing on which I was able to base the following statement, I believe from personal observations that this ratio reflects the demographic breakdown in South African expatriate educators in Abu Dhabi. This includes all level of school teachers and higher education faculty. Any references to husbands or wives were changed to spouse, and when relevant to mention children, their gender was obfuscated by referring to them as she/he, his/her or them/they. Care was taken to secure all printed or recorded material as I was aware that it could contain information that could potentially identify the participants. Documents indicating their informed consent and the printed transcriptions remain in a safe under lock-and-key. All, except one candidate was initially contacted through personal, rather than work-based communication routes. Thereafter all communication was achieved using personal mobile phones and personal email addresses. Access to phone numbers and email addresses is secured using password protection on my computer and mobile phone. Although I was cognizant of the importance of concealing participants' identities for ethical reasons, I was also aware that my personal integrity and professional reputation, aspects very important to me, would be at risk if my responsibility to ensuring confidentiality participants was not of the highest standing. I, therefore, took the need to ensure anonymity and confidentiality very seriously.

As mentioned previously, I decided not to make myself a participant in the study. I was aware of the advantages and value of having an 'insider' view of the unit and experiences and events of the research (Merriam & Simpson, 1995; Williamson, 2009; and Trowler; 2011) but also took heed of and was cautious of taking up a position that could unduly influence the study. To this end, I continually asked myself how I was presenting (or not) my views and experiences while in discussion with participants, how I was selecting and choosing participant views to include as examples in the analysis, and whether I was avoiding bias or prejudice in viewing and presenting the data.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

4.6.1 PRACTICALITIES

To facilitate working with the data, which, from the outset, was recognized as being enormously time-consuming and labour intensive, software named NVivo® was used early in the transcription phase as sets of ideas and themes were identified on the basis of common words and phrases (Cohen *et al,* 2011). Whilst this was found to be useful in organizing data, I found, as cautioned by Pope *et al* (2000), that software has limitations; one being the need for the researcher to maintain and be clear about the interconnectivity of "ontology, methodology, and practical social theory" (Archer, 1999: 4).

What I did find to be very useful, however, was a set of metaphors developed by Richardson & McKenna (2001) in a Career Development International publication called *Leaving and experience: why academics expatriate and how they experience expatriation.* These metaphors provided me with a very useful coding system as well as a concise means of presenting some of the findings pertaining to participants' experiences in Abu Dhabi. The general analysis involved a process of identifying PEPs, CEPs and SEPs - an example of a CEP being gender related discourses constructing what it is possible for women to do, or not do. The identification of CEPs was based on Fairclough (1993, 2001, 2005a & b & 2006) and Elder-Vass's (2011) concept of 'discourse' within a critical realist position. From this perspective, discourses are understood to be a group of related ideas manifest in language or other semiotic systems that have intransitive mechanisms with causal powers.

As already noted, Archer (2000) accords agents the power to subscribe to discourses or resist them. As mechanisms in the domain of culture, discourses constrain and enable what it is possible to do, think, value and so on and can thus be understood to lead to the emergence of events at the level of the actual and experiences at the level of the empirical. In analyzing discourse or the "linguistic/semiotic elements of social events and linguistic/semiotic facets of social structures" (Fairclough, 2005a: 916) in the context from which and to which the participants had moved to live and work, I worked with questions such as "What are the major discourses in the globalization of higher education?", "How are the higher educational institutions in Abu Dhabi constructed?'", "What are the differences between the higher educational institutions in South Africa and Abu Dhabi?" and "How is the role of the lecturer constructed in Abu Dhabi?". Of main interest to me

was the influence and effects that the properties and powers of structure and culture and agents had on the relational development of each participant, and the way that these had influenced the emergence of participants' new social identities in relation to their contexts and professional positions. As I have already explained structure as the means of distributing access to resources, gender would thus also count as a structure as would nationality and so on. My coding also involved the identification of structures.

4.6.2 ABDUCTION AND RETRODUCTION

Described by Danermark *et al* (2005: 11), as two of four complementary modes of "thought operation" or inference, abduction and retroduction are commonly used for conceptual abstraction in critical realist studies. The reason for utilizing abduction and retroduction as part of the analytical process is that it facilitates an understanding of the 'elements or forces' (Sayer, 1992: 87), or the interplay of properties and powers at the level of the real. The abstractions identified are the mechanisms which, "together produce the event" (Danermark *et al,* 2005: 43). This is because, as indicated in previous chapters, critical realists draw on an understanding of reality as stratified and constituent of an open world (Bhaskar, 2008). The objective of realist research is to "observe and identity the effects of underlying generative mechanisms" (Danermark *et al,* 2005: 43) on the levels. Abduction, which involves recontextualising and re-description, often by means of theory, was used to explore the structures and mechanisms from which events or phenomena that are experienced in empirical settings emerged. In addition to employing established scientific processes and skills to generate valid findings (Lawson in Archer *et al,* 1998), the process of abductive inference through re-description required me, the researcher, to be creative and form associations using an alternative lens to view that which is not necessarily evident or obvious (Danermark *et al,* 2005). In essence, abduction involves describing an event differently in order to understand it within a different context, thereby providing one of any number of interpretations of empirically experienced events. In all research, theory functions as a lens through which one can view the world and, as a result, see it differently. The use of theory in abduction is therefore a means of re-conceptualizing and re-describing the experiences and observations of participants. The point of generating new ways of seeing things in this way is to advance science (Lawson in Archer *et al,* 1998).

In the case of this study, the use of abduction involved using a combination of information

that included understandings of the way globalization had impacted on higher education and expatriation and identity theories to interrogate statements and descriptions made by participants.

Retroduction, the second means of inference utilised by realists and considered by many researchers to be one and the same as abduction, is described by Sayer (1992: 107) as a "...mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them...". Retroduction is therefore the means by which the researcher tries to establish what the essential elements, conditions, features or qualities of situations are in order to reconstruct them and "provide knowledge of transfactual conditions, structures and mechanisms that cannot be directly observe in the domain of the empirical" (Danermark *et al,* 2005: 80). In this study, the use of retroduction involved moving from educators' descriptions of events and experiences to an identification of the mechanisms from which they can be seen to emerge. This process was accompanied by an awareness of my own fallibility as a researcher and was thus subject to checks and balances common to research projects involving human participants.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described and attempted to justify the design for the research underpinning this thesis and explained the ways I went about both generating data and analyzing it.

I now move to operationalizing the morphogenetic framework used to organize my study

ACT FIVE: CENTRE STAGE, PROPS, CAST AND SCRIPTS

INTRODUCING THE PARTS AND THE PEOPLE

"All the world's a stage".
William Shakespeare (1868).

The morphogenetic framework used to structure this study requires me to explore the social and cultural conditioning that were in place at T^1, the time at during which the participants were still living and working in South Africa prior to their move to Abu Dhabi (Act Two, 2.3.1.2). The purpose of analyzing the contexts against which the educators took decisions to become transnational educators is in keeping with realist and case study research (Danermark *et al,* 2005).

More saliently, and in keeping research underpinned by a realist philosophy and methodologies, Stark & Torrance, 2005) iterate the need for case study researchers this "to pay attention to the social and historical context of action, as well as the action itself" (*ibid*: 33). Archer's (2000) stance on context, as previous described, places some emphasis on past natural, practical and social realities to explain the development of agential beliefs and practice - including their identities.

Archer developed a methodological framework in order not to conflate the 'parts and the people' and to separately explore the interplay between the past "properties of social structures and systems" (Archer, 1995: 90) that developed as a consequence of prior agent's social interactions - "For we are born into and can only live embedded in an ideational context which is not of our making" (Archer, 1996: xxv). In utilizing this methodology, the forthcoming accounts will firstly present a description of the conditions that prevailed in the international higher education arena as a background to understand the conditions that unfolded in the South African and the Abu Dhabi national higher education contexts respectively. As the discussions will show, these were cultural and structural systems that were rooted in the history and development of knowledge, learning and education – systems that in turn were affected by the more bourgeoning advances of globalization and neoliberalism, the commercialization, massification and managerialism

of higher education, and the evolution and expansion of transnational expatriation. Continuing on to participant's local contexts, the process will then provide a description of the structural and cultural – (beliefs, values, theories and ideologies) 'parts' that constituted the South Africa reality between 1994 and 2008. The account will then proceed to a portrayal of the 'part's that made up Abu Dhabi between 1972 and 2008. The explanation will them be brought to a conclusion following a section on the perspectives of the 'people' - views reached and expressed by participant's following their reflections on the constraining and enabling conditioning (Archer, 1995, 1996, 2000 and 2003, 2007a & 2012) that they were presented with in their respective higher education workplaces. These would constitute the period during the T^2 - T^3 or Interactive Phase of Archers morphogenetic cycle.

5.1 PART ONE: UNPACKING THE PARTS

5.1.1 CENTRE STAGE: INTERNATIONAL TRENDS

Nothing and no one,
resides outside a system:
that's the way it is.
Lynne Tillman (2018)
Men and Apparitions

5.1.1.1 KNOWLEDGE

Whilst formal education is a relatively new concept to humanity, the need for learning and knowledge is, according to Gray (2008), part of our innate biological makeup. In Wenger's (1998) view we learn through general participation in life experiences. As a result of learning through personal experiences within familiar and regular contexts, individual information and expertise is achieved and connected to the place, people, systems and structures, practices and institutions through which it is gained (Wenger, 1998 and Archer, 2000). In addition to learning through our general participation in life experiences, and the "[s]ubsequent shift" that Rogers (2004: 11) contends this knowledge brings to one's identity, we also acquire knowledge through the process and results of practices as well as through thought and reflection and the attainment of values and beliefs (UNESCO (2015).

Education, according to Wenger (1998), is the learning and knowledge, that is achieved through purposeful means and has traditionally comes about both informally or non-

formally - in and through social structures such as the home, larger community and the workplace, as well as formally. More formal education on is presented through institutions with progressive curricula and has historically been designed to develop human capital in particular fields or professions (Williams, 2016). More boldly, in relation to general modern education, Castells (1999: 3) believes that our "ability to move into the *Information Age* depends on the capacity of the whole society to be educated to be able to assimilate and process complex information. This starts with the education system, from the bottom up, from the primary school to the university". More specifically, as expressed by Tierney (2001), the modern concept of knowledge is that it is mainly produced and transferred in universities. Related to this, Dale & Robertson (2003: 7) noted that "Formal education is the most commonly found institution and most commonly shared experience of all in the cotemporary world".

Broadly referring to post-secondary education, higher or tertiary education is traditionally associated with institutions and organizations that award degrees, diplomas and/or certificates following undergraduate and postgraduate learning. The organizations have developed over time and range from trade schools, career and vocational colleges, seminaries, institutes and universities. Their programs and methodologies include teaching and learning, research, applied and in-service learning, and social and outreach programs (Worldbank, 2015). Historically institutions associated with post-secondary education, higher or tertiary education were situated in geographical sites distanced from individual's homes, and as such they performed the social function of acting, according to Weber (1999: 153), *in loco parentis.* According to Gibbons, (1998a: 1) "higher education institutions, particularly universities, are among the most stable and change resistant social institutions to have existed during the past 500 years". A somewhat disturbing view expressed by Barnett in a paper presented in 2005 was that "Global universities, accordingly, may be seen a vehicle for the imposition of Western modes of reason" (2005: 786). Similarly, in an Ernst & Young (2012) report, the higher education sector was described as "undergoing a fundamental transformation in terms of its role in society, mode of operation, and economic structure and value".

5.1.1.2 HIGHER EDUCATION AS A PUBLIC GOOD

"knowledge comes but wisdom lingers"
Alfred Lord Tennyson 1809 – 1897
Locksley Hall: 18

A move that is counter to the precedents and elitism that Plato established eons ago, formal higher education, Lynch (2006) contends is a fairly recent incorporation to humankinds' systems and structures. Having being more formally set up and operated by the church and state in medieval times, and being strongly associated with elitism (Barnett, 2005), it firstly moved to a broader participation during the age of Enlightenment and early European democratization (Jonathan, 2001), and then to a very broad spectrum of people after the 2nd World War (Thomas 2010, Zaretsky 1995 and Epstein 2002). The main purpose of this broader inclusion into higher education institutions was, according to Arendt (1954) to provide students with ready and accessible sources of knowledge from past generations so that they could build on these to continue to renew the world. During these times, higher education institutions, according to Gibbons (1998a: 1) "fulfilled this [need] in the midst of political and social upheaval, social development, and technological advancement while remaining essentially unchanged in structure and method".

As a result of these change, as well as changes that had occurred within the secondary education sector, higher education according to Bundy (2006: 9) has "expanded from elite to mass provision in the space of a single generation". While acknowledging this development, Scott (2010: 2), however, argued that despite the recent increase in student admission in higher education, higher education is "still socially unequal". A concept Lynch (2014) concurs with and is an opinion she asserts is echoed by many researchers. Counter to this criticism Altbach (2001 & 2004b) believes that higher education it is still associated with the concepts of humanism and values. These concepts, as noted in a 2015 UNESCO publication, include "respect for life and human dignity, equal rights and social justice, cultural and social diversity, and a sense of human solidarity and shared responsibility for our common future" (*ibid*: 38). If one accepts the concept of humanism and values being associated with higher education, one is by association compelled to consider it to be a "[co]mplex phenomenon involving not just the marketplace but also national culture, the values of society and access and social mobility…" as promulgated

by Altbach (20004b: 2). In the same vein, Singh's (2001: 11) view is that higher education should act as a "critic and conscience of society". Similarly, in Lynch's opinion, higher education should act as the "watchdogs for the free interchange of ideas in a democratic society" as well as "work to protect freedom of thought, including the freedom to dissent from prevailing orthodoxies" (Lynch, 2006: 1).

According to Barnett (2005: 786) the medieval "university was a community open to all" with scholarships available to the poor and with the movement of scholars facilitated by Latin as the 'lingua franca'. Firstly as "characteristically self-governing institution's" (*ibid*: 786) they evolved over time but maintained, in Barnett's (2005: 786) opinion, a set of themes that ran throughout their development. These he contended included "an open-textured discourse, free of dogma" (*ibid*: 785) as well as remaining "interested in truth *in toto"* (*ibid*: 786). From this Barnett went on to explain that although universities may no longer be considered to be 'universal' they do, however, continue to have a "society-wide mission" (*ibid*: 787), and as such higher education and universities "should perceive and structure themselves so as to act in the general interests of society" (*ibid*: 787). Jonathan (2001: 36) believed that higher education lies at "the heart of liberal democratic theories of education which have seen learning as the road both to individual emancipation and to social progress". Succinctly, Williams (2016: 619 & 623) purported that the purpose of higher education is to "serve the public good". According to Samuelson (1954 in Williams, 2016: 621) public good - in relation to higher education, is defined as "having non-excludable and non-rivalrous outcomes: being state funded: and generating externalities in the form of social and public benefits". In the same vein Lynch's (2006: 1) view of higher education is that it is the "guardians and creators of knowledge produced for the greater good of humanity in its entirety". As such, in her view, this makes higher education institutions justifiable recipients of public funding (*ibid*).

5.1.1.3 HIGHER EDUCATION AS A RECIPIENT OF PUBLIC FUNDS

Howard (2009: 1), however, had some reservations as to how, what, and for whom public funds should be made available. His assertion was that public funding should be used responsibly so that in addition to being answerable for student learning they should cultivate responsible members of the community. To this he expressed the opinion that "Most importantly, they should provide access to higher education to any qualified

student, regardless of socioeconomic status, race, age or any other irrelevant category". This is concept that I believe would have been thoroughly endorsed by Singh (2001: 11) who, enlarging on a discussion regarding 'the broader social purposes of higher education', stated that "The role of higher education in equalizing the life changes of talented individuals, irrespective of social origin or financial capacity, could be a powerful lever in the construction of a more just society". More broadly Singh (2001: 11) believes that "the pursuit of knowledge in a variety of fields is critical to human development". This view would, I further contest, be endorsed by UNESCO given their statements in a 2015 report in which they make claim that whilst "vulnerability, inequality, exclusion and violence have increased within and across societies throughout the world" that "education can and should contribute to achieving a new development model" that includes "peace, inclusion and social justice" (2015: 9 & 10).

The subjects of public good and public funding are in Williams' (2016) view contentious issues. In Williams' opinion, the concept of public good has become more 'neoliberalistic' with a more individualistic inclination. This he explains can result in "social inclusion and social mobility in the form of individual employability, increased earnings and job security" but one that is inclined to "shifted the focus from knowledge outcomes that can benefit everyone in society" to one that has "a more individualized terrain of skills for employability" (Williams, 2016: 629 & 620). Related to this, I would argue, is Lynch's (2006: 1) view that the higher education sector is the "guardians and creators of knowledge produced for the greater good of humanity in its entirety". Whilst I believe that she would agree with the sentiments conveyed within the UNESCO statements that espouse the concept that education should contribute to harmony and fairness, she does, however, not appear to believe that this is the route that the sector is taking. Rather, I would suggest, Lynch would agree with Kim (2009b) and Williams' (2016) contemporary views of higher education, as her contention is that the concept of public higher education and its values have been reversed due to the emergence of globalization, neo-liberal values and commercialization (Lynch, 2006 and 2014). The 2015 UNESCO report would seems to corroborate these view, as it claims that although there has been a "spectacular expansion" (*ibid*: 46) in terms of access to higher education in the last 15 years - with the number of students attending programmes at higher education institution doubling to approximately 200 million worldwide. Their assertion is that the disparity between

students from higher income groups and those from lower income group and minorities has, at best, remained the same. This is similar to the view that Clegg & David (2006: 156) have of higher education. Their belief being that "Participation in higher education remains stratified along class and radicalized lines despite the expansion of educational opportunities…" A related concern expressed by Altbach (2010: 3 - 4) is that "access brought] inequality to higher education" and "mass higher education has, for a majority of students worldwide, lowered quality and increased dropout rates". This was a concept noted by Bundy (2006) in relation to the burgeoning South African higher education sector post-apartheid, and an issue that is discussed further on in this chapter. It was also noted in the UNESCO (2015) report that the growing share of institutions favours privatization. This trend is one that a number of researchers, Altbach (2001 & 2004b & 2010), Altbach, Reisberg, Rumbley (2009), Lynch (2006 and 2014) and Howard (2009) would agree with. It is also a movement that Harkins (1998), Williamson (2009), Kim, (2009b), Scott (2010), Singh & Papa (2010) and Lynch (2014), to name but a few, consider as being a direct result of globalization, the promotion of neo-liberal economic factors and the marketization of higher education. This is a concept, I contend, is not without merit given the statement made by James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank in 1999 in which he stated "All agree that the single most important key to development and poverty alleviation is education" (World Bank Report, 2003) – a view that could be perceived to promote business at all cost whilst appearing to be philanthropically inclined. It is also a concept that will be discussed in greater detail further on.

5.1.1.4 GLOBALIZATION AND NEO-LIBERALISM

Globalization is a process according to Wallerstein (2001) that has been in existence for around five hundred years. It is a term and a concept that has, however, according to Breidlid (2013: 16), been used as "buzzword" and a ready explanation for many changes that have occurred post Second World War. A concept with many interpretations and definitions (Martinez & Garcia, 2011), it is, according to Currie & Newson (1998), a phenomenon that should be understood as both an ideology as well as a set of economic imperatives. Crediting Theodore Levitt for coining the term 'globalization' in 1985, Stromquist (2002) describes globalization as the changes that occurred in consumption, production and investments in global economies. In an older but similar depiction Robinson (1991: 1) described globalization as "a highly dynamic process of growing

interdependence among nation states, with the implication that issues are becoming global rather than national, and that they demand global rather than national attention". Comparably, Habermas (2001: 66) referred to globalization as "the increasing scope and intensity of commercial, communicative, and exchange relations beyond borders". In a somewhat more disaffirming and negative tone, Waters (1995: 3) defined globalization as "A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding".

In relation to education, the 1998 European Commission's report on *Teaching and Learning: On route to the Learning Society,* noted three pressures associated with the development of globalization, and described them thus: "These three impulses are the advent of the information society, of scientific and technical civilization and the globalization of the economy. All three contribute to the development of a learning society" (European Commission, 1998: 21). In turn a learning society can be equated to a knowledge economy or a 'knowledge-based' society (World Bank Report, 2003) – a society, that the World Bank, in turn, asserted "relies primarily on the use of ideas rather than physical abilities and on the application of technology rather than the transformation of raw materials or the exploitation of cheap labour" (*ibid*: 3). In other words, development, according to Becker (2006), is reliant now on the knowledge and skills of all people rather than in the past where it was depended on the labour of many directed and based on the vision of an elite few.

Optimistically and more positively, globalization has been composed and promulgated as a set of processes rapidly integrating the world into one economic space by means of the internationalization and liberalization of trade, products and financial markets (Robertson 1992, Friedman 1999, Maduagwu 1999 and Schoorman 2010). Amongst a myriad of social, political, economic, technological, policies, practices, processes and potentials, globalization, according to Castells (1999), has at its core, "economic dimensions" that "work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale" (1999:4). Similarly, Maduagwu (1999:1) believed that globalization and the creation of the global village came about through the development and use of instantaneous interactions via networks and the media that have, in turn, been powered through the "revolutionary advances in information technology".

Said to bring about “an exchange of knowledge, culture, technology and people” (Chandra, 2005), it has, in the process, in Scott (2010) and Breidlid’s (2013) opinions, changed the lives of many people.

Globalization, according to its many adversaries, Meyer (2000), Williamson (2009) and Morrison (2010) amongst them, claim, however, that it is more radical and less positive and “pleasant” (Williamson, 2009: 32) than often espoused. Very pointedly, in this regard, and contrary to the claims made by institutions such as the World Bank, Bloom (2004: 61) expressed the opinion that “the benefits of globalization have gone disproportionately to wealthy countries”. Further to this Waters’ (1995: 3), caution is that “Globalization is the direct consequence of the expansion of the European culture across the planet vie settlement, colonization and cultural mimesis. It is bound up intrinsically with the pattern of capitalist development as it has ramified through political and cultural arenas”. Extending this less than positive view of globalization and the concept of a global village, Maduagwu’s (1999: 1) assessment was that “globalization has the potential of eroding national cultures and values”. Gibbons (1998b), Scholte (2001) and Scott (2010) had similar outlooks, with Gibbons describing globalization as the “transformation of local and even personal contexts of social experiences” (*ibid*: 4 - 5). In turn Scholte (2001:15) referred to globalization as “the processes whereby social relations become relatively delinked form territorial geography so that human lives are increasingly played out in the world in as single place”. A later prediction by Scott (2010: 3) was that “globalization may mean imposed economic migration, the destabilization of familiar communities and stable societies, and even separation from families and friends”. Similarly, Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton (1999: 1) describe the world as “rapidly being moulded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces, and that developments in one region of the world can have profound consequences for the life chances of individuals or communities on the other side of the globe".

It would seem that there are a number of reasons for the variance in opinions regarding globalization, as well as the progressive and constructive proclivity that it is so often presented with. Firstly, it is associated with positive changes following the Second World War (WW2). This is because its initial identity as a concept, and the means by which it first came to be understood, was, according to Robertson (1992), Zaretsky (1995) and

Epstein (2002), mirrored by a combination of worldwide developments, progress, creation of wealth, economic growth and reduced poverty rates. The second reason for its positive mantle is due to its many powerful and influential advocates. These include, but by no means are limited to, the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) (Mikesell 1994, Spring 1998, Goldman 2005 and World Bank 2003). Between them, these organizations developed and are believed to have particularly promoted and accelerated neoliberal policies following the oil-shock in 1973 and the global economic crash in the mid 80's (Williamson 2009, Lynch 2006 and Robertson 2006). The policies endorsed and encouraged by this group included economic liberalization, the ensuing promotion and increase in function and scale of the private sector and the promotion and increase in personal growth, wealth and power (Williamson, 2009). As part of their processes, they function, according to the Global Exchange (2011), to bring about the privatization of many formally state-owned industries, to free-up trade agreements, to facilitate the deregulation of trade, to increased fiscal austerity and decreased government spending. Less positively, Lynch (2014: 194) describes the changes associated with globalization and neoliberalism as "value-based, normative economic and social theory". These are a set of changes and conditions that many economists ascertained as not been sustainable (Williamson, 2009), and which Bjørnholt & McKay (2012) believe to have greatly contributed to the 2008 financial crisis.

5.1.1.5 GLOBALIZATION AND THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

According to Castells (1999:5), "globalization is not only a new historical reality" but one that is "enacted through the powerful medium of new information and communication technologies". As "education, information, science and technology became critical sources of value creation (and reward) in the information economy" (Castells, 1999:9), these advancements according to Richardson (1992), Spring (1998), Duderstadt (2000), World Bank (2003) and Borg & Mayo (2005), necessitated, in turn, an ever-expanding number of educated workers to run increasingly sophisticated operations and procedures - in both their work positions as well as, according the World Bank, "in their day-to-day lives" (2003: xvii). According to Spring (1998), World Bank Report (2003), Borg & Mayo (2005) and Singh & Papa (2010), this association occurred due to the developed of an ever-increasing dependence on the so-called global information economy and the 'Global

Information Society'. Movements brought about in turn through a combination of "the democratization of politics and society that followed World War II", "an expanding industrial economy that required more highly skilled and educated workers" (Gibbons, 1998a: 11), the effects of global neo-liberal policies, a shrinking world, increasing student numbers and diversity, and the introduction of new and constantly changing scientific and technological discoveries (Wright & Rabo, 2010). In a time of particular upheaval in the higher education sector, Garnoy & Rhoten (2002), Slaughter & Rhoades (2004), Cowen (1996), Shore (2007 & 2010), Kim (2008 in Kim 2010), Kim (2009b) and Wright & Rabo (2010) asserted this upheaval in the world's economies created a similar demand for human capital development. Counter, according to Singh (2004:8), to a long-held view propagated by the World Bank "that higher education offered lower individual and social returns than primary education", this upheaval caused a renewed interest in the higher education sector, and the purpose, forms and functions of its institutions. Education in itself, according to Gibbons, developed a newfound "attractiveness" (1998a: 11).

As a consequence of industry's new view of higher education and their stance on students as graduates and future 'knowledge workers', able to become functional and competitive in the 'knowledge economy', Cowen (1996), Slaughter & Leslie (1997 & 2004), Kelsey (1998), Chomsky (2000), Strathern (2000), Gibbs (2001), World Bank (2003), Fitzsimons (2004), Slaughter & Rhoades (2004), Wagner, (2004), Robertson 2006, Bundy (2006), (2006), Bragg (2007), Maitra (2007), Lewin (2008), Kim (2009b), Boyer & Rata (2010) and Wright & Rabo (2010) believed that this lead to a renewed interest in what the sector and its institutions could offer industry. As a result of this attention the higher education sector became to be identified as an applicable, effective and productive means to supply the adept, informed and adaptive 'knowledge worker' qualified for, and fit to perform, manage and control the new, different, ever-changing and progressively more exacting undertakings that were required for this 'new order' (Gibbons, 1998a; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Cowen, 1996; Shore, 2007 & 2010; Kim, 2008 in Kim, 2010; and Wright & Rabo, 2010). As English, according to Altbach (2004a: 7), was seen to be the language "at the pinnacle of scientific communication", wealthy English-speaking countries and their institutions soon began to "dominate the production and distribution of knowledge" (*ibid*: 10). This advantaged Western universities over others and contributing in turn to the neo-colonialism of English as a language. It also, according to Lynch (2014: 193), contributed

to “The economies of English-speaking countries (and English-based programmes within countries) remain[ing] the principle beneficiaries of the new higher education trade”. This positive turn of event for the higher education sector also occurred during a time when higher education was seen as an elite system (Lynch, 2014) that needed to be redefined as a service provider (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997 & 2004). It was also a sector that according to Deem (2004 & 2006), was required to reduce its portion of public expense. The set of solutions found for this problem was that higher education institutions were expected to “transition from elite to mass provision” (Bundy, 2006: 2), hasten their engagement and development with industry, as well as evolve and develop new ways to finance and “manage themselves and carry out their core activities” (*ibid*).

During this period European universities were further expected to comply with the conventions of the Bologna process of 1999 (European Commission, 2012) and the Lisbon Strategies which had created a European Higher Education Area (AHEA) (Kim, 2010). These criteria set a number of requirements for members, these included - creating comparable degrees and criteria, a unitary set of credits, European ‘content’, cooperation in quality assurance, promotion of mobility for staff and students and relevance to the labour market (Kim, 2010). The overall purpose of these forms of changes and developments to the higher education sector and their associated institution were developed and introduced, according to Trowler (2001: 4), to create a “controllable, flexible, attractive, relevant, efficient, economic and market-orientated higher education system”. As described by Maassen & Cloete (2002), these were aspects, which would “fit the globalization discourse, such as efficiency, effectiveness, and competition” (*ibid*: 32). As a result of this, in Currie & Newson’s (1998: 142) assessment, post-secondary institutions evolved “[n]ew ways of conceiving of and accomplishing their business: indeed, of defining its activities in terms of business rather than of education”. Of interest in relation to this study, according to Kim (2010: 578), “The key drivers behind the Bologna policy …. are employability, mobility and competitiveness”.

As a response to the reduction in financial provision and support from government coffers, institutions within the higher education sector began to investigate and introduce alternate means to fund their organization and to reduce costs to keep their establishments operational (Deem, 2004; Lynch, 2006; and Churchman & King, 2009). A number of

methods were adopted and implemented to this end. Using the changes that occurred in Britain and discussed by Deem (2004) as examples, these included the introduction of the follows: - "universities supplemented their government grant with money from industry" (*ibid:* 112), "closures and mergers of departments" (*ibid:* 113), "introduction of tuition fees paid by students themselves" (*ibid:* 114), there was a move "towards greater corporatism" (*ibid:* 114), "academic salaries began to deteriorate" (ibid: 114) as increases no longer matched inflation, fee paying "class sizes rose" (*ibid*: 114) and included "graduate contribution payment" (*ibid:* 115) and "cost centers" were introduced (*ibid:* 117) within departments and faculties. These measures, as further explained by Deem, had profound effects on staff numbers and morale, as these changes also involved "reducing staff and resources" (*ibid*: 118), "higher workloads (*ibid*: 120), a loss of "academic tenure" (*ibid:* 123) and the "*encouragement* of early retirement (*ibid*: 123). Another notable process that was introduced and discussed in more detail by Lynch (2006), included taking on "contract research" - initiated and paid for by industrial partners (*ibid:* 8).

5.1.1.6 MASSIFICATION AND STUDENTS AS CUSTOMERS

"Knowledge is our most powerful engine of production"
Alfred Marshall, (1890) Book IV, Chp. 1: 2)

Profound increases in student numbers occurred in the higher education sector post WW2 (Thomas, 2010), in the early 1960's (Deem, 2006) as well as within the last two decades (Bundy, 2006; Kim, 2009; Scott, 2010; and UNESCO, 2015). These, as mentioned previously, were due to a combination of global developments that led to the higher education sector being identified as an efficient means to develop the knowledge workers that the post-war industrial boom had created (Gibbons, 1998a; Castells, 1999; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Cowen, 2007; Shore, 2007 & 2010; Williamson, 2009; Kim, 2008 in Kim, 2010; Kim, 2009b; Wright & Rabo, 2010; Scott, 2010; Singh & Papa, 2010; and Lynch, 2014). The subsequent adoption of 'new managerial' structures and systems in higher education institutions led, in turn, to a greater interaction with industry (Deem, 2006 and Lynch, 2014). These consequently resulted in the many changes that were introduced to curricula, syllabi, research and teaching methods within individual institutions, and as well as within the general higher education sector as a whole (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Harvey, 2005; Boyer & Rata, 2010; Lynch, 2006 & 2014; and Mumper *et al,* 2011). The adoption of commercial procedures and the development of a

corporate public image (Svensson & Wood, 2007), in turn led to the concept of the student as customer as noted by Trowler (2001), Gumport (2000), Gibbon & Kabaki (2002), Clegg *et al* (2003), Harvey (2005), Svensson & Wood (2007), Boyer & Rata (2010) and Mumper *et al* (2011). This change in student 'status' as an occurrence within a dynamic and ever changing (Jonathan (2001) and now more financially viable sector (Kim, 2009b) was, in itself, not a contentious or controversial situation at the time. Rather, what did cause concern in Lynch's (2014) opinion, however, was the notion that "When universities openly and increasingly pursue commercialization" (Harkavy, 2006: 14 in Lynch, 2014: 202) "it powerfully legitimizes and reinforces the pursuit of economic self-interest by students and contributes to the widespread sense amongst them that they are in college solely to gain career skills and credentials". This Lynch believes caused students to "mutate silently from people with rights to education, to customers with preferences" (2014: 196). Of similar and equal concern, as expressed by Boyer & Rata (2010: 80), was the enhanced "social power" that students perceived they had as a result of "their new image as sovereign consumers". As part of their response to the myriad changes and challenges that 'globalization, neoliberalism, knowledge workers, knowledge society and modernization' and students as "customers with preferences" (Lynch, 2014: 196) brought to the sector as a whole, higher education institutions took on a culture of providing "real world" (Harley, 2002:189) programs geared to their customers (students), industry and market needs. In Slaughter & Leslie (1997 & 2004), Clegg (2010) and Lynch's (2006 & 2014) view – industry's applied knowledge and research needs become the new drivers and funders of institutions.

5.1.1.7 MARKETIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

As a consequence of these fiscal constraints many higher education institutions throughout the world re-formed themselves to become more like commercial and corporate enterprises (Svensson & Wood, 2007). This resulted in them initiating and adopting an outlook and a vision of themselves as a commodity that was traded and managed for financial gain. To this end they refashioned and rebranded themselves as service providers. It also led to academic managers utilizing corporate management systems (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997 & 2004; Clegg, Hudson & Steel 2003; Deem, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Deem, Hillyard & Reed 2008; Boyer & Rata, 2010; and Lynch, 2006 & 2014). This subsequently fostered the concept, and a created a view of students as the

all-important consumer of educational capital. This subsequently led to students and industry being treated as customers and clients and faculty as a labour source (Trowler, 2001; Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002; Clegg *et al,* 2003; Harvey, 2005; Svensson & Wood, 2007; Boyer & Rata, 2010; and Mumper, Gladieux, King & Corrigan, 2011). The effect of this, according to Williams (2016), resulted in new ways that institutions viewed knowledge and its production, as well as the ways in which institutions operated and were managed.

I would contend that Bertelsen (2008) would have agreed with the descriptions of the changes given above, as he asserted that in addition to the changes to the way knowledge was being viewed, and higher education promoted as and to businesses, he also identified that there were changes in the practices, procedures and culture of higher education processes. These changes, in his, Scott (2004), and Lynch's (2006 and 2014) opinions, altered the notion of higher education; and moved it from a position of teaching and learning, to a view and a position as a commercial entity – with what Lynch, (2006: 5) described as a "for-profit" or narrow profit-as-purpose focus. It also led to the expansion in the number of *satellite, branch, transnational education centers, borderless* and *off-shore campuses*, in 'foreign' countries' (Verbik & Merkley 2006 and Green, Eckel, Calderon & Luu 2007); creating a new set of conditions and opportunities for faculty in workplaces and environments distant from 'home'.

5.1.1.7.1 EXPATRIATION

Coupled to the general effects that globalization brought to the world's economies and to the specific effects that it brought to many institutions and the higher education sector in general, it also, according to Zaretsky (1995), led to an unprecedented expansion of expatriate workers in all sectors of the economy. As explained by Zaretsky (*ibid*: 252), in addition to an increase in the need for commodities and products to feed expanding businesses, the post WWII industrial boom also required an increasing number of people, able and qualified, to perform the tasks that the more numerous and concomitant technological operations required in the knowledge society. As first point to correct this situation, Zaretsky explains that "women and racial minorities" were offered up the opportunities to work in industries previously restricted to them (*ibid:* 252). In addition to this, as was the case of many of the increasingly required commodities and products, the additional numbers of people required for this expanding economic development were

identified as being available from previously colonized and outlying territories. As a result, "new immigrants and previously peripheral nationals" (*ibid:* 252) were invited by the expanding world economies of Europe and North America to move to their previously colonizing countries as a means to supplement their insufficient labour forces. As a consequence, individuals were encouraged by a range of incentives to transfer for varying periods of time, and for a variety of purposes to fill the ever-increasing global occupations and requirement in regions distant from their home countries (Johnson *et al,* 2003). According to Castells (1999), this expatriation - *ex* (out or away) + *patria* (family or homeland) (OSD, 2007), resulted in "highly skilled labour becoming increasingly globalized, with talent being hired around the globe when firms and governments really needed the talent, and are ready to pay for it" (*ibid:* 5).

Chandra (2005), Richardson & Zikic (2007) and Kim, (2009 & 2010) noted and described similar trends to Castells (1999), albeit in the higher education sector. For example they found that unlike the historical precedence (Sanderson, 2012) of encouraging academic links and movement through natural development, that globalization and the marketization of education generally, and higher education institutions specifically, had not only resulted in an increase in mobility and growth of the number of people undertaking work at internationally based satellite or branch campuses, but that the effort and drive in these initiative had developed into one that was seen to be more organized, competitive and strategic. Specifically, in this regard's (2010) opinion is that "Overall transnational academic mobility has been structured by political and economic forces determining the boundaries and direction of flows, and also involves personal choices and professional networks" (*ibid:* 577). Whatever individual's personal or professional reason have been, this trend has resulted in an increase in the number of self-initiated[7],

NOTE:[7] By means of an explanation to describe the type of expatriate that the participants of this study fall, and which may or may not have bearing on the study, Richardson & McKenna, (2003), Richardson & Zikic, (2007), Shah (2009), Biemann & Andersen (2010), Doherty, Dickmann & Mills (2011) and Al Ariss & Crowely-Henry (2013) have reference. They describe expatriates as transnational migrants who work and live in a country different from their own, for a year or more, under limited, but renewable contracts. Further to this, "independent internationally mobile professionals (McKenna & Richardson (2007:307) self-initiated or self-initiating expatriates (SIE) are a sub-set of expatriates. SIE's are individuals who have sought out their own positions, and who have been hired directly by an organization, or agency, for the country in which they work as a transnational migrant (Richardson, 1992; Richardson & McKenna, 2001; Festervand & Tillery, 2001; Carr, Kerr & Thorn 2005; Lee 2005; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Lewin, 2008; Kim, 2009a & b; Wright & Rabo, 2010; Selmer & Lauring, 2010; Biemann & Andersen, 2010; Doherty, Dickmann, & Mills, 2011; Reynolds, 2012; and Al Ariss & Crowely-Henry 2013). These descriptions of expatriates or

transnational expatriate educators willing and able to move to countries and regions that are not only distant in terms of range or mileage from their own, but distant in terms of familiar religions, culture and structures (Richardson, 1992; Richardson & McKenna, 2001; Festervand & Tillery, 2001; Carr, Kerr & Thorn 2005; Lee 2005; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Lewin, 2008; Kim, 2009a & 2009b; Wright & Rabo, 2010; Selmer & Lauring, 2010; Biemann & Andersen, 2010; Doherty, Dickmann, & Mills, 2011; Reynolds, 2012; nd Al Ariss & Crowely-Henry 2013).

In a preview of related research, the literature shows that a fair amount of inquiry into internationalization and marketization of 'neoliberal market-framed higher education systems' and the concomitant effects on, and of, students has been conducted in a number of studies (Cowen, 2007; Shore, 2007 & 2010; Kim, 2008 in Kim, 2010; and Wright & Rabo, 2010). There have, however, been fewer studies on the faculty or educators who have become involved in transnational education and the systems, beliefs and practices they call upon in order to 'belong' to their new associations. As a result - little is known as to what the effects this has had on both themselves, and on those with whom they work, teach and interact with personally and professionally. The research that has been done on expatriate faculty's cross-cultural involvement with 'foreign' people, structures, ideas and practices seems to have centered around more personal issues of how they cope with, adjust to, and fit in with their new physical and social surrounds such as climate, accommodation, food and health facilities, as well as how they went about relating to, and integrating with other expatriates and local people (Johnson *et al,* 2003; Richardson & McKenna, 2001 & 2003; Chandra, 2005; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Haslberger & Brewster, 2008; Churchman & King, 2009; and Kim, 2010). Encouragingly, the research that has been conducted on expatriate educators personal and social requirements and interactions (Razzano, 1996 &1996; Bird *et al,* 1999; Kruger & Dungy, 1999; and Richardson & McKenna, 2002) found that expatriate educators generally

SIE's, differentiates them from other transnational migrants who may either be on a sojourn or short trip away from their work, deployed by a parent company to work for a period in an outpost station or branch, or are immigrants with permanent residency status in the country in which they are employed. SIE's are considered, according to Selmer & Lauring (2010), in a different light from people who have been sent by their companies to work away from their home country for any length of time and for whatever purpose, as it has been found to have significant bearing on their retention and performance.

obtained a personal self-efficacy that included, amongst a number of positive attributes, self-awareness and confidence. Related to this, research that was conducted by Richardson & McKenna (2001 & 2003), Chandra (2005), Richardson & Zikic (2007), Churchman & King (2009), Kim (2010) and Selmer & Lauring (2010), found that expatriate educators felt that as result of the multicultural and international associations and relationships that they had been able to form during their residencies in other countries, that they had not only gaining a personally acquired worldview, but that they had benefited from obtaining a better understanding of other cultures, traditions, systems and practices. In addition to this there is also an appreciation, as noted in a 'Report of the Global Commission on International Migration' (2005: 31), that transnational migration promotes "brain circulations". Given the notion that expatriates return, frequently, if not permanently, to their home countries, they impart and "share the benefits of the skills and resources they have acquired while living and working abroad" (*ibid:* 31).

While literature on expatriation and expatriates does acknowledges that there are negative costs involved in transnational work and life experiences for some individuals who found fitting into their temporary situations untenable - due to people, social and cultural structures being incompatible with their own (Bochner, 1982,; Goodwin & Nacht, 1991; Mallon & Cohen, 2000; Richardson & McKenna, 2001 & 2003; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2005; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Biemann & Andersen, 2010; and Selmer & Lauring, 2010), little research appears to have been done on what these are, and how they affected this faction of expatriates. Related to this, Richardson & McKenna (2001: 76) suggest that "further research should be undertaken into self-selected expatriates more generally and in order to build a more comprehensive picture of the 'motives to go' and the experiences of expatriation".

5.1.1.7.2 CONTROVERSY AND THE TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATOR

Further to the idea that additional research should be conducted on expatriates as suggested by Richardson & McKenna (2001), is the concern expressed by Kim (2009b: 399 in Kim, 2010) who believes that while the "[s]ocial capital and cultural values" of transnational faculty are "strategically welcome", they are also, according to her, "not always appreciated in the various national and local contexts" (*ibid:* 299). This, I contend, is similar to the concerns that were expressed by Fairclough (2006), MacPherson (2011) and Bailey (2013). They too felt that little enquiry had been conducted in the

understanding and consequences of “recontextualization”, colonization, assimilation and appropriation - the concepts they describe as involving the homogenizing and hegemonic effects ‘western’ expatriate faculty typically bring with them to their expatriate workplaces (Fairclough, 2006: 29).

The easy acceptance, tolerance and understanding by individuals nowadays of global occurrences, information, structures and culture along with those more locally based assimilating and influencing factors - dubbed ‘glocalisation’ (Robertson, 1992 and Thompson, 1995) - are issues relevant to the participants of this study. According to Fairclough (2006), Moutsious (2010), MacPherson, (2011) Bailey (2013) and Salomone (2013), the social practices, values, beliefs, discourses and behaviour associated with western cultures, are very often inadvertently ‘dispensed’ by the expatriate educators along with their English’ language skills and their other more specific and specialized ‘knowledge capital’. Although it is acknowledged that these neo-colonizing influences are most often unknowingly and unwittingly imposed on students, local co-workers and other non-western colleagues, it produces situations that, according to Giddens (1989), result in traditional societies capitulating to Western ideas and political power.

Related to this and in Bailey’s (2013) opinion, Western “knowledge and epistemologies” colonize “minds, culture and knowledge” (2013:624), and creates, as expressed by Singh (2004), the “emergence of new global cultural flows which shape new constructions of local identity and community” (2004:110). In addition to ‘glocalisation’ (Robertson, 1992: 9) and Thompson (1995: 32) believes that homogeneity has “deterritoralizing and ambivalent effects” on one’s self-identity. In turn, and in the limiting constraints of “particular places” it has also, according Fairclough (2006: 20), the effect of “undermining the security and certainties of being tied to a particular place” (*ibid*: 107). As such it is expected that as a result of all these factors, as well as the factors that Richardson & McKenna (2002: 76) refer to as “[t]he complexity and contradiction of the personal change and learning people can experience during expatriation”, that the participating higher education faculty in this study will also have both affected change on the people and structures under their influence (morphogenesis) - as well as having undergone change within themselves (double morphogenesis). Changes that possibly would also result in change to their roles and identities (triple morphogenesis) (Archer, 1995 & 2000). These

aspects will be interrogated and discussed in greater detail in this, as well as in Act Six of this study).

5.1.1.8 MANAGERIALISM OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR

As a consequence of these changes, and having, according to Barnett (2000: 32), to "engage with wider society and to contribute to its intellectual capital in ever wider forms", institutions began to take on new operational and management systems referred to as 'new managerialism' (Deem, 2004 and Deem *et al* 2008). In Deem's (2004: 110) opinion new managerialism was a political term quoined to sell the "processes of 'modernizing' public services". This set of changes, according to Kim (2009b: 397), resulted in universities being "judged and steered by the criteria of socio-economic usefulness". This in turn resulted in academic managers organizing their departments along the lines of the private sector; processes that generally included the controlling and management of budgets by increasing income and reducing expenditure, as well as by introducing and utilizing performance management indicators for staff promotion and advancement. As an explanation of this, according to Lynch (2014: 195), "when implemented in the public sector, new managerialism focuses service provision on outcomes measured in terms of performance indicators and ranking ... and project-led contractual employment arrangements rather than permanency".

Meyer & Rowan (1977), DiMaggio & Powell (1991), Scott (1991) and Gibbons (1998b) recognized and noted that as early as the 1970's institutions were no longer establish themselves and operating as cultural institutions. Rather, they were fashioning, functioning and marketing themselves as technical organizations. As part of these changes Rusch & Wilbur (2007), Kim (2009b), Clegg (2010), Gonzales & Núñez (2014) and Lynch (2014) described institution's and faculty's 'resources, citation records, and international research reputation's' being increasingly valued and measured on an economic scale through audits. In addition to these corporate systems, Deem's (2004), Kim (2009b), Clegg (2010) and Lynch (2014) noted that institutions also took on administrative, managerial and appraisal mechanisms for quality assurance purposes. Barnett (2005), I suggest, would not only have concurred with these observations but seemed to support these ideas even more strongly as to notion this opinion was that new knowledge society not only 'repudiates' that "the university falls short of mirroring all of

the knowledge in modern society" but that as "manifestly complex institutions" it "calls for the management of complexity: systems, infrastructure, values, information, income streams, knowledge structures, disciplines, discourses and activities" (*ibid:* 289).

In addition to fiscal and human resource management procedure and performance management requirement, new administrative, managerial and appraisal mechanisms and practices also thus began to be introduced as a means to monitor and regulate each higher education institution's performance for efficiency, sustainability and competitiveness (Kim, 2009b; Meek, Goedegebuure, Santiago & Carvalho, 2010; Clegg 2010, Galaz-Fontes 2010, Gonzales & Núñez, 2014; and Lynch, 2014). This resulted in each institution's relevance and efficiency (knowledge) measured through their open knowledge structures and social interests or industry related programs (Scott, 1991). It also included their applied research production and their (related) third stream incomes (Meek *et al,* 2010 and Galaz-Fontes, 2010 Gonzales & Núñez, 2014). According to Lynch (2014) this new audit culture of "inspection, control and regulation" also "developed into a whole new system of disciplinary regulation" (*ibid*: 195). In turn, this culture of review further developed into the evaluation of the core functions of faculty - those members of staff whose competencies (Mirrelli, 1998) and roles (Thomas & Biddle, 1979 and Biddle, 1986) describe as traditionally being associated with the design, transfer of subject knowledge and skills in fields and sectors (Zafeiriou, Nunn & Ford, 2001 and Mumper *et al*, 2011), to being evaluated against their economic value as sources of labour, or, as more succinctly put by Kim (2009b: 397), by their "socio-economic usefulness". In Lynch's (2014: 194) view the purpose of being "Measured through audits" developed as a result of assessing the best means to meeting financial targets.

In Scott (2004 & 2007), Bertelsen (2008) and Kim's (2009b) opinion, these changes not only altered and impacted on the concept of knowledge, and the way in which it is acquired and disseminated; it also impacted on the field, values, narratives and discourses in which academics work. Of particular relevance to this study Shore & Wright (1999: 559) described the "new audit culture" as "…a vehicle for changing the way people relate to the workplace, to authority, to each other and, most importantly, to themselves". A concept that Scott (2004 & 2007), Clegg (2008 & 2010) and Churchman & King (2009) would, I believe, have readily agreed with - given that they had all expressed the view

that these changes have contributed to the changing perspective that faculty have of their roles in their workplaces, and ultimately their views of themselves as academics. More importantly, in my view, these changes have greatly affected academic identity as according to a host of scholars going back many years, academic identity is based on values such as professionalism, intellectual curiosity, collective ideals and community of practice, collegial governance, professional/individual autonomy, academic freedom, discipline, scholarship, service to the community and other ideological rewards (Kuh & Whitt, 1986; Albert & Whetten, 1998; O'Neill & Meek, 1994; Ramsden, 1998; Harley, 2002; Scott, 2004 & 2007; Clegg, 2008 & 2010; and Le Grange, 2009). These are aspects that will be seen to be pertinent to South African academics following the changes that were introduced to the higher education sector post 1994. Further to this, as expressed by Kim (2008 in Kim, 2009b: 398), this "new mode of knowledge production and the corporatization of the university has led, according in "a new type of mass movement in academics" – aspects that will also be seen as being important to this study in relation to the participants becoming expatriate educators moving to work in the higher education sector in Abu Dhabi.

While many scholars agree that the marketization of higher education and its institutions, the massification of student numbers, and the new entrepreneurial activities and managerial performance measures adopted in a number of country's higher education institutions led to their competitiveness, their sustainability, their financial viability and ultimately their survival; they also lamented that the increasingly restrictive and controlled context, coupled with an unprecedented rate of change (Marginson, 2000 and Marginson & Consindine 2000) also brought about a number of aspects contrary to collegiality, innovation and indeed the identity of many faculty (Churchman & King, 2009). To this Scott (2010: 2) expressed the view in that

> "The whole *habitus* of higher education is changing. It has become a social, as much as an academic enterprise; or, conversely, it has become part of the knowledge-service industry - the supply chain of the knowledge economy, producing highly skilled workers and useful knowledge".

5.2 PARTS: BACKDROP AND PROP TO NATIONAL TRENDS - SOUTH AFRICA 1994 - 2008

As briefly summarized in Act One, 1994 South Africa was, for the first time in its 300-year history, a democratic country and one that was proudly presided over by the world-renowned and much revered Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (Meredith, 2010 and Sampson, 2011). Having revoked the mantel of Afrikaner nationalism and the apartheid regime through its first democratic elections, the South African people, appointed the Government of National Unity (GNU) to right the wrongs of the past. Having used the deeply lopsided and broken socio-economic situation as part of its *Freedom Charter* and winning election manifesto, the African National Congress (ANC) led government recognized that it had to introduce measures and create systems and structures in order to alleviate poverty and other dire and inequitable conditions inherited from the former government. Job-creation, and a South African workforce that was able to partake and compete in global markets were seen as primary means to achieve these aims (Chomsky, 2000; Blunkett, 2000; Castells, 2001; Kraak, 2004; OECD, 2008; and CHE, 2004). In this regard, education - particularly higher education, as promulgated by the Department of Education (DoE, 1996a & b, 1997a & b, 2001a & b, 2002a, b & c) and supported by the Ministries of Labour, Finance, and Trade & Industry (Fataar, 2003), was allied to these changes. The DoE is on record, early on in the process of transformation of the higher education sector and systems, for having affirmed that "For us, therefore, education is pivotal to economic prosperity, assisting South Africans – personally and collectively – to escape the "poverty trap' characterizing many of our communities" (DoE, 1996b). Further to this opinion the department expressed the view that it was important to "develop the skills and innovations necessary for national development and successful participation in the global economy" (DoE, 1997: 5). This was an outlook that was also, according to Fataar (2003), supported by the Ministries of Labour, Finance, and Trade & Industry as they had all agreed that a trained and skilled workforce made up of South Africans was the means to produce "the requisite knowledge workers to generate economic growth" (*ibid*: 33). This was also the underlying concept that was used to begin the transformation of the inherited and inherently "elite higher education system" in 1994 South Africa into the more globally recognized, and locally required, "mass higher education system" (OECD, 2008: 339).

In addition to the role that the higher education sector was charged to achieve by reducing the "enormous economic challenges" (Kraak, 2001: 3) and "the vast challenges of inequality, widespread poverty and the need for economic growth" (CHE, 2016: Forward) that were being faced by the fledgling country; higher education was a sector that was also seen as being pivotal in bringing about changes that could "contribute to the transformation of society" (CHE, 2016: Forward). In line with collective educational discourses that included "learning for improving job skills and economic development" (Spring, 2008: 332), the South African government's Department of Education believed that higher education could contribute to the building and development of "a new non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society committed to equity, justice and a better life for all" (DOE, 1997: 5 /1.6). This, the DOE later expressed was for the purpose of bringing about "well-being, respect and expression for all South Africans" (DoE, 2001b: 4). These aims and goals consequently translated into the need for a number of extensive and sweeping changes in the higher education sector, as like most other sectors it mirrored South African society at large - as it was characterized by racial segregation, binary divisions and wide divides between institutions' financial and human resources (CHE, 2004 & 2016). As a result, a number of changes were made to structures and policies within the higher education sector after 1994.

According to Kraak (2004), the changes to policies and procedures that were introduced and adopted by the higher education sector post 1994 were as a result of both "economic" and "educational responses" to both internal national, as well as to external global pressures (*ibid:* 2). The reforms that these policies were intended to tackle, according to Maassen & Cloete (2002), included firstly "the higher education reform agenda which emphasized national topics such as redress, democratization and equity" (*ibid:* 22), and secondly "the global reform agenda which promoted issues such as efficiency, effectiveness, competition and responsiveness" (*ibid:* 22). In the opinion of a number of prominent educationalists, these agendas were symbolic rather than practical (Lang, 2006), or in conflict with each other; thereby rendering them mutually unachievable (Badat, Barron, Fisher, Pillay & Wolpe, 1994; Jansen, 2001a; Jonathan, 2001; Kraak, 2004; Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002; and Maassen & Cloete, 2002). Parsons (2001 in Fataar, 2003: 32), however, had a somewhat different stance on the reasons for the policy changes not achieving their intended goals. In his opinion the reasons for their failure

was because the policies did not stick to their intended educational purposes and instead diverged from these and adopted ideas "from outside higher education, from the macroeconomic arena, global and market forces, and broad ideological and discursive contestations" (Parsons, 2001: 94). On this point I tend to agree more with Parsons (2001) than with Kraak (2004). The reason for this is that the Department of Education appears to have been very aware of the international trends that pertained at that time, and to this is noted to having taken "a conscious decision to understand the emerging form and function of globalization, and locate our country as a competitive economy within this context." (DoE, 2001b: 4). I would further contend that Jansen (2001a) would also have agreed with Parsons (2001), as he expressed that because the principles and the practices with which the policies during that period "routinely reflected discourses and practices associated with globalization" (*ibid:* 168) that this caused the new government to leaning towards the principles and aims that would lead to economic development, rather than to those that would lead to social equity. Extending this point, Fataar (2003) further believed that the "Globally inspired processes" that included "an emphasis on greater efficiency and fiscal rectitude, quality assurance, fitness for/and of purpose of programmes and institution, and managerialism" (*ibid:* 33) that were adopted and implemented by the Department of Education just post 1994, were instituted in order to have a positive and "decisive impact on the policy force field" (*ibid:* 33). These processes unfortunately tended to "confounded expectations" rather than to transform the "higher education terrain" (*ibid:* 33). Going further to describe what he considered to be the incompatible "influences of globalization" (*ibid*: 31) and the policies adopted by the South African higher education sector, and this being another reason for the Department of Education failing to achieve its aims and goals, was, according to Fataar, due to the DOE adopting policies and systems that did not match the new fiscal framework that the post-apartheid government was impelled to alter in 1996. This unbalanced arrangement he described as "a *struggle for alignment* between policy discourse and the state's emergent macro development orientation" (*ibid*: 31). In this regard, according to Fataar (2003), Kraak (2004) and (CHED (2016), the reason for this misalignment was that the new government, having originally implemented changes from a "social democratic platform" (Kraak, 2001: 21), was soon constrained by inadequate financing. This recession was evidenced in the changes to the *Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP)* – a policy and set of procedures that was originally introduced in 1994 and designed to bring

about economic and social changes to the country. These changes, as a result of 'fiscal realities' impelled the new government to alter the RDP program in 1996 to a "neo-liberal economic rationalism" (*ibid).* This resulted in a new macro-economic fiscal policy of G*rowth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) (Terreblanche, 2003; Visser, 2004; Meredith, 2010; and Sampson, 2011). The changes that were brought to "the state's emergent macro development orientation" were, according to Fataar (2003: 31), implemented on the premise that this new framework would bring about job creation. A tactic that was introduced to create work by way of what Terreblanche, (2003) described as a "trickle-down approach" (*ibid:* 83), it was also intended to promote prosperity created by means of "redistribution through growth" (*ibid*: 435). As explained by Oldfield (2001: 35 in Fataar, 2003: 33) this meant that "The state's preference for fiscal conservatism would require that sectors like higher education had to transform on the basis of a reduced budgetary framework and an emphasis on "efficiency and cutback' – aspects that previously prosperous, and long-established global institutions, were battling to deal with – especially given the global higher education's financially reduced economic positions (Fataar, 2003; Deem, 2004; and Lynch, 2016). This reality, of the post 1994 "fiscal rectitude" (Fataar, 2003: 35), as well as other less-than-popular and less-successful features (still to be discussed) adopted from global trends in the international higher education sector, were issues that the South African DoE did not unfortunately factor in when it looked to introduce international global movements to the national higher education sector. As a consequence a number of policies and other structural changes that were introduced after 1994 not only contributed to the participants of this study leaving their institutions in South Africa to work in Abu Dhabi - as they were no longer being able to match their sense-of-self and their personal concerns with the changes that these new structures had brought about, but were changes that, to some extent, as mentioned previously, brought about a set of consequences that I believe are unfortunately still being faced by the current South African higher education sector. (With regards to this comment, only those structures that affected the participants of this study will be discussed in the section titled T_1 Cultural and Structural Conditions: Higher Education South Africa 1994 – 2008).

The forthcoming section on the cultural and structural condition that were introduced within the higher education sector post-1994 by the Government of National Unity (GNU),

were, as previously described set against the backdrop of a country beset by social, political and economic pressures. Paradoxically, it was also a time of heady enthusiasm and anticipation as all South Africans began to enjoy being part of the 'New Rainbow Nation'. A nation previously considered to be the 'polecats' of the world (Meredith, 2010 and Sampson, 2011), was being embraced by the international community and being invited to participate in the activities of the global village. Having been so effectively isolated because of its prior political and social practices and having been shunned for so many years on so many fronts, this turnabout was liberating in so many dimensions (Mbeki, 1998 and Nationsonline, 2016). Tired, therefore of the old regime and all the negative effects that the Nationalist government had brought to every aspect of society, South Africans - including those in the higher education sector, were happy to look beyond its borders and were greatly anticipating being part of what Thabo Mbeki later described as the 'African Renaissance' (1998). As a result of this new feeling of inclusion, as well as a desire to be part of the expanding world and 'knowledge economy', many of the factors that influenced the creation and development of new systems and structures in the country generally, as well as in the higher education sector specifically, emanated, according to Bundy (2006) and Fataar (2003), from developments and changes that had taken place beyond South African borders many years previously.

The discussions that follow include the international influences and changes that where introduced to the material interests, structures, systems and conditions within the South African higher education sector between 1994 and 2008. These influences and changes were later summarized by Fataar (2003: 33) as including "an emphasis on greater efficiency and fiscal rectitude, quality assurance, fitness for/and of purpose of programmes and institutions, and managerialism". "In this process the particular social identities of individual social actors are forged from agential collectivities in relation to the array of organizational roles which are available in society at that specific point in time" (*ibid:* 256). As forthcoming participant comments will show, and in line with Archer's (1995: 253) morphogenetic framework in which she describes double morphogenesis as being "the self-same sequence by which agency brings about social and cultural transformation is simultaneously responsible for the systemic transformation of social agency itself." - it will be shown that the changes that agency brought about within the South African higher education sector resulted, in turn, in changes to academic agency

itself. This in turn resulted in many academic agents no longer recognizing their professional purposes and roles. This is akin to Archer's "triple morphogenesis" which she described as the process in which "particular social identities of individual social actors are forged from agential collectivities in relation to the array of organizational roles which are available in society at that specific point in time" (*ibid*: 256). This resulted in the many academics in the South African higher education contexts questioning their principles and roles within their institutions. Unfortunately, in the case of the participants of this study they were unable to reconcile these with their academic identities. This led them to resign and relocated to Abu Dhabi to pursue their careers as expatriate educators in what they hoped would be a more harmonious set of professional constructs[8].

Greatly influenced by dominant global higher education discourses that underpinned the concepts that education and knowledge had become "democratized" and "commodified" (CHE, 2016: 14), "spawning changes in organizational structures, the size and shape of systems, in curriculum, modes of delivery, research and community engagement" (*ibid:* 10), the new South African government, not only envisioned higher education as that which (Castells, 1999: 9) described as a "critical sources of value creation (and reward) in the information economy", it also saw it as a means to create and establish a "more equitable, engaged and democratic society" (CHE, 2016: 20). To this end it was also seen as a structure that should be transformed from an "elite higher education system" to a "mass higher education system" (OECD, 2008: 339). In emulating other 'developments' that the government believed had contributed to the expansion of the global and knowledge economy, as well as incorporating the overarching social need that the higher education system was expected to correct through its "principles of non-racism, non-sexism and democracy" (OECD, 2008: 328) - principles that in turn were founded on "human rights and democratic values" as set out in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (*ibid*: 126); the South African government set about creating and establishing a set of arrangements that would produce a globally based, and socially just, higher education sector for the purpose creating a "more equitable, engaged and democratic society" (CHE, 2016: 20). As noted in the 2008 OECD report, higher education in South Africa was also seen as one of the means to address "the tensions between

[8] These will be discussed in the section on identity titled *Understanding the People.*

equity and development". As a means therefore to satisfy general social goals as well as specific educational goals, the emphasis and focus of higher education was place on: "high level skills development, the need to demonstrate quality and greater accountability for the way in which public moneys were being used, a concern to further economic growth (sic) – as well as the need for redress and transformation relating to peculiarities of South Africa's apartheid past" (CHE, 2016: 20).

5.2.1 INTRODUCING THE CHANGES - HIGHER EDUCATION AS A PUBLIC GOOD - TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL IMPERATIVES -AKA MASSIFICATION

One of the aims of the ANC's reformation of the higher education sector was to conduct a negotiated transformation (NCHE 1996). To remain true to this ambition, the ANC coordinated, and ultimately accepted recommendation from years of research on higher education by a number of groups. These including but were not limited to the Centre for Education Policy Development, Union of Democratic University Staff and the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) (DoE, 2001a; Bunting, 2002; CHE, 2004; Bundy, 2006; and Badat, 2010). As a consequence of these proposals, the Office of the President nominated the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) to negotiate, debate and formulate new higher education policy in order to "preserve what is valuable and to address what is defective and requires transformation" (NCHE 1996: 1) (Badat, 1999 & 2010; NCHE, 1996; Jansen & Taylor, 2003; CHE, 2004; and OECD 2008). Accepting and recognizing that their task was to "break out of the academic isolation of the apartheid years" (Cloete, 2002: 94), to transform the "moral, social and economic" deficiencies created in the past, and to grasp, what was described in its 1996 reports as "a current context of unprecedented national and global opportunities and challenges" (NCHE, 1996:1 and DoE, 1996:9); the commission, in consultation and in conjunction with a number of stakeholders - and following an exhaustive process, was able, by the end of 1996, to recommend a number of proposals for the post-apartheid higher education sector. Comprised in a report titled - 'A Framework for Transformation' (NCHE, 1996), the proposals, according to Bundy (2006: 11) and a report by the OECD (2008: 329), identified three central attributes for a future, transformed, unitary higher education system. These included increased participation; greater responsiveness; and increased co-operation and partnerships (NCHE, 1996: 6 - 8).

In aligning these proposals with the recent shifts in the global higher education sector (NCHE, 1996) - increasing participation meant 'massification' of student numbers, (NCHE, 1996; Kraak, 2004; and Bundy, 2006). A greater responsiveness meant a shift from a closed to a more open and interactive higher education system" (NCHE, 1996: 5). To these, its purpose was also be "responsive to social, cultural, political and economic changes in its environment" (NCHE, 1996:6; Kraak, 2004 and Bundy, 2006). Finally an "increased co-operation and partnership" with stakeholders (NCHE, 1996:7) and in line with global practices (Deem, 2004; Deem *et al,* 2008; and Lynch, 2006 & 2014) meant that representation from business & industry and the community at large, would need to be included into the forums and debates in which future policies on higher education, their institutions and their programs would be made.

As a result of this framework, as well as propositions made in the Green Paper of 1996 (DoE, 1996a) and the Education White paper 3 of 1997(DoE, 1997), a set of proposals regarding the transformation of the higher education sector was laid out in the National Education Policy Act (DoE, 1997) and confirmed in the National Plan on Higher Education (NPHE) (DoE, 2001a). In essence these proposals included the introduction of a "single nationally coordinated system of higher education, increased access and higher participation rates, increased responsiveness to societal and economic needs, programme differentiation and the development of institutional niche areas and a planned and co-ordination imperative" (Kraak, 2001: 2). Designed to bring about an alignment of higher education institutions - their policies and programs, to both international standards and structures, as well as a means to streamlining the number and costs of its organizations and institutions, the concepts of the new proposals, in summary, included changes to the legal status of institutions, changes to the way institutions were to be organized and administered, and changes to their structures, roles and functions. They also included changes to their programs, their qualifications, and finally change to their teaching and learning methods and their research production (Kraak, 2001 & 2004, Bunting, 2002; Bundy, 2006; CHE, 2004; and Young, 2010).

As consultative as the many exercises that culminated in this set of proposals was, and as comprehensive their subsequent policies may had been, the policies, according to a number of scholars, were flawed from their foundation. As such, according to Badat *et al*

(1994); Jansen (2001a); Jonathan (2001); Fataar (2003), Kraak (2001 & 2004) and Bundy (2006), they were unfortunately destined to be challenging. Rather than being original and having been creating to truly matched the South African conditions, the policies were, according to Bundy (2006: 10 in Marginson & Consindine, 2000: 1983), "directly imitative; not so much an exercise of autonomy as a reactive response to exogenous pressures, drawing upon an imported repertoire". Fataar's (2003) view of the policies was that they were compromised from the outset. This was because he believed that whilst the NCHE "ultimately produced a document that satisfied most of the stakeholders" it "did not satisfy the need for a conceptual approach to policy that could inform key trade-offs between competing interests…" (*ibid*: 34) – meaning, as previously mentioned, the policies did not satisfy either the economic or the educational imperatives of the country (Badat *et al*, 1994; Jansen, 2001a; Jonathan, 2001; Kraak, 2001; Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002; and Maassen & Cloete, 2002). Further to this, in Fataar's opinion, the policies were also flawed as their implementation "was overtaken by the changing demands placed on the state for decisive policy and for alignment with the government's chosen macro-economic path after 1996" (2003: 35). In other words, the policy changes were hamstrung by a lack of funds required to effectively bring about changes in the sector - as noted in the previous discussion on RDP and GEAR.

These and other issues will be examined following the discussion of the effects and consequences of these proposals have been presented. It should be noted, however, that only the changes that were enacted between the period of 1997 and 2008 - the time by which the participants of this study had relocated to Abu Dhabi, and which (as seen in the section on identity), elicited comment by participants are included in the following discussions.

5.2.2 CO-OPERATION AND PARTNERSHIPS – A CO-ORDINATED NATIONAL SYSTEM AKA - MANAGERIALISM

Unaware of the direction in which the future trends and developments of these new policies were to take higher education, the government and DoE continued on their path to integrate and transform the sector in order to promote access, participation and growth. In order to achieve their aims of having a "national coordinated system" (NCHE, 1996: 8) and a single "planned, governed and funded" system (NCHE, 1996: 10) the government

had first to create a unified administration to run the higher education sector. This was seen as an urgent and necessary set of changes as the post-apartheid higher education sector, as a consequence of its political and social history, had inherited an education 'system' that consisted of a number of divided and duplicated departments, policies, acts and institutions that operated as separate entities across the country. These duplications resulted in gross inefficiencies and inequality. It also resulted in a sector that was essentially failing the country in terms of the new government and the DoE's aspirations and ambitions of building a strong economic and democratic country - with citizens competent, prepared and able to participate in, and contribute to, the local economy in order for the country to ultimately compete with global markets (DoE, 1997; DoE, 2001b; and CHE, 2016).

One of the most extensive structural changes that ensued as a result of the implementation of these decisions occurred in the second half of the 1990's. This involved 19 former ethnically and racially divided education departments - which had previously served regional areas up until 1997, being combined under the jurisdiction of one minister within the national Department of Education (Bunting, 2002). With the legal foundation and framework provided by the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 (OECD, 2008) this constitutionally generated National Department of Education was charged with the exclusive governance, responsibility and policy formulation of the whole education sector (OECD, 2008). As a consequence, it was tasked and "sought to create a quality, efficient, accountable and effective public service" (DoE, 2001b: 7).

Another notable and ambitious change that took place between 2002 and 2005 was the consolidation and reduction - through a process referred to as merges, of 21 universities, 15 technikons (institutions for advanced vocational learning) (CHE, 2000 and Bunting, 2002), 120 colleges of education, 24 nursing and 11 agricultural colleges, and incorporating them into three institutional types, that ultimately consisting of a total of 23 institutions (OECD, 2008). As these institutions were also formally further divided along racial and ethnic lines, their consolidation was, in my opinion, conceived to contribute to the NCHE's promulgated objective to 'increase co-operation and partnerships" (CHE, 2000: 14). Similarly, however, as that which occurred in the British universities during the 80's (Deem, 2004 and Bundy, 2006), these mergers, unfortunately, and as will be seen

in participant's contributions, seemed to spiral down at institutional level into a quagmire of cost cutting processes, officious managerial systems and structures, mistrust and personal affronts and a very low morale amongst faculty.

Following what the 2008 OECD report described as 'not' having been "achieved without difficulty or disputation" (OECD, 2008: 126), the new higher education landscape in the new millennium consisted of six Comprehensive Universities (institutions made up of departments and programs from former universities, technikons and some teacher training colleges); six Universities of Technology (former technikons with some having incorporated teacher training), leaving 11 traditional universities remaining unchanged - except for those that had also incorporated teacher training education to their set of programs (Bunting, 2002; Jansen & Taylor, 2003; OECD, 2008 and Chipunza & Gwarinda, 2010). The set of policies that brought about this systemic reconfiguration of institutions was linked, according to Fataar (2003), Bundy (2006) and the OECD (2008) to a "crisis ridden" Fataar (2003: 36) set of situations in a number of previously disadvantaged institutions (historically black higher education institutions). It was also, as described by Fataar (2003), caused by a general set of problems in the higher education system - aspects that I contend had, as early as 2001, been identified in the NPHE(2001) report as a threat to the development of a "single, national, coordinated but diverse higher education system" (*ibid*: 8). More specifically, according Fataar (2003), the reconfiguration of the higher education landscape through mergers was in response to the recognition by the DoE of the apparent stagnation and lack of change in the higher education sector despite the flurry of policies that followed the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE 1996), the Green Paper of 1996 (DoE, 1996a) and the Education White Paper 3 of 1997. This apparent state of affairs, in my opinion, related to the criticism lodged by a number of academics including Kraak (2001), Jansen & Taylor (2003), Bundy (2006) and Badat (2010) to name but a few, and best expressed by Jansen (2001a: 272) as post-apartheid "policy symbolism", and the governments "fascination with new policy statements, rather than their implementation". It is, however, frightening to think that Fataar (2003) could be correct in stating that one of the reasons for the mergers was more in response to "address this declared implementation vacuum" in "reference to the perceived lack of change in higher education", than creating a landscape that was intent on correcting the general set of problems in the higher education sector.

Problems that he had noted as including an "increasing systemic fragmentation, throughput and graduation rate inefficiencies, skewed student distribution between science, commerce and humanities, low research output and poor staff equality" (Fataar, 2003: 37). Fataar, does however, go on in his 2003 document to explain that the mergers or "institutional reconfiguration" had "been a decisive attempt at aligning the higher education system to the state's defined economic development goals" (*ibid:* 37). This is very much in line with the economic trends that Parsons (2001: 94 in Fataar, 2003: 32) believed as being the main stimulus behind the changes made by the DoE. Parsons does, however, acknowledge that the changes were also in response to "making higher education more responsive to the labour market with its attendant requirements for knowledge workers and innovation" (*ibid:* 37). Given the state of the South African economy in the late 1990's (Meyer, 2000), Deem's description of the "rationalization" (2004: 112) of institutions that occurred in Britain from the mid 1980's, as well as the increased input and requirements placed on them by their industrial partners. is, in my opinion, an equitably plausible argument for the reasons for the mergers. It, however, is not a good enough argument for what ultimately happened within institutions and to the people who were affected by the reconfigurations that occurred. More personally in relation to the participants in this case study - their opinions of the mergers were by and large much the same as mine. Meaning that the reconfiguration of institutions, departments, programs and people were perceived to have been more negative and destructive in nature rather than having achieved anything worthwhile or constructive for the sector, the students or the county. Participant comments on the mergers follow in the next section.

As part of the procedures that demonstrated the South African higher education sector's growing adoption of global methods and practices - specifically those designed to display the sectors increased transparency and co-operation with its role-players and stakeholders, was the adoption and implementation of administrative and managerial appraisal and quality assurance mechanisms. Described by D'Andrea & Gosling (2005) as having been introduced within the global higher education sector in recognition of the financial support that higher education is afforded as a *public good,* Deem's' less-positive depiction of these "corporate governance and management" (2004, 108) described these "new elements" as the "greater accountability of academics to their public paymasters"

(*ibid:* 107). In Lynch's (2014) opinion these "new managerial practices" were introduced as a means to "determine the worth of the university" (*ibid:* 5) and provided a ranking mechanism for the marketization of institutions. What was perhaps less obvious at the time to the 'movers and shakers' within the post-apartheid higher education sector, was that some of the new policies and procedures that were based on the then current global discourses, were destined to bring some of the more negative neo-liberalistic values and properties and practices with them (Shore & Wright, 1999; Singh, 2001; Trowler, 2001; Bundy, 2006; Deem, 2004 & 2006; Dolery, Murray & Crase, 2006; Winter, 2009; and Lynch 2006 & 2014) and that these, like those within the international higher education sector, would ultimately altered the culture and objective of their institutions (Lynch 2006 & 2014). As mentioned in the previous section, one of these global practices was referred to as 'managerialism' or 'New managerialism' (Teelken & Braam, 2002; Strathern, 2000; Deem, 2004 & 2006; Barnett, 2005; Galaz-Fontes, 2010; and Lynch, 2014). As described by Scott (1995), Deem (2004) and Meek *et al* (2010), This form of organization and administration, and the systems of 'checks and balances' that underscored them, had very little in common with the more social and professional controls and practices traditionally used in academia (Lynch, 2014). More pertinently, Lynch's (*ibid*) statement that "Ranking and audits eschew all references to the self-formation process that are the raison d'être of university education", strongly underscores Scott's (1995) description that the practice of 'managing academics' is counter to collegiality. As too will be seen in the forthcoming comments from many participants, these new practices were also seen to be counter to innovation and indeed the identity of many faculty (Shore & Wright, 1999).

Notwithstanding the criticism associated with the adoption of managerial practices in higher education, the newly formed National Department of Education's mandate to "create a quality, efficient, accountable and effective public service" (DoE, 2001b: 7)as a means of increasing their responsiveness to the needs of the country, saw the establishment of the Council on Higher Education (CHE) in 1998 under the Higher Education Act of 1997 (DoE, 2001b and OECD, 2004). An intermediate independent statutory body consisting of higher education specialists and stakeholders, the CHE was given the role of advising the Minister of Education on the development and transformation of the new nationally coordinated system of higher education. Assisted by a permanent subcommittee – the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC), the CHE,

was given executive functions, and mandated to perform quality assurance, accreditation and quality promotion in the areas of teaching and learning and research and community engagement (Badat,1999; Jansen & Taylor, 2003; CHE, 2004; and OECD, 2008). To this end the newly created South African Qualifications Authority, or SAQA as it became commonly known by its acronym, was brought in under the auspices of the HEQC to become the "second major player in the external quality assurance sphere" (CHE, 2016: 32) in the higher education sector. Initially tasked to create and develop a "scaffolding for a national learning system" (DoE, 2001b), a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) was introduced to the whole South African education sector as a "single qualifications framework" (SAQA, 2000: 23). Its purpose was to initiate a new process of internal and external audits in which subjects, qualifications, departments, and institutions were subject to reviews, benchmarking and programme accreditation. This new form of administrative appraisal was initially initiated by the HEQC, as noted in the 2016 CHE Higher Education review, as a result of a judgment by the Labour Department of "the poor skills base for human resource development" (CHE, 2016: 32) in the country. Later, SAQA's purpose was extended to oversee "the setting of standards and quality assurance, record learner achievements and register qualifications on the NQF" (OECD, 2008: 40), from school to higher education levels. These included credits and skills achieved in industrial training systems and sites.

In line with these changes, Curriculum 2005 (OECD, 2008) was also introduced to the whole education sector. An outcomes-based education (OBE) model of education, it mirrored much on the Australian and New Zealand OBE systems. Unfortunately, given the poor level of many South African's teaching qualifications, and the insufficient access to, and of its requisite costly infrastructure, OBE was shelved prior to its inception Jansen (1998). It was subsequently replaced with a modified approach called the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) (DoE, 2002a and OECD, 2008). The initial developments and plans that were involved in its implementation added greatly to many participants 'lack of control over their situations" (*ibid:* 4), their increased "stress levels" (Webster & Mosoetsa, 2001: 4) and contributed to their loss of academic identity (Johnson, 2006) and contributed to their subsequent move to Abu Dhabi. Although more familiar to the technikon division - [institutions for advanced vocational learning] (CHE, 2000 and Bunting, 2002] of the South African higher education sector, these forms of

managerialism, and their associated prescription and audit culture, were less familiar to the university sector. The many reasons for this was coupled to the way universities and technikons had been created and set up by the apartheid regime post 1948, - and particularly due to the modification that the then National government had instituted in relation to these two institutions during the late 70's (Bunting, 2002 and OECD, 2008).

As part of the National government's design, universities were regarded as "corporations" with "an independent sphere of societal relationships". Technikons, however, appeared to be subject to more governmental control, and according to the OECD (2008) "did not enjoy academic freedom, and their curricula, examinations and certification were subject to the control of the central government" (*ibid:* 327). University faculty were therefore used to greater freedom within their research and teaching positions. They consequently had a somewhat different concept of their profession - and the roles and purpose of academia from their counterparts at former technikons and colleges. Despite the justification that part of the audit culture was to achieve "quality" and had been based on "standards elements common to other higher education systems around the world" (OECD, 2008: 352), many participants who hailed from South African universities had a great deal of difficulty dealing with the new levels of bureaucratic administration that this new form of managerialism had introduced to the sector and ultimately to their tasks. (Comments elicited from interviews with the participants regarding these issues follow in a subsequent section).

5.2.3 INCREASED ACCESS AND HIGHER PARTICIPATION - MASSIFICATION

'Increase access and higher participation rates' were the recommendations promulgated in the 1996 NCHE report titled 'A Framework for Transformation'. Enacted in the 1997 White Paper, these proposals were seen as the measures that were required to achieve equity in the higher education sector (DoE, 1997, CHE, 2000/2001 and OECD, 2008). Using funding mechanisms to "influence the direction of educational studies in alignment with national priorities" (OECD, 2008: 132), the DoE sought to transform the "elite higher education system" to a "mass higher education system" (OECD, 2008: 339). This, according to Bundy (2006), was a means to "address the tensions between equity and development imperatives" (*ibid:* 11).

Specifically, in this regard the DoE sought to combine its aim of increasing the total number of enrolments in the higher education sector. The aim of which was to have the student body become more representative of the country's demographics, particularly, according to the CHE (2000/2001) report, with reference to female students. Unfortunately, these aims did not transpire as desired between 1997 and 2007. Despite the proportion of black student, especially female students increasing in number within the sector, there was an uneven growth in student admissions and retention rates within the country's different institutions (CHE,2000/ 2001 and Bundy, 2006). There were a number of reasons, as described by Bundy (2006), as to why "expanding access does not lead directly to increased equity" (*ibid:* 12). Firstly, students from 'disadvantage' backgrounds were either not able to register or were dropping out due to funding problems. Secondly (using statistics obtained for the 2005 graduate cohort as an example), 14.9 % more white students were successful than black students in achieving their qualifications (CHE, 2016 and OECD, 2008). Thirdly, as mentioned above, although the proportion of black female students increase in the system, they, as reported by the Ministry of Education, were underrepresented in "science, engineering and technology, business and commerce, and in postgraduate programmes (MoE, 2001: 34).

In addition to the above reasons given by the CHE (2016), OECD (2008) and the MoE (2001 & 2004) for the skewed admissions and retention rates within the post-apartheid higher education sector, the CHE (2000/2001 & 2004), Fataar (2003) and Bundy 2006) also acknowledged that previously historically disadvantaged institutions that had previously had a captive intake from their local communities during the apartheid era, were losing students. This reason for this was that these students were able to secure personal funding to the previously historically advantaged white institutions. As a result of this they had chosen to move away from the generally depressed areas where the previously historically disadvantaged institutions were located to study in the better equipped and staffed 'advantaged institutions (Bundy, 2006). This inequitable situation was further compounded by what Cooper & Subotzky (2003), as quoted in Bundy (20006: 12), described as the "the skewed revolution". This being the situation that had African students "disproportionality enrolled in distance programmes; in the humanities as opposed to science, technology and business degrees; and in undergraduate and diploma courses" (Bundy, 2006: 12) – aspects that may have worked towards achieving

the aim of equity within the sector, but would not have as much value in the eyes of the Ministries of Labour, and Trade & Industry in developing the national economy or creating equity within growing industries (Fataar, 2003). This skewered situation also resulted, according to Gibbon & Karbaki (2002), in a higher proportion of faculty employed in the humanities and social sciences than in other fields. While this situation was seen by the CHE in 2007 to required correction by each institution, and be managed as part of their 'three year rolling plans' that were "designed to facilitate responsiveness by the system, and to ensure planned expansion linked to sustainability" (OECD, 2008: 331), it was an issue that a number of participants in this study noted as having been particularly badly dealt with by their institutional structures. As a result, this issue became one of the deciding factors that persuaded many to resign from their position in South Africa and pursue work opportunities in Abu Dhabi.

5.2.4 CONCLUSION

According to the 2016 CHE *South African Higher Education reviewed: Two decade of democracy* report, the higher education sector achieved more goals post-apartheid in the last two decades than other education sectors. In relation to the aspects discussed in this chapter these included "an established quality assurance and advisory body; a single dedicated national department; a fundamentally altered institutional landscape; greater access and a radical change in the demography of its students…" (CHE, 2016: A word from the CEO). Although this statement was made by the CEO in light of the volatility and destruction that occurred on so many campuses during the 2015 and 2016 academic years, and which, in his own words, "have given expression to underlying faultlines (sic) in quite a dramatic way". I contend that these 'faultlines' were always there, and that expecting the higher education sector to create policy and processes to facilitate the correction of economic and equity problems - two very divergent issues, was setting the sector up for failure. I also contend that this mismatch, and more particularly the means by which the policies that were introduced to achieve the goals were, by and large, recognized by many academics, including but not limited to participants of this study, as an impossible task. Unfortunately, like the participants of this study, many people resigned from their academic positions because they were no longer able, as role incumbent agents and actors, to match their concerns - those aspects that are important to them, with the way that their institutions were (dis) functioning. At the same time to be

fair and if one takes into consideration the very particular set of political, economic and social set of circumstances and situations that contributed to both the type, number and rate of change that the South Africa higher education sector has gone through since 1994, it is perhaps more surprising that the whole sector is not more 'crisis ridden', especially given Barnett's (2005: 790 &791) view that "the university is again a site of supercomplexity" and that the "interweaving of the elements that constitute the contemporary university in fact can be said to constitute a chaotic situation". This brings us back full circle to the lens of the study which is on identity and the link between "how individuals act is influenced by how they think and make sense of what is going on" (Maxwell's 2012: 19).

5.3 PARTS: BACKDROP AND PROP TO A FLEDGLING NATION ABU DHABI 1975 – 2008

As introduced in Act One, the UAE is a relatively young country having been formed by the unification of seven emirates under the leadership of His Highness (HH), Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan bin Zayed Al Nahyan in 19971 (UAEeGP, 2017). This followed the discovery of oil in what is now the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, the meaning of which in Arabic is *Father of the Gazelle* (Heard-Bey, 2011). Considered, in turn, to be the *Father of the Nation*, HH Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan is reported to have been determined to utilize the funds gained from the oil discoveries to fast-track the previously impoverished group of tribal Bedouins into the 21st century. The purpose of this was to develop and build a progressive and important nation. This was as a result of years of occupation and rule by other countries (Godwin, 2006; Al-Fahim, 2007; Heard-Bey, 2011; and Alhebsi, Pettaway & Waller, 2015). The late founder and first president of the United Arab Emirates firmly believed that his aims would most effectively be achieved through education, as according to Al-Fahim (2007) and Heard-Bey (2011), education was a concept close to HH Sheikh Zayed's heart, and one that he apparently passionately espoused.

Despite HH Sheikh Zayed's passion and influence, however, and despite the UAE's prosperity following the discovery of oil in the late fifties, more than fifty percent of the region's national population was still illiterate and unemployed when the UAE was formed in 1971 (Embassy-UAE, 2015; FCSA, 2017; Langton, 2017 and Williams, 2017). Further to this, as previously described, the total population in the country had grown

exponentially (Campbell, 1986; Al-Majaida, 2002; Findlow, 2006; Al-Fahim, 2007; Fortune, 2007; French, 2010; Heard-Bey, 2011; NCDR, 2011b; BusinessTech, 2017; (FCSA, 2017; Langton, 2017; and Williams 2017). As a result of its oil reserves the UAE has become enormously wealthy - with Abu Dhabi reportedly became the riches city in the world per capita (Al-Fahim, 2007; D'Mello, 2007 BusinessTech, 2017; Langton, 2017; and Williams 2017). This has allowed it to accrue sufficient funds and provisions to employ a range of unskilled to skilled and highly knowledgeable and experienced expatriates - from all over the world, to run its businesses and keep the country functioning. It has also allowed the government to provide nationals with generous support, that unfortunately, according Al-Fahim (2007), Walters *et al* (2010), Heard-Bey (2011) and Williams (2017) has allowed Emirati's to become complacent and reliant on others to operate their businesses and thereby in effect manage their country.

These factors caused Sheikh Zayed great concern, as in his opinion the country required educated and informed nationals to ensure its independence and perpetuity in the modern world. He believed that formal education generally, and higher education specifically, were the best means to develop and equip people with the knowledge and skills required to build a nation to face the challenges presented by an ever-more connected and shrinking world and an expanding global economy (Al-Majaida 2002, Donn & Manthri, 2010, ADCB 2011 and UAEInteract 2014). In relation to this HH Sheikh Zayed is quoted as saying:

> "Unless wealth is used in conjunction with knowledge to plan for its use, and unless there are enlightened intellects to direct it, its fate is to diminish and to disappear. The greatest use that can be made of wealth is to invest in creating generations of educated and trained people." (ADCB, 2011:5).

As a direct outcome of HH Sheikh Zayed's beliefs and promotion of all levels and disciplines of education, the federal government enacted Article 23 - which viewed education as "the engine of national development" (ECSSR, 2004: 4 and Godwin, 2006: 2). This brought about a period of enormous spending and creation of educational infrastructures (Godwin, 2006 and Heard-Bey, 2011). This led, in turn, to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MoHESR) being established in 1993 to manage the sector at a federal level. The initial result of their development plans let to

the building of 12 campuses of a single college system called Higher Colleges of Technology (HCT) - vocational based institutions, and three universities in the country between 1977 and the turn of the century (CCAS 2003, Heard-Bey 2011 and ADEC 2015). A set of numbers, as will be seen in the following discussions, that has grown exponentially, especially given the new direction that the state took when it introduced private and public non-federal providers to the higher education sector.

Continuing with HH Sheikh Zayed's vision, and in promoting the view that: "Education shall be a fundamental factor for the progress of society. It shall be compulsory in its primary stage and free of charge at all stages, within the Union" (ECSSR, 2004: 4 and Godwin, 2006: 2), the MoE extended the "Modern Education System" that it had adopted from Kuwaiti in 1953 (Alhebsi *et al* 2015) by introducing free compulsory primary and secondary education to all nationals - both male and female in 1972 (Ridge, 2014; Alhebsi, *et al* 2015 ;and Williams 2017). This made it mandatory for all Emirati's to attend school until the age of 15 or ninth grade (LoC, 2007). Its purpose was also to move the UAE's education system a little further from what Williams (2017: 97) referred to as its heritage of "remembering and recalling facts", and what Alhebsi *et al* (2015: 3) referred to as "repetition as the primary method of instruction". As a drive to promote higher education as a goal for nationals - all successful Emirati high school graduates, both male and female were, and continue to be, encouraged to continue their education beyond high school level. This goal has achieved some success through the promise of free tuition at any one of the federal tertiary institutions - on passing an entrance examination (ECSSR 2004, Godwin 2006 and Ridge, 2014). Although the entrance examination, in line with cultural influences, and as a strategy to encourage more men to attend higher education than women, was, according to (Goudsouzian, 2001), previously set at different levels; with a more difficult set of requirements for women. It has since been standardized, and the same papers are written by both genders. In addition to the non-payment of fees, and as part of the drive to promote higher education to their people, Emirati students who attend some targeted programs in federal universities and colleges are further subsidized by a variety of differently constructed sponsorships. These include any one or more of the following privileges - monthly stipends, free accommodation during term and examination periods, travel allowances/arrangements and stationary and book allowances. Further

incentives include travel and entrance to local and international conferences and workshops (Heard-Bey, 2011 and Ridge, 2014).

Federal institutions, in deference to cultural norms and religious traditions, separate students by gender (Godwin, 2006). As a result of a scheme to encourage women of all ages who have a high school diploma, adequate English language competency, and who have passed the (now standard) entrance examination, to continue their tertiary education, a number of 'Women Only' campuses have been built throughout the country (Ridge, 2014). A situation, in this conservative, religiously Muslim, and patriarchal society that apparently led to HH Sheik Zayed having, on more than one occasion, to persuading fathers to allow their daughters to continue their educational aspirations and register for post-secondary education (Adam, 2003). Given its context and the traditions and cultural factors involved in women's rights in the region (Adam, 2003 and Heard-Bey, 2011), HH Sheik Zayed's support of women into higher education should be applauded as it has done much to encouragement other more conservative Islamic countries to follow suite. Unhappily, however, the positive press around women's rights and their achievements in higher education continue to highlight a situation in the sector that is considered less than optimal – that being that the enrolment of male Emirati's in higher education is substantially lower than that of women (Ridge, 2014). This situation was noted in an Embassy report publication in 2015 (Embassy, 2015). It is a matter that, according to a report by Pennington (2017), continues to be of concern. Both documents estimated that women make up between 80 - 90% of the national student cohort at Universities in the Emirates. This number, according to Pennington (2017), is, however, not as great in the more skills based Higher Colleges of Technology where women making up 62% of the under-graduate component, and 58% of the graduate numbers. Of greater concern, however, is that this situation is not going to be rectified in the near future as it stems for the high attrition rate of male Emirati's at primary school level. According to statements in a UNESCO reports (2010), male Emirati's are "twice as likely to drop out from primary schools as girls". In delving into the causes for this state-of-affairs, Al-Fahim (2007), Walters *et al* (2010), Heard-Bey (2011), Ridge (2014) and Williams (2017) suggested that the reason for this is because there is little motivation for male nationals to become educated and to work. The reason in turn for this is that the country's oil based economy and wealth generation has supplied the funds to provide generous social support to all

(unemployed/unemployable) Emirati's as well as to pay knowledgeable and experienced expatriates from all over the world to run the countries businesses and grow and maintain its economy. Of associated concern, according to Ridge (2010, 2011& 2014), is the high correlation between poor education and crime. These including, according to Pennington (2014) the potential for radicalization, ill health and a reduced lifespan.

In response to this situation as detailed in Act One, the UAE operationalizes Emiratization (UAEInteract, 2009 & 2014). Being a form of 'indigenization', it is a system that also operates in South African where it is referred to as 'affirmative action'. Designed to create systems and programs to encourage and equip nationals, especially women (Adam, 2003) to take up employment positions in both the public and private sectors it was also implemented by the Emiratization Council for Emirati nationals to re-establish control of their booming economy (Benjamin, 1999; Godwin, 2006; Forstenlechner, 2008 & 2010; UAEInteract, 2009; Ridge, 2014; and William, 2017). In line with global discoursed on education and training the council further accepted that the UAE population required training and knowledge in technical, operational and managerial roles and positions in order to accomplish their goal (World Bank, 2003 and Ridge, 2014). Education was seen as the most efficient way to achieve this goal. If one follows articles in the local media - one is led to assume that Emiratization has been successful. As an example, as published in the 'Trading Economics' (2016), a local statistical webpage, the UAE unemployment rate is very low – having according to them, measured in at below 5% of the population for the last decade. This would suggest that in comparison to both established and developing countries, that the UAE has had an exemplary employment track record. It would also suggest that the additional industrial developmental initiatives that the UAE government embarked upon and invested in over and above their oil and gas industries have been successful in terms of the diversification of its industries, and the employment of its nationals. When the statistics and the accompanying information in the 2016 Trading Economics is interrogated, however, one becomes aware that these numbers are firstly based on the total population. As Emirati's make up fewer than 5% of the total population (TheNational, 2010 & 2014; Embassy-UAE, 2015; FCSA, 2017; Langton, 2017 and Williams, 2017), this thus places a different perspective on the statistic. Secondly, these numbers were only made up of unemployed Emirati's who are registered as looking for work; and not on the general Emirati adult population who are

unemployed - but not looking for work (Tanmia, 2004). A number that in any other country's data would be deem unemployed as their numbers would have been added to the total number of people on the unemployment register. When, however, one is aware of the benevolent policies that the UAE government has towards their national population and the benefits that are afforded to them in the form of social security and other benefits (Walters *et al* 2010) one can more easily understand the subsequent lack of need for nationals to find employment. This then places a different slant on the apparently low unemployment statistic and allows one to takes on a different understanding of its meaning within its given context.

Pointedly, in Shell (2003), Stensgaard (2004), G-Mraber (2010) and Forstenlechner (2010) opinions, Emiratization has not been achieved – and may never be achieved due to a number of social, economic, political and practical reasons. The first of these according to G-Mraber (2010:4) is due to the "boom economy" and the rapid change in traditions and culture. Ill health, as detailed by Pennington (2014) is one such consequence of this, and has led, according to Brooks (2004), with high absenteeism by students in classes and employees in the workplace. In addition to this, as has also been mentioned previously, the benefits received by nationals in the form of social security, lucrative public employment, and many other free and minimal costly benefits has also led to high expectations regarding employment positions, their conditions and remuneration. Requirements for positions, benefits and salaries are, however, market-related in the private sector (Ahmad (2017). This has led to many Emirati's expressing their discontentment in working in what they deem to be lower-level, non-managerial positions and dissatisfaction with private sector pay scales (Walters *et al* 2010, Tanmia 2014 and Ahmad (2017). This has resulted in many Emirati's simply not being prepared to work outside of the more protected and more lucrative public sector (Brooks, 2004 and Walters *et al,* 2010).

According to William (2017:38), businesses were "encouraged" in the past to employ nationals, they are now, depending on the size of their companies, required to employ Emirati's based on a quota system. This has led, according to Godwin (2006), Forstenlechner (2010), Walters *et al* (2010), Tanmia (2014) and Ahmad (2017) to many businesses - who because they have more than 50 employees, and therefore fall within

the quota system, having taken to accepting the penalty for not employing their allotted number of Emirati's as a form of taxation. This they have chosen instead of dealing with what they consider to be unacceptable performance and poor productivity levels, lack of experience, poor discipline, high absenteeism, lack of punctuality, misconduct and lack of competencies - including English language skill, to name but a few, by Emirati's (Sadi & Henderson, 2005 and Ahmad, 2017). This situation has to some extent also impacted and emerged as a problem for participants as bureaucratic as well as faculty systems are not what they used to be.

> *"There are fewer and fewer westerners as staff, and more Arabic staff, and of course more and more local staff coming in. The local staff – they are on this Emiratization drive and have to fulfil some number thing [sic] – but they don't have a full teaching load. In fact, if it's a first-timer, they get one lesson and taking a half a class …. Like one lesson a week!".* Green

> *"Processes and procedures were very good when we first got here - as things were run by the Brits or Americans. However, now I find the processes to be very poor because they are appointing people who are not qualified to do these jobs – in order to fulfil Emiratization requirements".*

> *"I was told it was a two-year contract as the idea was that an Emirati would take over from me. But in the same breath, the guy who was interviewing me - informing me as to how things worked and so said that the process [Emiratization] would more than likely take ten years. Given how long I have been here, and the progress we have made, I think it will take another 20, or never - as we are not even close".* Brown

> *"We are constantly picking up extra classes or getting the early or really late periods because of the locals either not pitching up to work or getting the 'civilized' class times in the middle of the day. There are no sanctions placed on them for unprofessional behaviour – but boy, no way would any expats get away with what they do! It's also not as if they are overworked to start with – or overpaid. They have fewer hours than us and apparently get way higher salaries - and ridiculous benefits".* Blue

This set of situations, along with the cultural and religious traditions, governance, laws and residential and work related conditions as detailed in Act One, set the stage, so to speak, for the conditions that the participants of this study were presented with at the beginning of their working experience in Abu Dhabi, and those that brought about the emergence of new identity perspectives and viewpoint.

Working on ambitious expansion plans that continued on from the goals that HH Sheikh Zayed had originally set out for the nation, the Abu Dhabi higher education sector began

a period of immense change and development in the new millennium. As a means to continue with the methodological framework that was chosen for this study the forthcoming section thus provides an account of the changes that occurred in the Abu Dhabi higher education sector between 1975 and 2008.

In pursuing the development plans for their young nation, the UAE elders under the leadership of HH Sheikh Zayed were greatly influenced by the general changes that occurred post 2nd World War (Mazawi, 2004). Having the financial means to grow their economy in line with the energy requirements of booming global markets, the UAE, more recently, came to realize that their trade and development had become overly dependent on their oil revenue and their expensive and mushrooming expatriate population. Determined to both diversify their markets away from its oil industry – a commodity that the Federal government considers has a limited lifespan (Rupp, 2008), and to empower their own people to reclaim authority within their country's private sector, the federal government began to look at alternate avenues to accomplish their aims of developing their education sector (Al-Fahim 2007, Armstrong 2007, Rupp 2008, Jaschick 2009, Kirk 2010, Heard-Bey 2011 and Williams 2017). Serendipitously for the UAE this realization and desire for change occurred at a time when the world in general, and the higher education sector specifically, were undergoing a period of particular upheaval and change. As mentioned in the discussions on 'Globalization and the Knowledge Economy' and the 'Marketization of Higher Education', *globalization* had led to "an expanding industrial economy that required more highly skilled and educated workers" (Gibbons, 1998a: 11), with the higher education sector having been identified as an applicable structure that could supply knowledgeable and vocationally skilled workers to perform the new tasks and operate the new technologies required (Gibbons 1998a, Castells 1999, Sabour 1999, World Bank 2003, Slaughter & Rhoades 2004, Slaughter & Leslie 1997, Cowen 2007, Dollman 2007, Shore 2007 & 2010, Bertelsen 2008, Kim 2008 in Kim 2010, Kim 2009b, Wright & Rabo 2010 and Lynch, 2014). It also followed a time during which economic restraints had brought about changes in the way many traditional higher education institutions were funded and operating (Currie & Newson, 1998; Trowler, 2001; Deem, 2004; Lynch, 2006; and Richardson & Zikic, 2007). This resulted in many institutions looking at alternate means to remain operational and financially viable.

Very auspiciously, according to Scott (1998: 110), long held traditions of public funding and investment in the higher education sector by Western governments had positioned many of their institutions in a "comparative economic advantage" over developing country's institutions in terms of knowledge as "a primary resource". This was to providing them with the means, in an era of reduced public expenditure by the state, and in a time of "corporatization and commercialization", with the ability to adapt and adopt to a new concept of education as a marketable commodity, with a "potential source of revenue" that could be traded and sold (Lynch, 2014: 192). In terms of this new view, many (Western) institutions, as both a means to promote themselves in terms of "branding and networking" and ultimately ranking (Lynch, 2014: 198), as well as to find alternate sources of revenue due to ever decreasing state funding, began promoting their economic value to form partnerships with countries and organizations wishing to acquire their 'commodities' and resources – including human resources (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997 & 2004; World Bank, 2003; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Lewin, 2008; Kim, 2009b; Lynch, 2014; and Williams, 2016). As a result of these fiscal realities, higher education evolved from an elite - to a mass movement (Richardson & Zikic, 2007), and from an era of collegiality and co-operation (Lynch, 2006) into a period of aggressive managerialism (Deem, 2004). Having spent years collaborating with other departments, faculties and institutions throughout the world, many (Western) higher education institutions began to develop and promote their resources (including human resources) for the purposes of creating 'partnerships' in the form of *satellite, branch, transnational education centers, borderless* and *off-shore campuses* in countries far distant from their own (Verbik & Merkley, 2006 and Green *et al*, 2007). The host of assets and commodities that they had on offer to these new entities included their name and reputation, accreditation of institution and curricula, courses and programmes, faculty – willing and able to become transnational expatriates, reputed history of research, systems and policies, as well as a sustained and long-held reputation with stakeholders and roll players – including, more recently, a 'mutually beneficial' relationship with business and industry (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997 and Lynch, 2014).

Given the different angles and perspectives that the buyers and sellers came from in these partnerships, these associations, have proven, I would contend, to be as beneficial to the 'old and established', but somewhat cash strapped institutions, as it they have been

to the nascent customers. This, I believe, is because their alliance allowed the 'old and established' institutions' to remain economically viable entities in their home territories (Chomsky, 2000; Scott, 2010; and Wright & Rabo, 2010), while affording their new partners the opportunity to fast track the aims and goals of their higher education sector. Aims and goals, that included, for the very ambitious, commercially intuitive and financially-rich UAE to be able to become a "competitive knowledge economy" and potentially achieve one of its aims of becoming one of the best countries in the world by 2121" (Romani, 2009; Jaschick, 2009; French, 2012; and Vision2021 (2016) [9].

As mentioned previously, that the UAE's oil is believed to have a finite future (Rupp, 2008) and that the continued wealth of the country is dependent on continued diversification and innervation of all facets of the economy. The opportunity to fast-track the development and extension of their existing higher education institutions by forming partnerships to establish large numbers of reputable national education centers in the UAE, was a process that the Federal government, MoHESR and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was keen to explore (Mograby, 1999; Klein, Jbili, Taecker & Ghabra, 2001

[9] A *satellite, branch, transnational education centers, borderless* off-shore operation of a higher education institution fulfils the following criteria:
The unit should be operated by the institution or through a joint venture in which the institution is a partner (some countries require foreign providers to partner with a local organization) in the name of the foreign institution. Upon successful completion of the study programme, students are awarded a degree from the foreign institution. Verbik & Merkley, 2006: 4.

All types of higher education study programs, or sets of course of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programs may belong to the education system of a State different from the State in which it operates or may operate independently of any national education system (Green *et al*, 2007:1).

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5.3.1 A CO-ORDINATED NATIONAL SYSTEM AND PARTNERSHIPS – AKA MANAGERIALISM

"The people are the ultimate objective and aim of development, as well as the engine and means that drive its efforts. The true power of any country stems from the solid base of future generations of the homeland".
HH Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan
2nd President of the UAE 2004 (UAEeGP, 2017)

The concept that the Federal government, MoHESR and the GCC developed with regards to their higher education transnational partnership expansion had a triple set of goals (Armstrong, 2007; Rupp, 2008; and Romani, 2009). Firstly, and most importantly and urgently, they wanted to provide higher education programs and qualifications to their own citizens (massification). As mentioned previously this was for the purpose of equipping them with the knowledge and skills required to manage and run the countries diversifying economy (Benjamin, 1999; Godwin, 2006; Forstenlechner, 2008 & 2010; UAEInteract, 2009; Ridge, 2014; and William, 2017). Secondly, they wanted to create and provide a new industry in the country, one that would supply *inter-nationally* recognized and accredited higher education qualifications to a currently non-resident international student cohort (Armstrong, 2007 and French, 2010). An industry that was also foreseen to be managed and operated by Emirati's in the future (Romani, 2009 and UAEInteract, 2009 (managerialism). Thirdly, as mentioned previously there was the matter of national pride and the desire to fulfil the goals of being one of the best countries in the world by 2121 (Romani, 2009; Jaschick, 2009; French, 2012; and Vision2021, 2016) (marketization).

To ensure that their vision for an academically and economically successful higher education sector would be based on firm ground, MoHESR, in conjunction with ADEC introduced plans to revamp existing higher education institution in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi. The mandate that ADEC was given was to "elevate the quality of education in Abu Dhabi to the highest international standards to ensure that all residents have access to high-quality education provision" (ADCB, 2011: 5). A big part of the plan was for ADEC to operationalize the sector's Mission "To produce world-class learners who embody a strong sense of culture and heritage and are prepared to meet global challenges" (ADEC, 2015). Based on the recommendations from a committee called the 'Office of Higher Education Policy and Planning for Federal Institutions', created and tasked in 2004 with

the purpose of transforming Abu Dhabi into an innovative-based, diverse and knowledge-based society (MoHESR, 2004), the areas that ADEC ultimately targeted with regards to higher education included:

- Elevating the quality of higher education – this to meet international standards
- Promoting and incentivizing research, innovation, scholarship and discovery – this to meet local needs as well as to partner with research institutions internationally
- Align higher education with labour market and socio-economic needs to build the nation socially, culturally and economically.

According to a press report by Nanji (2017), the global education analyst Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World recently announced that the Khalifa University, established in 2007 in Abu Dhabi, was ranked between 301 to 350 in the World University Rankings for 2018. This represented an enormous leap of almost 150 places from its position in 2017. It was also the youngest institution to make the 2016 QS list of the best 100 universities established in the last 50 years. This is one of the indications that the Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC) - achieved a level of success in achieving its aims. The situation has perhaps, however, not been as successful at hoped at other universities, when one takes into consideration the following comments by participants:

> *They tried to bring in a higher academic level, using blended learning and virtual classes and defiantly trying to take it to a tertiary level. But it was hampered by the quality of students, or rather, to be fair, the quality of the students' previous schooling (*Silver)
>
> *Research does not feature as it should at my university. And this is a personal concern. A professional concern! I don't believe you can grow without research and they do not see the importance of doing it like we did it in South Africa. They do not encourage or support it in the department by giving you reduced classes or working in collaboration with other institutions. They just want you to fill out forms to shows that there is a good standard so that they get to pass the numbers game. They don't get the real quality aspect of academia.*
>
> *They want administrative functions put into place. They want that kind of activity – not research. Not that freedom to go and explore and come back with new ideas and suggestions* (Purple).
>
> *"We have to make things look good so that as the college goes through its process of accreditation - and EVERYTHING is about the forthcoming accreditation. It must look as if the lectures we give provide the students with a high level of education, a higher level than what we really are able to give them, especially when you take into account their poor schooling. And poor English levels and ….*

and laziness … and insistence that marks achieved must be high even when there is a minimal amount of work produced (Green).

They are using technology as best as they can as the students are really technology minded, but it comes down to the student's preparedness for higher education – which most just don't have (Orange).

There is no real research or culture of research at my college. But it is in the new Mission and Vision statement, so we are working towards it. It does concern me as I feel I am being left behind.

Programmes in my department are in a developmental phase. But the university has international accreditation. We have been given go ahead to get ADEC university status. But actually, we are more like a South African University of Technology.

"Most degrees are 4-year Bachelors. But there are a few 2-year Associate Degrees that have been designed to have full articulation with bachelor's degrees. These have been designed this way so that if students (other Arabs from other Arab countries] have to go back to their home countries, they can take these credits and certificates back with them and continue studying in their home countries.

We have to work really hard to maintain this as this is what gives us our international standards and making sure industry is happy to accept our students as interns and graduates (Pink)

The curriculum is presented as learning outcomes. These are well laid out. Given adequate schooling and a solid educational foundation, students would be able to achieve these.

Tests and examinations are laid out the same as in SA. There are tests throughout the year. There are finals, year marks, final marks, projects, oral and written defenses. The way that we have to present it is very different as we are only really able to use recall of facts in our assessments. Critical thinking is not a skill that students are able to harness (Blue)

Following these developments, the UAE's Commission for Academic Accreditation (CAA) began its work in 2000 as an independent body that reports directly to the UAE's Minister of Higher Education. Created to oversee and license academic and professional standards at all non-federal institutions of higher education by means of an inspection framework that ensures that they "operate in line with international academic, administrative, managerial and operational standards" (CAA, 2010: 4), the CAA began working in earnest to accredit individual programmes and "to provide consumer protection through the careful review of private institutional programmes offered in the UAE" (Fox,

2007: 25). Located in Abu Dhabi, its mission is to provide service to the "residents, citizens, students and institutions throughout the UAE" (UAE-Embassy, 2015: 3; and INQAAHE, 2016). As one of more than 250 members of the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE), the UAE's CAA now has 'Full Member' status (INQAAHE, 2016).

5.3.2 HIGHER EDUCATION TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL AMBITIONS - AKA MASSIFICATION

It should be noted that from 1975, when the UAE began the development of its higher education sector, until mid 2006 (ADCB, 2011), public higher education institutions were only accessible to Emirati nationals (Romani, 2009). The reason for this was that the growth of the sector had failed to keep up with the growth of the post-school cohort of eligible Emiratis and had not considered the higher educational needs of older Emiratis or expatriates (Omeish, 2004). Demand therefore exceeded supply with the result that places at existing facilities were at a premium and reserved for nationals (Omeish, 2004; ADCB, 2011; and The National, 2014).

Cognizant of this situation, in 2007 the 'Advisory Committee for Planning of Higher Education in the UAE' conducted a strategic assessment of the enrolment needs in higher education (Romani, 2009). The main purpose of this study was to ascertain if there was any substance to their impressions that the sector, if given the right opportunities, would grow. The enquiry into the sector was therefore mainly conducted to determine the prospective growth potential for both the national and expatriate student population. It was also designed to identify potential students' preferred occupations and the programmes and subjects that would be required to fulfill professional requirements (Mograby, 1999; Klein *et al,* (2001); and Ghabra, 2010).

In line with global trends that were described in a 2015 UNESCO report as a "spectacular expansion" (*ibid*: 46) in student attendance at higher education institutions since 2000, the Committee's findings confirmed impressions regarding future enrolment numbers. Based on this information, the Committee was able to advise the Ministry of Higher Education that the number of future potential students eligible and desirous of higher education in the region was expected to treble by 2020 (MoHESR, 2007). The results of the Advisory Committee's survey indicated that the situation would become critical if the

number of higher education institutions, as well as the range and level of programmes on offer, was not increased in both the short and long-term. As a result, according to Mills (2008) and ADCB (2011), the finding led to a government guided initiative that dovetailed well with the expansion and commercialization plans of many western higher education institutions. Importantly, the initiative encouraged the development of public-private partnerships. These entrepreneurial partnerships were identified as being the quickest, and most efficient means of expediting international accreditation in both new and existing higher education institutions in Abu Dhabi, as well as of growing the system overall (Mills, 2008; and ADCB, 2011).

According to Verbik & Merkley (2006) and Rupp (2008), the public-private partnership routes available to MoHESR included a few options (Mills, 2008; and ADCB, 2011). The first of these routes involved the coupling of established local institutions with an international institution that had similar programmes or faculties/schools. This meant that the 'older' programmes from local institutions were adapted to match the coupled institution's content and method. It also meant that 'new' programmes were introduced and offered at these existing institutions (Mills, 2008; and ADCB, 2011). The second option involved the provision of funding to generate systems that would be required to facilitate the establishment of a number of international higher education institutions as satellite, off-shore or branch campuses in Abu Dhabi (ADCB, 2011; and ADEC, 2015).

> *The UAE has very much taken on this idea and have worked to have partnerships with other universities from all over the world, but especially from America and Australia.*
>
> *So, they are definitely trying their best to make sure that students can have more options as to where they want to study and what they want to study. And students are encouraged and given the most amazing support to study with other organizations and different kinds of institutions from everywhere in the world.*
>
> *Whether they are achieving it or not, I cannot comment. If your students come from private education yes, it's very possible for them to go onto any institution to study. I have met some brilliant, absolutely brilliant Emiratis. But they have either studied in America or Britain, or they come from private schools in Abu Dhabi. There is unfortunately still a huge discrepancy between private and state schools in the country* (Purple)

The experience of participants, however, was that the expansion of programmes occurred more quickly than expected and that many institutions in which participants worked did not, initially at least, have staff members with the expertise and experience to offer some of the disciplines and subjects that were on offer to students. As initial classes were small, the institutions could not justify the expense of further staff. What emerged was a situation that was contrary to many participants' experiences as academics and one that did not sit comfortably with their beliefs and practices.

> *"When I started to work, I was asked if I had former colleagues [in South Africa] in other disciplines who would be interested in moving to Abu Dhabi to work. I was also asked if I could teach the most amazing array of subjects at the university I was employed by at that stage because they had promised their students and the parents of future students that would be offering a whole lot of courses, but they didn't yet have the faculty to teach the subjects. It was a little worrying and I felt very disingenuous teaching and assessing some of the subjects that students were registered for* (Green)

In addition to increasing the number of higher education institutions and creating a greater diversity of programmes and qualifications in higher education institutions in Abu Dhabi, the ADEC and the MoHESR also recognized that the new international courses and qualifications that were to be introduced at both the 'old - paired institutions' and the 'new satellite or branch' campuses, would be programmes and qualifications familiar to the many international businesses operating in the UAE. As such the institutions and qualifications were supported by industry because the 'parent institutions' were recognized as having a track-record of providing businesses with standards and outcomes long recognized as being pertinent to their needs (Jaschick, 2009). Further to this it was hoped that these international courses and qualifications would have a history of accreditation and that their systems and standards, along with their (western) expatriate faculty, would assist local institutions to improve their research standing in order for them to acquire accreditation for themselves (Noori & Anderson, 2013).

What emerged was a bit of a mismatch between national (and business) requirements and academic outcomes and standards.

> *I was of course insisting on only teaching my subjects. After much convincing my arguments were accepted as they realized that to eventually get any accreditation, they had to show that the lecturer was appropriately qualified and experienced to teach the content at the level of international qualifications.*

The problem came in when we realized that our content did not always match the policies and procedures that were practiced in the region. So, there are many times that we teach 'international' content that is completely different and inappropriate for the local professions and within the local businesses (Green).

Also, other than our teaching outcomes, we really are not informed as to what the bigger policies and procedures and goals are for the institution. In some cases, though, we were teaching subjects and content that was at odds with the rules and regulations in the country. But as our material fitted the outcome, we just had to keep teaching it.

We are also only really teaching programmes that have direct industry support. There are very few Liberal Art degrees in the country. Everything is about getting a job and filling positions in business (Blue).

According to Jaschick (2009), another benefit the MoHESR anticipated and, indeed, hoped would emerge was that, when the ADEC expedited the establishment of new international institutions and branch campuses in Abu Dhabi, these new institutions would supply the impetus and models needed for the older, un-partnered institutions to adapt and improve their programmes and standards. The expectation was that this would facilitate the parity between the new and old institutions and would encourage their somewhat complacent and indulged national student cohort to become more motivated. It was anticipated that this would also rouse the older institutions to become competitive and add to Abu Dhabi's expanding 'international and accredited' higher education market.

Nationals' tertiary education is fully paid for by the state [if they attend a public HEI]. Actually, so is their schooling. In addition to that, students are given a whole variety of perks. I am not quite sure what they are as there is a reluctance to tell us but I have heard that it includes a stipend, like pocket money of a few thousand dirhams a month, laptops, and some transportation costs – certainly any functions that they have to go to, their transport and entrance fees are paid for too. I can't think what else - but wow! Could you imagine that in South Africa?

But, of course, the sad thing is that no one really appreciates what they have. And I think that makes the faculty a little resentful, and it's one of the things that just makes you capitulate to the students as you get the feeling that you are dealing with children who really don't understand so you just bend things to make it easier for yourself, as it makes them happy. So, any standards you may have had go out the window.

I think their protected life makes them lazy and they really don't want to work independently – often when you do get good work, you can see that their tutors did it. A lot of students have grown up with personal tutors, teachers and lecturers who teach after hours, for quite lucrative amounts, and who will 'do' students' homework for them. So that's also unique. But we just voice our concerns and

> *warnings to them, rather than make accusations as this will just blow up in our faces, and we ignore the obvious and give the marks that they want to see* (Blue).

Finally, the opening of 'world class' internationally acclaimed institutions in satellite and branch and older more established campuses in Abu Dhabi, and the UAE in general, was considered by the Federal government as a prime means to achieving their aim of promoting the country as a modern, global, and multi-cultural location for a diverse range of industries and businesses and their emergent markets (Robertson, 2002; Jaschick, 2009; and Romani, 2009). A very positive and almost immediate spinoff of being able to build so many new fee-charging higher education facilities in Abu Dhabi and the country as a whole so quickly, was that there were sufficient place in private higher education institutions for nationals, expatriate residents and a growing cohort of international students within a very short period of time of MoHESR and ADEC's plans coming to fruition (Jaschick, 2009). A further benefit that emerged from this development was that it translated into a reduction in turnover of more mature and experienced expatriate professionals from other industries, an expensive and very disruptive set of circumstances for all involved. The reason for this was that expatriate residents, who mainly originated from North African and other Middle Eastern Muslim countries and who had children with aspirations of enrolling in institutions of higher education, were now more easily able to remain in the UAE when their children finished school (Coffman, 2003). This was a situation not previously available to them, and one that had resulted in many families leaving the UAE when their oldest child graduated from high school. The option of sending their children (especially girls) away from their families to study outside the UAE was not an option available to most families. As a result, many families return to their country of origin in order for their adult children to continue with their post-school, education (Coffman, 2003; and UAE-Embassy. 2015).

> *I now teach at a private university (as opposed to a federal institution). The main difference is that the students are not locals but rather other Arabs whose families originate from all over the Middle East and North Africa. They are all Muslim, but come from families who, like myself, are here to make a living and who appreciate the value of a higher education. Although the fees at my institution are obscene in my opinion, about 3000 AED per subject, in South African terms that would at least pay for all subjects for a term, it's still better for the families to pay these fees rather than to have to send their children to their home countries to study and then have the extra worry of their living expenses and social situations. Often in the past some families were split because the mothers returned to their home county to look after their children who were students* (Blue).

5.3.3 CONRATULATIONS – AKA MARKETIZATION

Following the aggressive pursuit of policy and planning, the transformed Abu Dhabi higher education sector consisted of public (federal), private-public and private education institutions. By 2009, the year after all participants had begun their expatriate journey, there were, according to Jaschick (2009), more than forty higher education satellite or international branch campuses purpose-built and situated throughout the whole of the UAE. To put this figure into context, the UAE was home, by 2009, to a quarter of the total number of all higher education international branch campuses throughout the world (Jaschick, 2009). As of 2016, according to Kinser & Lane (2016), the Cross-Border Education Research Team (CBERT) reported that the total number of all higher education institutions stood at 230. In addition, the MoHESR and ADEC have, according to a report by Nasir & Kabir (2013) and as stated in figures published by the CAA in 2016, been able to grow the number of licensed institutions from 66 in 2010 to 75 in 2016 (CAA, 2016 and The Times. (2016). Further to this, the number of accredited programmes has expanded from 489 in 2010, to 910 in 2016. According to by Badam (2017), this period also saw an improvement in the ranking of a number of universities in Abu Dhabi and the UAE.

Somewhat critically, however, according to some participants, these achievements have been as a result of academics conforming to 'tick box standards' and ensuring that things 'look good on paper':

> *Our admin is overwhelming. I spend half my time filling out forms to show what I have done. Every week there is a new policy. New policy! All the policies are getting revamped. I have stopped reading them. There are so many, and I don't have time. Some may affect me, but I don't have time any more to read pages and pages of things (Green).*
>
> *I have been at this university for three years, and in that time, there has been constant change, just constant change. Constant. There is this huge drive to get accreditation and we keep getting new people to get that process done. We are on to our third director. The first was western, then he left. Then they brought in an Emirati director – he was quite good. Nice, young, casual. He has gone. Now they have brought in another Emirati.*
>
> *So! A lot of changes! And, also, just the rules, they are just incessant. Change. They just don't seem to find one thing that works and stick to it. Just this constant change of the policies and the procedures that they think they need to get the accreditation. But, if you dig deeper into the way we do things, the systems have just been set up to look better that they are. It's just for appearances.*

Their systems aren't so much about quality of education or a true reflection of students' abilities and achievement – it's about how good they look in the files. It's about ticking a box for ADEC inspections (Red).

Participants also claimed that most students they taught would not meet what they considered to be international standards:

Given their past education you can't really expect students to cope with what we would consider to be higher education. They like to be asked questions that require a factual answer. They don't deal well with case-study scenarios, or any thinking 'out the box'. (Red)

I would not like to be an employer in this country, as I don't believe that students here are given an education. Not if you consider reliability, independent thought and problem solving to be important qualities acquired during your university education. (Blue)

If you were only assessing students on their technological abilities, you would say they are top-class. Everything else, however, is subgrade dressed up in flowery reports to look better than they are. (Orange)

5.3.4. SOME CONCERNS AND CONCLUDING THOUGHT AND COMMENTS

Oh! What a circus,
oh, what a show,
UAE has gone to town…
Adapted from Andrew Lloyd Webber - Evita (1976)

Another noteworthy, but perhaps unintended consequence of the influence of 'entrepreneurial' western institutions, is the removal of institutions from their cultural, religious and ideological roots (Jaschick, 2009). This situation can be attributed to the employment of academics from other countries. The employment of non-Arab, non-Muslim staff members was, however, a necessity that according to Coffman (2003), Rupp (2008) and Romani (2009) predated the developments and expansion of the sector and was due to many reasons. Firstly, the perceived need was to keep up to date with advances in knowledge necessary for employment (Asraf, 1996 and World Bank, 2015). Secondly, according to Waterbury (2003) and Rupp (2008), the general perception was that Western education is superior to that offered in the Middle East because "it has produced the scientific, business, and educational leadership for many other countries" (Waterbury, 2003: 66). Thirdly, also according to Waterbury (2003:66), middle class Arabs from other nations "are aware of the technological and information revolution sweeping the world, and they do not want their children to be left behind".

These beliefs and concerns have developed because, according to Waterbury (2003), Rupp (2008), Ridge (2010 & 2011), Ridge & Farah (2012) and Badry (2012), the UAE's federal education system has failed the youth of the country who have aspirations to continue their education post-school. This is allegedly because students in the UAE as well as in other GCC countries are not given the opportunities to develop critical thinking and decision-making abilities. Rather, according to Ghabra & Arnold (2007), Rupp (2008), Romani (2009), Ghabra (2010), Walters et al (2010), Ridge (2010 & 2011), (Anderson 2011), Ridge & Farah (2012), Badry (2012) and Williams (2017), they are taught in an autocratic manner, have a disposition to learn passively through memorization and are assessed on their recollection of facts or ability to perform trade skills. This potentially means that the majority of Emirati students and other regional Arabic speaking youth who have been educated in federal schools in Abu Dhabi, and who are accepted into higher education institutions (in the UAE and beyond its borders) are not sufficiently equipped to cope with the type, quantity and quality of material that constitutes those programmes (Rupp, 2008).

Language is another area where homogenization is taking place. The ADEC amended its education language policy in 2011 as part of its 2009 - 2018 strategic plan (ADEC, 2009; and ADCB, 2011). This resulted in the Federal Council changing the language of instruction in all higher education institutions from Arabic, the official language of the UAE, to English without allowing a period of grace for high school learners to master the new language at the level required to use it as a medium of instruction. The language policy requires that all subjects offered in higher education institutions, save Islamic Studies, should be taught through the medium of English (ADCB, 2011). As it was recognized that "English proficiency carries considerable weight" (Salomone, 2013: 1), this change was introduced at all higher education colleges and universities as a means of facilitating future graduates' inclusion and mobility in global markets (Chandra, 2005; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; Al Khaili, 2009; ADEC, 2009; Badry, 2011; and Williams, 2017). In addition to causing controversy and dissent, as English is a language long and emotively considered to be the language of the infidel (Al Khaili, 2009; and Yükleyen, 2012), it also resulted in a number of the UAE's pupils, who had only been taught in the regional vernacular, not having the proficiency to make a successful transition from their state

secondary schools to the UAE's 'English Only' higher education institutions. This included pupils who, according to Waterbury (2003), Ridge (2010 & 2011), Ridge & Farah (2012) and Badry (2012), had graduated with a grade ten diploma and an International English Language Testing System (IELTS) band score of six or above.

As a result, the students with whom the participants in this study engaged early on in their employment in Abu Dhabi generally had very poor English proficiency. This often translated into a belief by the participants that the students' academic ability was also poor.

> *The level of English that students come with is extremely poor. I would say that their comprehension is the same as a grade 5. They don't understand advanced words – terminology or even explanatory language. You need to really dumb or level it down your explanations and use three or four words to explain the concept. I go to the point where I say "this is the subject jargon that you will read in the text, but these are the words that I will use". And I take it a level lower, and a level lower. And then one of them will eventually understand and translate it in Arabic to the rest! And then the rest will understand it and then we will continue. So for every concept that I explain I must leave enough time for them to understand, not even understand it, translate it. (Purple)*

> *Our curriculum is realistic in terms of the standards that should be achieved for a tertiary degree. However, our students are not always prepared for it. They are not at the right level to meet the standards. A lot of them are from Arabic backgrounds. We are starting to see the new ADEC initiatives where they are taught English along the way (at school). I can say, for the first time this year, that I have a good class. (Green)*

In addition to the controversy that the introduction and implementation of English brought to the higher education sector, the new policy also dictated that only academics for whom English is a home language would be employed to teach English at both school and higher education levels. This opened up a whole can of worms (Issa, 2013). This was not unusual, as according to Spolsky (2004), language policy is usually driven by a number of factors other than the globalization of English. Most importantly, it treads on cultural and sociological matters such as religion and politics (ibid). It may also, according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) affect local national identity and culture.

In Abu Dhabi, the policy continues to be controversial. A growing number of Emirati religious leaders, scholars and laypeople, as well as some expatriate Muslim parents and academics have expressed their discontent (Romani, 2009; and Issa, 2013). It is

accordingly seen by Zughoul (2003) and Kazmi (2004) as followings - That the policy has created a perceived need for academics who are first language speakers of English not only to teach the language itself, but also to teach other subjects as its use is extended across the curriculum. This impacts on the employment chances of Arabic speaking academics. Secondly, as a result of its use in formal education, students and employers begin to associate English as the language of learning, knowledge and employability to the detriment of Arabic. Thirdly, and more worryingly, the introduction of English means that young and susceptible minds are potentially more liable to be introduced to western values, ideologies, beliefs, principles and practices as a result of being taught by academics who are not from the region.

Similar arguments regarding English have also been made by a number of western scholars for many years. As early as 1990, Holly claimed that English had, by default, becomes the 'lingua franca' of the global world with the result that it had the potential to "act as a means of politico-cultural colonization serving the interests of the most powerful concentration of economic power that the world has ever known" (Holly, 1990: 18).

Holly's position is not endorsed by all scholars, however. Crystal (2003) has a more positive view of English, describing it as the 'favoured' language in the globalized world and noting that "one in three of the world's population are now capable of communicating to a useful level in English" (Crystal, 2012: 151). A more negative view is expressed by Pennycook (2001: 81), who argues that English "has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment, or social positions".

I believe, however, that the more positive perceptions of English as "the Latin of the contemporary world" (Al Dabbagh 2005: 3), a "global literacy skill", and the main system for "intercultural communication" (Spring (2008: 351) are indicative of the discourses driving the decision to adopt English as a language of teaching and learning in higher education. As a result of the decision to use English, many Arabic speaking academics were replaced by others for whom English was a first language. Some of these were the South African participants in this study.

As the shift to English developed and grew, there was some recognition that the employment of additional western English-speaking expatriates was counter to the policy of 'Emiratization' described earlier in this thesis. The adoption of English created a set of situations and concerns that are similar to those experienced by many developing nations as a result of "an increase in multicultural populations" through "brain gain" (Spring, 2008: 342). In addition to causing a degree of conflict over language, education and culture (ibid) English-speaking expatriates, who draw on knowledge as "a primary resource" (Scott, 1998: 110), are able to disseminate global education and knowledge within their locale, which has the potential to impact negatively on their students and the non-western staff with whom they work. Olcott (2010) terms situations such as this "the global cultural dichotomy" (Olcott, 2010: 1).

5.4 PART TWO: UNDERSTANDING THE PEOPLE

5.4.1 IDENTITY: CENTRAL TO THE CAST AND & SCRIPT

No man is an island
Entire of itself.
Every man
is a piece of the continent,
A part of the main.
John Donne (17th Century)
For Whom the Bell Tolls

Part one of this chapter provided an analysis of the structural and cultural conditions at T^1. As the study draws on Archer's concept of analytical dualism, it follows that the people and the systems are dealt with separately, as one of the central concepts of realism is that in relation to each other, the 'people' and the 'parts' are "irreducible and autonomous" (Archer, 1995: 75). It is further understood that they have respective causal powers (PEPs, SEPs and CEPs) and that the interplay between them is activity-dependent (ibid: 165). In line with a number of studies in higher education that have been conducted on identity and academic faculty members in relation to the changes that have occurred in the higher education sector, part two explores the systemic conditions participants encountered in their working contexts, and how they exercised their agency in response to these (T^2 – T^3).

In now introducing participants into the setting, the voice of the people as agents and actors will be heard. The process that is used is referred to as 'retroduction', and one the modes of "thought operation", or inference, commonly used as explanatory methods in critical realist studies (Danermark *et al,* 2005). Considered by many realists (myself included) as a simpler explanation for the analytical process referred to as 'abduction', it affords the researcher, as described by Sayer's (1992:107), a "mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them". This explicatory method therefore provided a means of understanding of participants' reflections on and (re)actions to their experiences and changes that their new contexts brought with them.

5.4.1.1 ACADEMIC IDENTITY

A number of theorists were drawn on as a means to explain the main emergent mechanisms that brought about an emergence of participants identities as a result of their work-based structures. As explained in Act Three, a mature individual's identity and social self is constructed by virtue of processes that emerge from their interactions with structures and discourses from their everyday realities (Bourdieu, 1984; Gee, Hull & Lanshear, 1996; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Archer, 2000; Gee, 2000; and Wenger, *et al,* 2002). A concept identified by Gee (2000), and arguably most relevant to this study, is that of 'professional identity'. In Gee's view, the source of power for a person's professional identity is filtered by "laws, rules, traditions, or principles", and emerges from "a set of *authorities*" (*ibid*: 102). As academics' "subject" (*ibid*: 102) to these institutional authorities, it follows that their identities are moulded by a combination of policies, procedures and practices in academic contexts. As shown (Deem, 2004; Lynch, 2006 & 2014; and Scott, 2010), academics are able to change their practices and beliefs and indeed their notions of themselves when gradually introduced to new systems and policies. Unfortunately, as will be seen in the forthcoming section, time was not a commodity available for participants to deal with the myriad changes that were introduce to the South African higher education sector post-1994.

Deem's (2006) view of academic identity comes from a slightly different standpoint, that of 'professional perspective'. She relates academic identity to the particular disciplines and subjects that academics teach, develop and research. Henkel's (2000b) vision of

academic identity is similar but somewhat more extensive as she links academic identity to an 'effective' professional who, in addition to having a unique history, is positioned in a selected moral and theoretical framework and who identifies with an academic institution or professional community. Kuh & Whitt (1986), Ramsden (1998), Coady (2000), Scott (2004) and Le Grange (2009) all offer descriptions of academic identity that are akin to each other. They view academic identity as a set of commonly held values, beliefs, experiences and motives that go beyond the function of producing and transmitting knowledge and culture. Their descriptions of academic identity combine notions of institutional, professional and peer autonomy, accountability and academic freedom, collegiality, a community of scholars and community of practice, and the seeking, inspection and questioning of accepted truth and wisdom. Although Gee (2000), Deem (2006), Henkel (2000b), Kuh & Whitt (1986), Ramsden (1998), Coady (2000), Scott (2004) and Le Grange's (2009) concepts of academic or professional identity differ somewhat from each other, they would, I believe, agree that academics belong to a *Community of Practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Wenger (1998) himself suggested that like other identities, professional identities are "formed through complex relations of mutual constitution between individuals and groups" (*ibid*: 13). According to Cornelius & Higginson (2000), academics fulfil the roles of facilitator, mentor, advisor-counsellor, knowledge expert, assessor, co-learner, technologist and manager in the course of their work. These roles all require self-direction and autonomy, actions that Adelmann (1987) identifies as contributing to the positive work-place experiences of an academic. Arguably, a sense of self-direction and autonomy contributes to self-worth and assists the individual to "personify the roles they choose to occupy" (Archer, 2000: 261). When conditions prevent the exercise of self-direction and autonomy it is reasonable to presume that reflexive, role incumbent actors would alter their practices even to the extent of contravening their own sense of 'right'.

5.5 ENTRANCE: FACULTY - SOUTH AFRICA 1994 – 2008
LOSING ACADEMIC IDENTITY

It was the best of times,
it was the worst of times,
it was the age of wisdom,
it was the age of foolishness
it was the epoch of belief,
it was the epoch of incredulity, ...
it was the spring of hope,
it was the winter of despair,
Charles Dickens (1868)
A Tale of Two Cities

Moore & Lewis (2004) discuss the enormous changes to the higher education system in South Africa following the shift to democracy and note that, in order for academics to "manage the current pressures for change" and "implement the change process itself", they required "new models" of intellectual, organizational and social and collegial practices (*ibid*: 9). Moore & Lewis go on to note that the system *per se* was inadequately prepared for the shifts it was undergoing. Having engaged with the participants in my study, I would argue that many left positions in South African universities as they could no longer draw on the familiar "laws, rules, traditions, [and] principles" (Gee, 2000: 102) that had moulded their academic identities. This led them to experience a "lack of control over their situations" (*ibid*: 4) and a sense of "losing control" (*ibid*: 14), a phenomenon also identified in research conducted by Webster & Mosoetsa (2001). In this chapter, I aim to explore the way changes to higher education in South Africa resulted in academics experiencing what Johnson (2006: 60) terms a 'crisis' as they struggled to maintain their identities.

5.5.1 GOOOOOOD MORNING …. SOUTH AFRICAAAA!!!!

As Bundy (2006) notes, "[a]ll universities, ancient and modern, have been subject to powerful forces of changes in the past quarter century" (2006: 2). These global forces, which were particularly active during the third quarter of the twentieth century, or what would have been the final period of the apartheid system, were not, however, fully experienced or appreciated by South African academics (Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002) owing to the isolation imposed on the country because of its political regime.

Academics only became aware of the level of "artificial cushioning" (Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002: 183), that the "muted requirements" of the apartheid government had afforded the South African higher education sector once the country rejoined the international community following the democratic election (Bundy, 2006: 9). Academics were also to discover that they had been erroneous in their beliefs that they had been in the "mainstream of international academic developments" as the impact of global shifts began to be experienced in the 1990s (Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002: 188 & 189). In addition to the 'lack of tools' (Moore & Lewis, 2004) needed to cope with the changes that were expected of them, many shifts required of academics post-1994 were particularly challenging. To recap, these included the need to engage with the plethora of policies and procedures introduced, a phenomenon described by Kraak (2004) and Bundy (2006) as daunting in scope and extent, often contradictory (Badat *et al*, 1994; Jansen, 2001a; Jonathan, 2001; Kraak, 2001 & 2004; Maassen & Cloete, 2002; and Bundy, 2006) and involved the need to do more with less (Thorsten, 1996; and Webster & Mosoetsa, 2001). The pace at which the changes were also introduced meant that the responses of institutions were not always well thought through in relation to context. Similar changes had taken years to implement in countries in Europe, Australasia and the Americas (Bundy, 2006: 2). The result was an apparent homogenization of the entire system and the diminution of the distinctive contexts that many academics related with and which contributed to the identities with which they were familiar. All in all, it was a period of time that Bundy was later to describe as "a film projected at fast speed: the sequence is recognizable, but seems jerky, exaggerated and frenetic" (2006: 9).

The seemingly erratic nature of the changes that were taking place within the sector was noted by participants frequently. Their descriptions revealed participants' loss of faith in the system and a growing inability to recognize their own roles and purpose:

> *At first it seemed so exciting to be part of the transformation of higher education. It seemed so civilized and noble to at last be part of a cog in a legitimate and united system. A system that we had been led to believe was the system that was in the best position to build the whole country by educating the masses, and at last make everyone's aspirations equal.*
>
> *I had first and foremost always considered myself to be an academic, that is until all the changes to our university happened. Now instead of using my time productively I had to sit and deal with a whole lot bureaucracy … It was like being in school again – with a headmistress sitting over you with the promise of a punishment if you didn't' 'cross your Ts and dot your Is'.*

I was a clerk rather than an academic (Teal).

We felt that we were at last coming into ourselves and being allowed to play with the 'big boys' as informed and mature partners.

I felt so lucky to be in a position to be doing what I loved most and giving back to the country in terms of educating our youth for a better and brighter South Africa.

But later it just got to be so different from anything that I could relate to (Red).

We were initially so excited about the changes that we were expecting to come our way. I suppose I was naïve. But there was just such a positiveness and goodwill in the country in general. I was so sure that in addition to international funding and collaboration that everyone [staff and students] would work hard to overcome all of our previous disadvantages.

I thought that this would be conveyed to everyone and that opportunities and funding and whole constructive work ethos would filter down and make everyone work hard and be productive and build our country into a powerhouse that could proudly compete on the world stage.

I changed from being a happy academic to become an unhappy secretary (Purple).

As we also now had worldwide support, we were going to be doing it using the routes and methods of our international brethren.

*I was wallowing in a context I no longer recognized. I was actually a little scared (*Green).

I realize we had been happy campers and a little naïve to the ways of the world, but I really thought our universities were productive, socially aware and well thought of.

I became a copy clerk. It was arduous to say the least (Blue)

We were no longer just going to be educating a few elite individuals. We were going to be working in a new system that transformed the masses. The previously disadvantaged masses who [had been] given these new opportunities at not only an education but one that was going to give them the ability to be productive and functional in this whole new developing economy.

As we now had worldwide support, we were also going to be doing it using the routes and methods of our international brethren (Silver).

I loved my country and the people who make it a 'rainbow' nation. And I understand that after years of unfair laws and practices that privileged me as a white South African that now that we were a democracy and that everyone should be given equal opportunities. But not by bringing in the changes that we had to

deal with - stupid and illogical changes that just resulted in failure for everyone concerned.

I had thought that the new regime and our standing in the world would improve our circumstances. How wrong could anyone be?

I felt a little crazy (Brown).

As shown in some of the quotations above, participants had particular difficulty in reconciling their expectations of what it would mean to participate in the global higher education system with what they were experiencing. Such reactions seem to have been particularly prominent amongst participants who had studied and worked at universities that had previously espoused "universal values of academic freedom", namely the historically advantaged English universities (Bunting, 2002: 42). Participants from these institutions had, as Gee's theory suggested, been exposed to "laws, rules, traditions, or principles" by "a set of *authorities*" (2000: 102) that espoused the belief that higher education institutions were places that ascribed to and promoted autonomy, academic freedom and collegiality (Kuh & Whitt, 1986; Albert & Whetten, 1998; O'Neill & Meek, 1994; Ramsden, 1998; Harley, 2002; Scott, 2004 & 2007; Clegg, 2008 & 2010; and Le Grange, 2009), aspects that essentially reflected these participants' notions of their professional identities.

I studied and worked at a very liberal university so I thought it would be wonderful to take on all the systems that our international colleagues had been experiencing for years.

But as I explained to you, there were just so many things that were brought in that were wrong for the way I need to do my job. It was just so very different from the way that I expected universities to function - and the way that I saw my position (Purple).

Except for being able to register and teach more black students I thought we would continue in much the same way.

The mergers with other organizations, the changes to departments and syllabi and having more 'stakeholders and role-players' just didn't gel with my concept of any kind of educational principles and practices that I was aware of.

And as much as we were told that we were operating like international universities, I am pretty sure that overseas universities never had to deal with the kinds of managers and changes that we were dealing with! (Silver).

5.5.2 IDENTITY VERSUS REALITY

According to Clegg (2008: 339) "[u]niversities and academia are imaginary spaces as well as lived and experienced ones". Like Archer (2000), Clegg (*ibid*: 329) does not perceive identity to be "fixed", but rather views it as an evolving and adaptive property that utilizes the power of reflexivity to develop and change with the new experiences and relationships that life brings along. Clegg does, however, acknowledge that the "context for any research that seeks to explore academic identities is always local" (*ibid*: 332). Zizek (1989: 110) would agree with Clegg on this point as he is of the view that members of the teaching profession utilize various mechanisms from their early experiences of being socialized to be "integrated in a given socio-symbolic field" (*ibid*: 110). As this concept equates to Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1977) as "an acquired system of generative dispositions" that are "laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing" (*ibid*: 95 & 82), as well as to Wenger *et al's* (2002: 9) point that "the knowledge of experts … remains a dynamic part of their ongoing experience", these statements arguably imply that the view that faculty generally have of academia, of their workplaces more specifically, and indeed of themselves as academics, is formed while they are students and when first commencing their professional and role-incumbent teaching and research positions.

As the participants of this study had mostly grown up in the era when institutions of higher education were still understood to exist to serve society (Gumport, 2000) and be "centres of learning" (Lynch, 2006: 6) that existed for "the dissemination and generation of knowledge" (Bunting, 2002: 40), one of the biggest problems a number of participants experienced post-1994 involved the need to reconcile their own understandings of their roles and identities with the new reality that had academic institutions functioning as "income generating businesses" (Singh, 2001: 10) that needed to be "controllable, flexible, attractive, relevant, efficient, economic and "market-orientated" (Trowler, 2001: 4). The swing in "allegiance from the academic to the operational" (Lynch, 2006: 6) led, as it had internationally, to the adoption of a number of new systems and procedures in the South African higher education sector. These, as described previously, included increased student numbers (massification) (Singh, 2001; and Bundy, 2006) and entrepreneurial endeavors in the form of industry-commissioned subject areas, programmes and research (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Singh, 2001; Deem, 2004; Lynch, 2006; and Scott, 2007). Following international trends (Trowler, 2001; Deem, 2004 &

2006; and Winter, 2009), these market-related initiatives necessitated an increase in stakeholder transparency (Singh, 2001) and quality assurance processes and procedures, phenomena that, in turn, led to accountability systems and a culture of audits (Deem, 2004 & 2006; and Lynch, 2014). The emphasis on operation systems brought about as a result of the privileging of managerialist discourses also led, in many South African institutions, to cost cutting processes that resulted in the closure of programmes and closures and mergers of academic departments (Fataar, 2003; and OECD, 2008).

5.5.3 MASSIFICATION

As will be seen from the forthcoming comments, the concept of 'massification' and challenges this brought to understandings of higher education as elite (Bundy, 2006; Scott, 2010; and Lynch, 2014) was an idea that was initially viewed positively by participants. This was probably due to participants having been influenced by general global discourses in higher education at the time that fostered the idea that there was a dire need for human capital and the development of a knowledge economy in order for people and countries to share in the wealth being created as a result of globalization (DoE, 1997: 5; Gibbons, 1998a; Castells, 1999; Richardson, 2003; Spring, 1998; World Bank, 2003 and Borg & Mayo, 2005). This type of thinking was particularly important as South Africa transitioned to democracy as the vast majority of the black population had only had access to menial work and had lived in abject poverty as a result. Also, many of the participants identified with the 'new thinking' sweeping the system as they had been educated and worked at "liberal universities" (Bunting, 2002: 42) and generally held anti-apartheid beliefs.

> *From the literature that I had been following it also seemed that we were on the right track to ensure that we kept this new entity neat and clean. Accepting more underprivileged students and engaging with one's social community just seemed so liberating* (Red).

Participants who had closer ties with the former technikon sector, the set of institutions that had had historical links with industry, were probably more influenced by the discourses privileged by the Ministries of Labour, Finance, and Trade & Industry (Fataar, 2003) which emphasized the need for an educated workforce to produce "the requisite knowledge workers to generate economic growth" (DoE, 1997: 5).

> *Students just kept flooding in. Come registration we were told to take as many as we could as we were told our numbers had to increase.*

So, in addition to having these enormous classes so many of the students were from disadvantaged backgrounds, and in so many ways were just not prepared for the quantity and levels of work (Green).

*A lot more new students were on campus. They were not as prepared as our former students, but they seemed to have a will to learn. We also understood the need for bigger groups to go into industry (*Pink)

Students were pleasant and happy to be on a campus that had good facilities and links to industry (Green).

Churchman & King (2009) note that many commonly espoused discourses "gain credibility and can cease to be questioned" (*ibid*: 508). Fairclough (1993: 153) expands on this thinking by suggesting that dominant discourses "easily become a part of one's professional identity". It is therefore not surprising that the early responses of most participants to change were positive. As a result, they accepted phenomena such as larger classes and challenges to their own conceptions of knowledge

We were no longer just going to be educating a few elite individuals. We were going to be working in a new system that transformed the masses. The previously disadvantaged masses who were given these new opportunities at not only an education but one that was going to give them the ability to be productive and functional in this whole new developing economy (Silver).

We were so confident as academics that we were going to educate and train all these differently prepared students so that the country could be transformed into this dynamic, democratic 'Rainbow' nation - that the whole world was talking about and rooting for (Teal).

This view, however, became somewhat tainted as class sizes continued to grow as more and more underprepared students were accepted into their programmes.

The staff, departments and the students were just expected to continue with doing more with less. A situation that just stretched a lot of people to breaking point. It resulted in a number of staff just giving up and going through the motions.

This of course then also impacted on students who were really not academically prepared or in fact motivated enough themselves to put in the difference. A lot either failing or just dropping out (Red).

And that's another thing. There are just too, too many underprepared students - who were really destined to fail because their matric[10] levels were just so low (Teal).

[10] In South Africa, the school leaving examination on the basis of which students are admitted to universities is commonly referred to as 'matric'.

This was done with industry input as they were being pushed to increase black numbers. Our industry had a strong government sector, and I was the only one representing the education sector. My input was completely ignored. The result was that students with poor results and aptitude were accepted into the programme.

Pass rates were dropped. We were being forced to increase our throughputs (Brown).

The following comments are consistent with research conducted by Gillespie *et al* (2010), who found that work overload, amongst other factors, negatively affected academics profoundly. In addition to "a demand overload", Webster & Mosoetsa (2001: 19) also report an increase in stress levels in academics as a result of the increase in workload resulting from larger student numbers, and because of "the changing nature of the job" (*ibid*: 15).

I thought the government would realize that they need to develop other training systems that have the same appeal as universities. But they need to leave the universities to do what they used to do - and not try to change them into mass workplace training factories. Universities were never designed to 'train' masses for work-place positions. So, don't try and make them into the source that was to fix the country's skill shortages and poor production and productivity (Teal).

I just thought that if they were going to continue to flog this 'pie in the sky' and have us have to deal with students who were even more underprepared than the cohorts that were coming through to us already, that any efforts on my side were just going to be bogged down in trying to reteach or rather teach former underprepared pupils with the basics before we could move on.

And to top it all we were expected to do all of this with fewer contact hours, administrative assistance and higher throughput expectations (Blue).

Churchman & King (2007) note that one way in which academics manifested their unhappiness at increased in workload was through the "withdrawal of intellectual labour and a lack of ownership of, and commitment to their work practices" (*ibid*: 515). Comments from participants suggest that they could relate to these findings as it seems they had given up and no longer even cared by the time they made their decision to take up employment in Abu Dhabi.

It all just became too much. I really felt that I was this lone idiot trying to stand up against layers and layers of bureaucracy in a system that I no longer recognized. And which, quite frankly, in my mind, had lost the picture (Blue)

I stopped caring (Teal).

*It was exhausting and dispiriting! I didn't recognize what my real job was … or who I was anymore (*Orange).

What did I care anymore? (Green).

*It became one of the reasons why I also decided to 'drop out'. I was just no longer able to keep doing all these new things that were expected of me. I wasn't an academic any more - at best I was a high school teacher (*Red).

I felt a little crazy (Brown).

Massification also became less attractive as a concept to espouse when large groups of students began to demand even greater change and support from their institutions and the government. When their demands were not met, they took to mass action resulting in the "trashing of campuses" (Webster & Mosoetsa, 2001). The destruction witnessed by academics went counter to what academics, especially those working in the historically white liberal universities, had ever experienced (Bunting, 2002). These academics probably drew on a 'select moral and theoretical framework' (Henkel, 2000b) as a source for identity that did not cohere with the destructive behaviour that they were seeing and experiencing on their campuses.

Every semester we would have the most horrible trouble. It became so bad. Because I would insist on running my classes unless we were told that the university was closed, I often had some very close encounters with a lot of very angry people. On one occasion, when I was particularly threatened, I was so frightened that I was sick for days afterwards … I just couldn't get out of bed to go to work! (Blue).

Job security or rather personal security became a big issue when students started demanding lower fees. Demands that unfortunately, just led to more and more destruction and fear (Brown).

I just couldn't deal with the way that students were destroying things around me. I know it's nothing like the scale of what seems to be going on now[11]*, but at the time it was bad enough, particularly at our university* (Silver).

5.5.4 MARKETIZATION

All participants in the study held the view that teaching and transmitting subject knowledge as well as culture to their students was part of their academic role, as Deem (2004) also

[11] In this extract, the participant is referring to the student protests against rises in tuition fees experienced in 2015 and 2016 in South Africa.

reports. Some, however, following Kuh & Whitt (1986), Ramsden (1998), Coady (2000), Scott (2004) and Le Grange (2009), were of the view that a salient aspect of their profession was the interrogation of thought and facts and the discovery of new knowledge. These participants, however, found that their roles as teachers, facilitators, mentors and adviser-counselors (Cornelius & Higgison, 2000) were so onerous as student numbers grew that time was no longer available for research.

> *Teaching was an aside, and something I quite enjoyed with senior students. But research was very precious to me. It had allowed me to both grow as a person and as an academic. It really was who I was and the reason I became a lecturer* (Green).
>
> *I had considered myself to be a teacher and an academic. I realized that undergraduate students required to be taught. The extent and the type of lecturing that I was involved in was fine until all the changes to our university happened. Being female meant that the way that I had had to move up the ranks was through personal research and supervision. Now instead of using my time productively I had a whole lot of extra teaching and other bureaucratic activities to perform* (Pink).
>
> *There was just no longer any time or energy anymore for the academic activities that gave me joy* (Red).

Research was so integral to these participants' sense of self that the increased time and effort they needed to devote to teaching and the concomitant reduction in time and energy available for research challenged who they thought they were.

> *My job kept changing. I felt like a grade school teacher handing out poor reports for pitiful work. It was soul sapping in the extreme* (Pink).
>
> *I enjoyed teaching as interacting with students is stimulating and I think keeps you young and in-tune with activities outside of academia, but research was my forté. It made me who I was as a person* (Red).

This alteration of their professional standing and challenge to their sense of self is consistent with findings by both Fulton (1996) and Henkel (2000a) who established that, while teaching and disseminating knowledge to students was important to academics, their academic identity was dominated by their research activities.

As stated previously, traditionally academic roles and identities emerge through a "a set of *authorities*" and an extensive, age-old history and practice of "laws, rules, traditions or principles" (Gee, 2000: 102) that are synonymously associated with "independence and

autonomy" (Lynch, 2006: 7). Aligned with scholarship and critical refection (Kuh & Whitt, 1986; Ramsden, 1998; Coady, 2000; Scott, 2004; Lynch, 2006; and Le Grange, 2009), the principles of academic research and its values and systems (Gibbon & Kabaki, 2002) are at odds with the culture of business and industry (Lynch, 2006). As further explained by Lynch (2006), there is a then a "danger that the interests of the university become synonymous with powerful vested interests" (*ibid*: 7). The introduction of corporate partners to faculties and departments, and the research requirements they brought with them became another push factor for participants as they considered emigrating. Closer relations with industry and an increase in "contract research" (Lynch, 2006: 8; and Scott, 2007: 208), was therefore a cause of discontent for academics who had traditionally viewed their research as having emanated from their own intellectual interests and endeavors. This, however, was not an understanding that was shared by all participants of this study. The reason for this was that prior to 2002 and the process of mergers and incorporations used to reconfigure the South African system, universities and technikons filled different purposes. They thus subscribed to different sets of principles, systems and processes with the result that academics working in each type of institution developed different I-, or institutional identities (Gee, 2000).

To a large extent, the universities had developed and functioned much like their international counterparts. This was particularly the case for the historically white English universities (Bunting, 2002). These were generally considered to be "liberal universities" (*ibid*: 42) and were more involved in "Mode 1 - discipline-bound and curiosity driven research" (Scott, 2007: 214). Technikons, on the other hand, were *technological* in character having been created for the purpose of teaching the "application of knowledge" (Bunting, 2002: 37). The primary function of technikon programmes was therefore occupational, and centered around training individuals for careers (Bunting, 2002; and OECD, 2008). As a result of their long-held function of providing industry with a vocationally educated and occupationally skilled workforce, academics working in technikons had developed partnerships with industry. The belief and value systems dominating the technikons were therefore very different to those in the universities. More emphasis was placed on teaching and training for work-based skills and practices than on conducting research. When industry-commissioned or "Mode 2 (problem-orientated and project- focused)" (Scott, 2007: 214) and funded research was conducted by

technikon staff, it was very often prioritized what Lynch (2006) described as the 'for-profit sector' and vested interest groups. Following the process of mergers and incorporations initiated in 2012, some academics educated and experienced in 'traditional' universities found themselves working in universities of technology or 'comprehensive' universities which drew on the kinds of understandings of research that had characterized the technikons.

> *So, the research that I wanted to do was put on a back burner and I was given studies to explore what, according to our faculty's research committee, was apparently beneficial to both the department and to myself. Apparently, I could win double kudus by taking on what was given to me by our new industrial partners* (Pink).
>
> *I was expected to make my research more 'applied' and to link it to our new stakeholders' agendas* (Green).
>
> *Research topics started to be suggested to us in line with the new outcomes we were teaching and in line with our new business partners* (Red).
>
> *I must admit that I found the added research that we were expected to conduct in partnership with industry, didn't just add to my load, it became a whole new burden and nightmare* (Blue).

In other instances, academics who had worked in institutions where the focus had historically been on teaching now found themselves working in contexts where research was privileged above all else.

> *They just eventually went on and on about conducting research* (Silver).
>
> *I have to admit that research became a dirty word for me and I think it may have been the straw that broke this camel's back* (Teal).

As noted by Moore (2003), academic work is closely associated with the concerns and identities of those employed to do it. The need for all academics to engage in research, where previously they had understood themselves primarily as teachers, or the shifts in the kind of research required of them involved shifts in what Gee (2000) refers to as A-identity. The A-identity comes about as a result of participation in sets of affinity groups and the mutual activities that sustain them. It thus stems from the power of practices shared by like-minded individuals. It is not surprising, therefore, that the mergers and incorporations led to strife and unhappiness. Interestingly, however, as will be seen in the next section, new forms of affinity developed as managers and the new audit culture became a mutual enemy.

5.5.5 MANAGERIALISM

The new social arrangement, the manner by which South African academics were managed and organized, and the way that they were expected to function, did not end with teaching and research. These new arrangements unfortunately extended to include roles and functions that their international cohorts had had to deal with since the early 1960s and 1970s (Deem, 2004 & 2006), and which, in the opinions of Lynch (2006), Dollery, Murray, & Crase (2006), Scott (2007), Churchman & King (2009) and Davis, Jansen van Rensburg & Venter (2014), were counter to academics' understandings or notions of professional trust, integrity, consensus and peer evaluation and the practices that emerged from them. Arrangements included audits, "inspection, control and regulation" (Lynch, 2014: 195) and involved 'performance management systems', 'measures' and 'targets' (Deem, 2004; Johnson, 2006; and Davis *et al,* 2014).

In South Africa, these arrangements were introduced to the higher education sector through the work of the Higher Education Quality Assurance Committee (HEQC) and the South African Qualifications Authority SAQA (OECD, 2008). It should be noted, however, that the academics working in the former technikons had some experience with quality assurance bodies and performance structures and procedures. This is because they had been subject to mandatory performance-type audits that had been set in place and operated throughout industry, professional bodies and technikon/government systems since 1986 (CHE, 2004; and OECD, 2008). However, it should also be noted that, despite their familiarity with the concepts and practices of what Trowler (2001) refers to as *New Higher Education* (NHE) and what Deem (2004 & 2006) and Lynch (2006 & 2014) refer to as *New Managerialism*, even those who had experience in the technikons found the processes and procedures that were associated with the HEQC and SAQA to be exacting and counter-productive to their roles and functions as academics (Badat *et al,* 1994; Jansen, 2001b; Jonathan, 2001; Kraak, 2001 & 2004; Maassen & Cloete, 2002; and Bundy, 2006) especially in the context of increases in student numbers, larger classes, and budgets cuts.

> *I think I kind of covered this. Giving new names to things and writing them up in more academic language or in more outcomes-based wording wasn't going to solve the problem we had with less money and more underprepared students. It just opened up avenues to point fingers at the academics for not having achieved some outcome or other or following some system or other … or for not having had*

the same pass rates and throughputs achieved in previous years. We were constantly aware that we needed to spend time in being able to show the evidence of our work, leaving out the fact that it took us twice as long to achieve the same thing with our students as it had in the past and with the added inconvenience of the time and effort it took in producing the proof of our contact hours (Silver).

And all this extra work just meant that we got bogged down in administration with less time allocated or available to lecture or to spend time with the ever-increasing number of students who had problems. All the while waiting for the 'sword of Damocles', hovering over our shoulders, to fall when we failed to either meet industry's standards, or failed to pass sufficient numbers of students according to set criteria, or produce the reports and records we had to keep to show for our efforts (Teal).

I had no problem with the idea of quality assurance as I came from a 'technikon' background and so was used to having to follow 'quality systems' for regular audits on our programmes, departments and subjects. I spent more time putting together support documents and files of evidence than I spent in lecture theatres teaching.

OBE and SAQA also took the whole audit culture to another level! All we did following their introduction was write and rewrite qualifications. The new format and systems that they brought in also seemed to give industry and the community too much power and say over what we did. The result was that they started to demand that we put in puerile outcomes that were quite honestly un-assessable (Blue).

The statement made by Tow (1994, in Gosling & D'Andrea, 2001: 3) that "[t]he paradoxical result may well be that vigorous efforts by agencies and central government to assess the quality of university work leads to its decline as more and more energy is spent on bureaucratic reports" is very much in line with the negative opinions that the participants of this study held towards the audit culture that had developed post-1994. Their commonly expressed opinions were that these practices were a waste of time and energy, scarce resources that could be better spent on core and more productive academic endeavor.

The views of Tow (1994) and of participants are also consistent with a number of other researchers including Johnson (2006), Charharbagi (2007, in Davis *et al* [2014:3]), and Churchman, & King, (2009). Johnson's (2006) stance is that although these arrangements were introduced to "create coherence in the higher education sector" and to maintain "high levels of quality and to improve poor performance" (*ibid*: 62), they were

mainly experienced as impacting negatively on work that was perceived to be truly 'academic'.

> *We moved from thinking that the world was open to us when apartheid ended to fast just became bogged down in designing new curriculum, covering ourselves with emails and counter emails so as to record what we had done or not done, and writing and creating reports to explain our 'quality practices, levels and standards' so that we could prove that what we taught was what we taught.*
>
> *I changed from being a happy academic to become an unhappy secretary – forever ensuring that I had a paper-trail for everything that I had done. Stuff that was becoming more administrative than academic!* (Purple).
>
> *It just seemed like a never-ending exercise of meetings with academics from other institutions … And ongoing bureaucratic writing with everyone's input being included.*
>
> *It just provided the tick-list to sanction us when results were not attained* (Orange).
>
> *SAQA and the NQF and OBE and audits, in my mind, served no purpose. They just seemed to be a bureaucratic pain as we were expected to work in groups in different SETAs[12] to develop outcomes* (Green).
>
> *Our problem was that our Vice Chancellor did not want to be head of a University of Technology that issued graduates with diplomas. So, there were big moves to show solidarity with policy and increase our numbers and develop our qualifications into degrees. So while we were teaching programmes that were historically skills-based and supported by industry, we were now expected to write them up, and present and teach them, and examine them like they were completely theory-based university courses done well enough to pass careful scrutiny by industry and peers during the audits that were also thrown into the new mix while, at the same time, ensuring that we complied with expected pass and throughput rates with students who need more and more of our time to pass.*
>
> *But the rules for programmes and the ways that they were written kept changing. So eventually most of our time became a never-ending exercise of writing up administrative stuff that just seemed to be archived before the dust had settled on it as yet another system was introduced* (Silver).

Johnson (2006) links 'collegiality' with "scholarly accomplishments", and these additional bureaucratic tasks, that had little in common with traditional academic practices, only added to the academics' sense of loss of identity. In a similar vein, Charharbagi (2007, in Davis *et al* [2014:3]) notes that managerial practices "undermine the morale, motivation and goodwill of university employees, managers and professionals".

[12] Sector Education & Training Authorities (SETAs). SETAs are responsible for organizing learnerships and internships in the vocational areas for which they are responsible.

Another of the processes that was perceived by the participants as functioning more to appease management and cut costs than to serve social or educational ends was the mergers and incorporations that began to be rolled out in 2002.

> *And although it was sold to us a way for the institutions to level the playing fields in terms of the distribution of resources and expertise and to foster greater collaboration for our research … It … seemed to me that it was just done to save money and maybe to fudge the reality of what was really happening in higher education* (Purple).

> *We were told that our university was going to 'merge' with our neighbours as a democratizing and partnership exercise to share resources and expertise for the betterment of our students and ourselves. The reality soon became apparent. It was just another exercise to cut costs!* (Red).

Partly as a result of these understandings, the mergers proved to be extremely difficult and fraught.

> *I had no idea that the merger would come with so much strife and negativism - and actually downright unpleasantness and destruction of individuals' characters* (Red).

> *Our merger came with a complete lack of logic and an enormous amount of micro-management that had all departments change in some way or another. Even those departments that did not have an equivalent or duplicate department from the other institution seemed to have been negatively affected* (Purple).

It did, however, give some faculty members from the many newly formed institutions a common enemy in the form of management and management practices, providing them with new networks and bonds akin to what Gee (2000) refers to as an Affinity or A-Identity.

> *I began to realize that I had more in common with some of the other staff [in the merged institution] than I had previously realized. I know we all felt the same about management* (Brown).

> It was good to share our common frustrations and gripes – especially about the way things were run (Blue).

> *I began to realize that there was some merit in the newcomers' views. They certainly didn't pull their punches about operations* (Pink).

5.5.6 IMPLICATIONS

As demonstrated in the accounts of participants, many academics no longer recognized the social identities emerging as the changes took place. As a result, participants increasingly described themselves, and their emergent positions, in terms of differences

and changes. These sentiments are similar to the sense of loss of control noted by Webster & Mosoetsa (2001: 4) in their research and of individuals being "traumatized by this loss" described by Churchman & King (2009: 512). According to Archer (2007a: 4), social beings are able to use their powers of reflexivity "to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa". As this is so strongly related to her notion of the development of social identity, I took the time to investigate the different categories of reflexives she identified as a result of her own empirical work (Archer, 2003., 2007a). I then asked all participants to complete "The Internal Conversation Indicator" (ICON) developed by Archer (2008) as a result of her research. These indicated that all the participants bar one, fell into the category of the 'autonomous reflexive'. Autonomous reflexives tend towards being "upwards and outward bound" (Archer, 2008: 5) and inclined to "adopt a *strategic* stance towards constraints and enablements, fallibly seeking to avoid society's 'snakes' and to ride its 'ladders'. They progress up the occupational hierarchy through self-disciplined dedication to work and subordination of all other relationships to this 'ultimate concern'" (*ibid*). The autonomous reflexive also "remains strong and responds to the challenge of combining social and geographic mobility" (*ibid*: 6). Given these results, it was no surprise that, rather than capitulating and accommodating the changes to organizational cultures and systems (Davis, *et al,* 2014) introduced post-1994, participants chose to resign and move to the UAE to continue their academic profession at higher education institutions in Abu Dhabi as self-initiated higher education expatriates.

5.6 ENTRANCE: EXPATRIATE FACULTY - ABU DHABI 2008 – 2016
A SHIFT IN CONTEXT AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW IDENTITY

"The illusion of control
makes the helplessness seem
more palatable".
Allie Brosch (2013)
Hyperbole and a Half.

As explained in preceding chapters, this study, using Archer's (1995) own words, makes use of a "methodological procedure derived from analytical dualism, which directs researchers to look at how the cultural [and structural] context is shaped for agents before examining what they do in it or what they can do about it" (*ibid*: 245). As the Abu Dhabi cultural and structural contexts have been analysed in preceding sections, I will now move to examining participants' reflections on their experiences once they had moved to the

UAE. In this section, I draw extensively on the work of Richardson & McKenna (2001) and Gee (2000) for its explanatory power.

The credit that I wish to accord to Richardson & McKenna is with regards to the themes they introduce in relation their research on how academics experience expatriation (2001). These provided me with a set of metaphors that better allowed me to understand the ways in which participants were exercising their agency in relation to their new contexts in Abu Dhabi. Richardson & McKenna (2001) warn, however, that the metaphors have the potential to mislead as they "provide only a partial understanding" of concepts. I nevertheless found them to be very useful. In addition to not use all their descriptions, I developed additional metaphors to account for features that I had identify through my thematic analysis – using NVivo®, that were not in Richardson & McKenna's 2001 study.

In addition, Gee's (2000) 'Four ways of viewing identity' were used as analytical lenses. As will be seen from the accounts that follow, Gee's *Affinity* Identity provided me with a means of exploring the way participants viewed themselves after having lived and worked in Abu Dhabi an academic year or longer. It was particularly useful as it quickly became evident that participants shared "a set of common endeavors [and] practices" and "shared culture [and] traits" (*ibid*: 105) and that they identified themselves most predominantly as (English-speaking) South Africans. This identity replaced their former, and apparently important, role-incumbent institutional/professional academic identities. It was also apparent that participants, like those in Clegg's (2008) study drew on Archer's (1995, 2000, 2003, 2007a 2008 and 2012) 'inner conversation' extensively, in order to "offer an ongoing analysis of their own responses" (Clegg, 2008: 333) to their former and current work situations and the CEPs and SEPs that these presented them with.

5.6.1 SALUTATION TO THE NEW SELF

Participants' responses to the direct question 'How would you identity yourself?' all showed that they privileged their national and expatriate identities over their academic identities.

> *Despite my problems with the situation in the country [South Africa], I feel I am still a South African who is just working in my chosen profession in another country. Brown*
>
> *I still feel proudly South African although I am temporarily exiled in Abu Dhabi*

working as a lecturer. (Blue)

I am an English expat researcher … mmm … [head tilt indicating doubtfulness] and teacher with my feet in Abu Dhabi and my heart in South Africa. (Red)

An escaped South African expat. (Teal)

*I saw myself as a temporary expatriate wishing to get back home to South Africa to lecturing again in what I had hoped would be improved circumstances (*Silver).

South African expatriate – sadly! (Purple)

For the foreseeable future I am sadly an expat South African lecturer. (Green)

Altogether I would have to describe myself as firstly an English-speaking South African expat … and then … and then … and then a lecturer. But one who constantly feels displaced. (Orange)

An expat in Abu Dhabi doing much of the work I love … with difficulty and adaption and with a new set of personal goals for myself. I do feel South African but I'm not in a hurry to go home as things there are just too real, and everything there just seems so hard. (Pink)

5.6.1.1 THE REFLEXIVE EXPATRIATE

These responses suggested that the move to Abu Dhabi had altered the way in which participants had previously viewed themselves. Having privileged their role-incumbent positions (Archer, 1995 & 2000, 2003, 2007a & 2012) as a 'community of academics' (Wenger, 1998), with a strong sense of their professional identity, they had made life-altering changes based on the disjuncture between their views of themselves and the ways that the system in post-1994 South African higher education sector had begun to impact on their sense of themselves. In this context, the construction of themselves as 'South Africans' and 'expat' was particularly noteworthy. In essence, the move to the UAE had the effect of shifting their identities from what Gee (2000) describes as an institutional or I-identity to an affinity identity or A-identity. This category of identity describes people as being linked to others who share mutual activities and practices and a shared culture or traits.

Generally speaking, South Africans bring a good work ethic. I can't think of anything really negative that South Africans take with them other than, perhaps, pushing the social distance and challenging authority. (Silver)

I believe that my qualification and experience are as good as people from the rest of the world, in some cases better when it comes to working with second language English speakers, and people with different cultures. We are considered blunt and

I think that's because we just want to get on with things rather than talk about them. We can be dismissive of people when we don't agree with them. (Blue)

As a South African I think I have brought a good work ethic. We work harder, most of us work harder than others. We recognize the needs of students. We go the extra mile for students. (Green)

As a South African I think I bring a level-headedness. I think we are also more realistic given the experiences we have in classrooms back home and based on things that are happening in South Africa. And we generally bring a wealth of experience and work ethic. (Orange).

I have come to appreciate that South Africans are very able and that we are highly marketable and valued and sought after in the international arena.

I think we bring hard work and a good work ethic. We bring quality and professionalism. We come from backgrounds with good adherence to good processes and procedures and so we like to maintain standards. (Brown)

I feel we have a tolerance. We adapt fast to different religions and cultures. And although a lot of South Africans who teach here were born in the apartheid era, we adapted and we now like the experience and knowledge that learning about other cultures brings.

We bring a pace and get things to move quicker. We also bring a stability and thought process that brings movement but not chaos. (Pink)

In noting themselves as having 'a good work ethic, bringing 'pace' and as being 'adaptable', it seems that these participants were not only proudly noting a characteristic that they felt best described them as South Africans but also justifying their value in the new context in which they found themselves. This is consistent with Kim's (2009b: 399, in Kim 2005) view that the "social capital and cultural values" of transnational faculty members are "strategically welcome", but it also perhaps suggests that they have not been assimilated into their new academic positions as they would have liked.

When listing traits such as having a tendency to 'challenge authority', being 'blunt' and 'dismissive', the participants identified characteristics widely acknowledged in South Africa itself, but which nonetheless could be considered especially negative in Arab culture. As noted by Kim (*ibid*: 399), expatriates are "not always appreciated in the various national and local contexts", in which they work so this sort of mismatch may extend beyond the experience of the participants. Gee (*ibid*: 109) explains that "people can accept, contest, and negotiate identities" in relation to how they want to be seen, but

unfortunately it would seem that many academics have little understanding of their "overall orientation towards life and epistemic paradigms" (Kim, 2010: 584). Kim also notes that expatriate academics often demonstrate little to no awareness of the global and neo-colonizing influences they exercise (*ibid*: 584), and of their potential to be "vehicles for the imposition of Western modes of reasoning" (Barnett, 2005: 785) in the institutions in which they now teach. As a consequence, they tend to impose their social practices, values, beliefs, and behaviour on their students and co-workers.

5.6.2 MOTIVATION TO MOVE

Having completed the section of the interviews on the 'push' factors that motivated participants to move to Abu Dhabi, and prior to questioning them on their experiences of expatriation, I pointed out that many of the changes, namely 'marketization', 'managerialism' and 'massification' that had ensued in the South African higher education sector post-1994 were part and parcel of changes that had previously taken place in other higher education systems across the world (Deem, 2004 and 2006; Bundy, 2006; Kim, 2008, 2009a & 2009b; Scott, 2010; Clegg, 2010; and Lynch, 2006 & 2014) - albeit decades earlier and probably at a slower and less erratic rate. I therefore asked participants if they had not considered that the same conditions, especially given the UAE's parallels to South Africa in terms of its youth as a country, its proportionately young population and its vision to be among the best countries in the world by 2121 (Vision2021, 2016), could not have been foreseen by them as being the same emergent conditions in the UAE as those that they had found to be untenable in the South African higher education sector.

5.6.2.1 THE EXPATRIATE ACADEMIC AS REFUGEE

Participants' responses to this question were similar to each other, in that, prior to their move, they had not done much research on the country or its higher education sector. Their relocation to Abu Dhabi to live and work seemed to have been more of a knee-jerk reaction to the emergent structures and practices in the higher education sector in South Africa than a carefully considered response to the changes they were experiencing and the question of whether those same changes might not also be impacting on their new workplaces. All this suggests that they had felt an overwhelming desperation to escape their South African work-based situations. In this way, the South African participants' reasons for embarking on their self-initiated expatriation journey to Abu Dhabi were very

like some of the expatriates in Richardson & McKenna's (2001: 71) study who had "taken an overseas position in order to escape" their situations at home.

> *I did not have any ideas set in stone. If anything, I was looking for a bit of consistency.*
>
> *The only things I knew [about the job] was from some of my former colleagues who had invited me to apply for my position. I knew a little [about the country] from National Geographic on TV. I had no expectations! I did not know the culture, the people or the region. I knew they had a lot of money from gas found 50 years ago and that the country was new and very modern. I knew that I had to get out of my job and all the craziness that was going on.* (Brown)
>
> *As I have said before I considered myself an academic. I believed that I could take my knowledge anywhere. Old friends who had lived here for years told me I would be able to blossom, as Abu Dhabi was truly international. I wouldn't be a clerk anymore!* (Pink)
>
> *I saw it as a safety line that had been thrown my way. I was happy for change but change that was expected, not the kind we were dealing with.*
>
> *Given my information I was expecting to work with other South Africans and other expats who run the institutions.* (Blue)
>
> *I was so tired. I had family living there. They were happy. I felt I could only be happier away from a place that I no longer recognized and where I no longer had any support.*
>
> *My family were not lecturers, so they couldn't tell me about this industry - but they said professional expats run all businesses, lots of whom were from South Africa. At least they would give me other support.* (Orange)
>
> *To get my position, I looked at all the job websites. I submitted my CV to all the major companies. I didn't care about the culture. I just needed to get out from the alien place that we called work. Friends here told me just to come.* (Purple)
>
> *I nearly backed out when I realized I had so much paperwork to do. I found it very challenging on top of what I was dealing with. But by that time my husband had resigned and moved across - and he moved because of me. He had made many South African friends who were involved in all sorts of different industries and he was happy in his new job.* (Silver)
>
> *The push factors were overwhelming. I didn't recognize who I was anymore. My friends suggested that life here was easier as it was run by other internationals. I should just leave rather than continually having to learn to deal with all sorts of new situations in my old position. Once off sounded a lot better than the backwards and forwards that had become my job.* (Green)

A friend of mine's husband was transferred here, and she was going to follow him. So, I looked up job opportunities for myself. When I looked at the website and saw XXX (current institution) advert, I decided to apply as it was an international company.

I had to get away from my nightmare. I reckoned it could only get better somewhere else. My friend's husband was much happier. She and I moved together. (Red)

As I explained before, I was happy to educate the masses. Former colleagues said the teaching here would be easy, as I knew my 'transportable' subject so well. Easy sounded good. I could not imagine that the management and demands here would be anything like it had become in South Africa! (Teal)

As can be seen from these comments, participants viewed other South Africans as a support system. Because of this, it is not surprising that they had begun to view themselves more in terms of their affinity identity rather than their role-incumbent institutional identity, the identity perspective that had dominated their perceptions of themselves when they worked as higher education faculty in South Africa. Gee (2000: 105) explains that "[a]n affinity group is made up of a people who may be dispersed across a large space (may in fact, be in different countries)". In this case, they connected with an affinity group comprising fellow South African nationals in a new country even though only a few had any connection to expatriates living in Abu Dhabi at the time they emigrated.

5.6.2.2 THE EXPATRIATE ACADEMIC AS MERCENARY

Unlike most of the participants in Richardson & McKenna's (2001) study, only two participants in my study identify money as a major motivator for their move. As explained by Richardson & McKenna (2001) this propensity would be considered unusual as employment opportunities in the Middle East have a strong association with good salaries.

There were many push factors, but the pull was the money that the job offered. (Red)

The pull was definitely money, a decent salary with travel thrown in as a sweetener. (Green)

In common with some participants in Richardson & McKenna's (2001:71) study who had not taken up expatriation positions for financial gain, four of the South African participants did, however, acknowledge "the improvement [their expatriate positions] made to their financial status". Adding to this they also admitted that location of the Gulf as a hub for

travel, along with new found financial means, provided them with ability to travel. The climate and perceived personal safety within the country also evidently compensated for some of the negative aspects of their jobs.

> *The personal part was great. Although living there costs an arm and a leg, we had more money to spend generally. We were able to afford to travel as we are in the middle of the world, so distances were not so great, so less costly.*
>
> *Despite work, the general western expat experience was good though, and I am glad to have done it in a safe and warm country.* (Silver)
>
> *Travel, even with children is now fun as we can afford it with our untaxed dollars.*
>
> *I deal with a lot of what goes on in my post because of the safety. I can send my children to a public bathroom without going with them. I can leave my things just like this* [open and exposed]*, not in a bag tucked under my arm.* (Purple)
>
> Travel the 360 days of sunshine. Working with people from all over the world - although this can have its negative side. Safety. Not having to think too hard about spending untaxed money – although it is very expensive to live here. In many ways, it makes up for the things we didn't expect to find in our jobs. (Blue)
>
> *The traveling of course - with real money[13]! The climate - well at least for eight months of the year.The security (as in personal safety) is one of the things that continue to most attract me. Even the smallest, dingiest little streets are safe to walk through. It's safe to leave your doors unlocked. It's safe for my children to play in the park by themselves. I will put up with a lot for that.* (Brown)

While Richardson & McKenna note that although financial reasons may not have been the primary reason for some expatriates moving to their new locale, they do caution that the "golden handcuffs" may lead to a future "mercenary existence" (*ibid*: 72).

A somewhat cautionary note does, however, need to be made here as the UAE, a wealthy country, prominently dependent on its oil revenue, was particularly badly affected by the drop in the international price of oil following the 2008 world recession, as well as the crash in world markets - in which the UAE was highly invested (Williamson, 2009; and Bjørnholt & McKay, 2012). This initially resulted in a stagnation of expatriates' salaries and a high inflation rate (Bell, 2016). More recently, however, despite various publications citing the UAE as one of the top 10 riches countries in the world, and naming Abu Dhabi as the riches city in the world (BusinessTech, 2017; Segarra, 2017; and Martin, 2018) a

[13] This comment relates to the rate of exchange of the South African Rand to other currencies such as the US dollar.

gamut of new taxes and levies have been introduced at local and federal levels - purportedly to balance the budget (PwC, 2017a & b). These reductions in income and added expenses have resulted in expatriates having to make financial adjustments to accommodate the lack of salary increases, the suspension of bonus payments and the ever-increasing cost of accommodation, food, clothing, household goods, utilities, private education, transport, travel and entertainment (Bell, 2016). In a strongly expressed opinion, Bell cautions that these factors may even result in a mass exodus of expatriates from the UAE.

5.6.2.3 THE EXPATRIATE ACADEMIC AS ARCHITECT

Only one of the South African participants identified expatriation to the UAE as "contributing to their career development" and, like the expatriates in Richardson & McKenna's (2001:72) study, felt that they had "developed professional networks and connections".

> *I have come to appreciate that South Africans are very able and that we are highly marketable and valued and sought after in the international arena.*
>
> *The international exposure in my job. I now get to work with a lot of international guys and its very interesting. I am hoping it will make me more marketable both in and outside this countr.y* (Brown)

Contrary to this, as can be seen from the following comments, a few of the participants believed that the time spent working in Abu Dhabi will have a detrimental effect on their careers.

> *My perspective of myself is that as much as I would like to be considered an academic who is involved in research and higher order thinking - I am a teacher. So, I don't think this experience will help me in any future career outside of this country.* (Green)
>
> *Research does not feature as it should at my university. And this is a personal concern. A professional concern! I don't believe you can grow without research, and they do not see the importance of doing it like we did it in South Africa.*
>
> *They do not encourage or support it in the department by giving you reduced classes or working in collaboration with other institutions. They just want you to fill out forms to show that there is a good standard so that they get to pass the numbers game. They don't get the real quality aspect of academia.*
>
> *They want administrative functions put into place. They want that kind of activity, not research. Not that freedom to go and explore and come back with new ideas and suggestions.*

This has affected my identity! I am no longer an academic. (Purple)

There is no real research or culture of research at my college. But it is in the new Mission and Vision statement, so we are working towards it. It does concern me as I feel I am being left behind. (Pink)

It would seem that the concerns expressed by these participants is well founded. Naifah's (2008) opinion on the issue is that, in conjunction with relatively few graduate programmes, there is little planning, funding and innovation with regards to research in many Middle Eastern universities. This set of circumstances is very unfortunate for the participants of this study, as although they had moved to Abu Dhabi to 'escape' from what they considered to be the untenable situation that had emerged in South African higher education post-1994, they had done so in response to the changes in their perception of their role-incumbent positions, and to preserve their identities as academics, "roles in which they [had] invested enough of themselves to feel at home with what they have become" (Archer, 1995: 256). Of interest is that this set of conditions is not only detrimental to expatriate educators' careers (and their role-incumbent academic identities), but also one, according to Romani (2009), that is detrimental to the region's "national independence" (*ibid*: 6) and the "aim to change the Arab academe from a site for knowledge *reception* to one of knowledge *production"* (*ibid*: 4). This is because, according to Romani (*ibid*: 6), "[a]cademic autonomy will only emerge and be achieved once local faculty can be installed and after PhD programmes have been effectively operated and doctorates awarded" for only then would the Gulf universities be able to hire the majority of staff locally.

5.6.3 THE EXPATRIATE ACADEMIC AS OUTSIDER

Unfortunately, as the following excerpts from transcripts will show, and as in Richardson & McKenna's (2001) study, participants did not find the process of adjusting to the structural and cultural conditions encountered in their new workplaces as easy as they had anticipated. This is consistent with other research on expatriation, conducted by Richardson (1992), Richardson & Zikic (2007), Slaughter & Rhoades (2004), Lewin (2008), Rupp (2008), Kim (2009a & 2009b), Wright & Rabo (2010), and Doherty *et al* (2011) who identified the distance between familiar beliefs, values, traditions, meanings and practices to be as great as the physical distance between participants' home contexts and their new workplaces. Mallon & Cohen (2000), Richardson & McKenna (2003),

Richardson & Zikic (2007) and Selmer & Lauring (2010) also found that these differences often resulted in the premature termination of employment, and repatriation. More pertinently, in relation to this study, the disjuncture between participants' experiences and statements that the goal was to "elevate the quality of higher education to meet international standards; to promote and incentivizing research; promote innovation, scholarship and discovery to meet local needs, as well as to partner with research institutions internationally" (MoHESR, 2004), can perhaps be best explained by Rupp (2008), Romani (2009) and Anderson (2011), who acknowledge that there are discrepancies between the way the sector is being promoted and the practicalities and realities on the ground.

5.6.3.1 SYSTEMS

Romani (2009: 5) describes the education system in the UAE as "highly conservative and authoritarian" while others such as Rupp (2008), Anderson (2011) and Williams (2017) note other negative factors including the practice of rote learning in schools and the failure to privilege critical thinking in society more generally. Ironically, it is phenomena such as these that are often identified in relation to the performance of black South African students from poor schools.

Expatriate educators also appear to face other problems, including a general lack of academic freedom as well as, according to Ghabra (2010: 2 & 3), "weak administration, poor recruiting strategies and practices, heavy teaching loads, too much emphasis on profit, ineffective faculty representation, and instability among staff". Walters *et al's* (2010: 3) assertion that "[t]ertiary education institutions regularly alter their vision, mission, and objectives", is paralleled by Mazawi's (2004) claim that Gulf administrators, despite having Western or American academic models, exercise complete authority over their universities. This is further underscored by Ghabra's (2010: 3) contention that "[f]aculty have little or no say in governance". It is evident that it was these types of situations that resulted in the problems that the participants in my study found difficult to deal with and caused them to be dissatisfied with their conditions of teaching, learning and research.

> *The university where I teach is a beautiful building but absolutely impractical. It was not designed by anyone who knows anything about education. To me everything is about appearances and I find it very difficult to work with the students because of this.*

Students are more worried about what mark they get rather than what knowledge and insight they have attained. They expect high marks for everything. They only want assessments that require memory and recall as they are very good at rote learning.

There is not a culture of respect from students. Lecturers feel that the students look down on them as we don't have the obvious spending power or social power that they have.

There is no discipline. If we do discipline or give realistic marks, there is interference by the parents.

We are trying and teach them from a broader perspective to try and teach them to take responsibility for their own progress. It is very difficult to teach people who think there should only be one perspective and one answer and who know that even if they never work, they will always be looked after.

I teach 15 to 20 hours a week in a classroom but then can spend the same amount of time in computer labs going over revision with students who are battling because of poor English, IT and maths.

In South Africa students have real problems. Here a student will be late because 'he has a sore leg'. They lie so easily. There is no hunger! (Brown)

I found the institution's bureaucratic processes to be very archaic. I learned how to get the first prize very quickly. If you don't get what you want, you walk out and go back an hour later when someone else is doing the job and you get what you want with that person. They are now moving ahead very fast with all their technology, but the bureaucracy and red tape was just horrendous.

The teaching hours were different for different lecturers. The diploma had about 16 or 18 hours per week. The foundation programme teachers taught for between 24 and 28 hours a week. If you came in early no one cared - but if you were late your salary was docked. (Silver)

There is no freedom. I clock in to accumulate my 40-odd hours a week and am not expected to go off campus during my working hours unless I have some kind of written permission. Academic freedom – what's that?

As I have said before, I don't think that I am as professional as I was before because I now just accept, and don't fight for the standards and practices that I used to stand for. This means that I have lost a little of myself. And as one of the main things I came here for was that I felt that my standards and integrity were being questioned and undermined, I didn't want this to happen here. But the same thing has happened here! Just in a less obvious and confrontational way and so you adjust and change, and to some extent, become a different person to the one you wanted to be. (Pink)

Appearances are very important. So, policies and procedures and outcomes and manuals and reports have to be padded to look good.

There is no academic freedom or debate, you just don't get that here, of really debating something and expressing yourself. You don't do that. You don't differ here. You don't argue your point. That is seen as impolite. So that is perhaps where I have made an adaption. I now keep quiet.

Rules and policies seem to change here as quickly as people change jobs in higher offices. It does not appear as if there are procedures or structures like Senate where issues are passed or ratified after having been discussed in different forums. It seems that a person with 'wausta', and what I mean by that is 'authority and influence'. You know this term? Yes, that's all that's needed to turn things upside down and have whole procedures changed. And it invariably means a whole lot of new ideas and functions and rules. (Blue)

The teaching staff are supervised by the chair, a bit like an HoD. There is a dual reporting line from there on, academic and admin. Admins seem to take precedence over academic standards and practices.

It's not a client-orientated business. It's not student-orientated or service orientated organization. To describe what it is? No, I can't. It's, it's … very much a system that is dictated to by the standing VC. These appointments seem to change constantly. So, what is expected under one VC isn't necessarily what's expected under another.

It's treacherous to voice your concerns. You are actually reprimanded or worse if you do. You are most definitely not encouraged to voice your own opinion!

Students are not allowed to be failed. So they progress from one year to the next, to the next, to the next. The students demand an A. Here students don't fail. They demand an A. Or they get upset about it .(Purple)

We have to make things look good. The college is going through its process of accreditation and EVERYTHING is about the forthcoming accreditation, so we are making it look like the material and assessments are at higher level than we really are able to give them. Especially when you take into account their poor schooling. And poor English levels and … and laziness … and insistence that marks achieved must be high, even when there is a minimal amount of work produced.

I lecture a full 20 hours a week but have to stay on campus 40 hours a week. That changes during exam periods when we are expected to be working (marking) for 48 hours. That's without giving you any extra remuneration or time off. They don't get that as a professional you will get your making done even if you have to take it home.

I am very aware of subjects that I should not talk about, or words that I should not say in class. But I have learned to get around these. I now find that if I approach some subjects and issues in a particular way, that I am able to get some quite logical and 'open' opinions about them. Not like a few years back when a stock

response would follow the discussion of some subjects. Not that we really get to discuss stuff, as along with their English being poor, they prefer to stay with subjects that have 'facts' not opinions. (Green)

It is very much micro-managed. It is extremely micro-managed. You feel that they are looking over your shoulder 24 hours a day. They do not trust you. They do not place trust in their employees at all! They do not see us as professionals. So, they monitor you like they would the cleaner.

So, we have to be on campus for forty hours a week and teach twenty. Clock in - that's a new thing now. For about the last eight months. With a finger so you can check online. And then, if you go under those hours, they cut your salary. No bonuses for longer. (Red)

There are always changes introduced somewhere during the academic year - changes that have huge academic and administrative implications! Policies here are very loose and unstructured. Nationals [as in Emirati] in higher positions can unilaterally change procedures and policies. So, although something is on paper - sometimes - it can be changed at any time. Under any circumstances!

Rules are not unilaterally enforced – depends who it's for. Local staff are treated very leniently in comparison to everyone else, expats that is.

Lecturers teach 23 hours a week. Previously anything above twenty hours was paid overtime. From now onwards it's 'watch this space'. I am actually working much harder than I used to for no more remuneration in the end.

Curriculum Leaders get a horrendous amount of admin to do and you are not supposed to work as many hours as a lecturer, but you still get as many hours as everyone else. (Teal)

On the other hand, their attitude is very much that you are dispensable, there is no respect for your qualifications. Zero respect! From students, nothing! And nothing from the institution. Ja! You don't feel valued at all. No not at all!

We average 25 hours a week of teaching. Administration was very often illogical, and professional development was very often repeated and irrelevant. Good performance based on various criteria and assessed twice a year meant not getting into any trouble, but any poor performance meant you are treated like a child during your review meeting.

Certain topics in subjects have been a problem teaching as they are 'sensitive' subjects. One student actually laid a complaint against me because of a topic I taught, as she felt that it was disrespectful to the class. So, I had to explain to her and the class there is no 'polite' way of teaching some sections of anatomy, so if students want to do medical subjects, they must just understand this.

When I first started, I thought the students were just playing around on their phones but then I realized that they were using the technology to translate terms that they did not understand. So, I had to explain to them that they could just ask

me. I think they come from schools that didn't allow them to question the teachers. (Orange).

The teaching loads cited by participants in the extracts above would have been considered unacceptable in South Africa, at least in the 'traditional' universities where it is typical for teaching to be organized in ways which not only require very few lectures to be presented each week, but also for academics to be freed of teaching for periods of time in order for them to pursue their research. In addition, even under the apartheid regime, there was a healthy tradition of dissent - even when adversarial opinions had to be pushed 'under the radar' of authorities. Different kinds of institutions in South Africa have different traditions with regards to academic governance, but all have some kind of faculty boards and senates that deal with both administrative and academic matters. In the 'traditional' universities, senates are places of enormous debate (Bunting, 2002).

For participants in my study, the conditions in their Abu Dhabi workplaces were at odds with much of what they had experienced as academics 'at home, even though most had chosen to leave because they perceived that their incumbent roles and academic identities who had previously enjoyed freedom of speech, the ability to research and teach their chosen subjects and the respect they enjoyed as disciplinary experts had been eroded. It is not surprising, therefore, that participants began 'looking inwards' towards the familiar and more accessible affinity groups as a means to establish an identity with which they could align themselves. As collectives who would most probably have socialized and interacted with other western expatriates in affinity groups, these expatriate South African educators would most likely also to have had their beliefs and values particularly reinforced by fellow South Africans,
engaging a mechanism that produced push towards an affinity identity.

5.6.3.2 POOR ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

The students are academically very poor. English is a massive factor and unfortunately as soon as they are away from the class, they speak Arabic. All lecturers have to speak English. Information has been translated for them to help them learn. All exams are in English. They pass - it's a struggle. (Brown)

English is still a challenge and they are not allowed to go to higher levels (past 1st year) if they don't have IELTS 5. (Pink)

> *Students all had the equivalent of a matric but with low levels of English, maths and IT skills. This made teaching really difficult as all subjects were taught in English and a lot of the time students don't understand the basics. So, we either had to start at very low levels to get student language proficiency to a point where we could move on, or we had to take every class very, very slowly to make sure the most basic of concepts was understood.* (Silver)
>
> *Everyone teaches in English, even the Lebanese teachers. They teach in English, but I know that they bring in Arabic just to explain what is being taught.*
>
> *The English is not great. They do an IELTS test and are expected to get a 5. If their English is not good enough, they start in a foundation programme.*
>
> *My English is no longer what it should be as I think we all start to use a kind of Pidgin English to be understood.* (Red)
>
> *I was not prepared for such low levels of English. When you teach subjects like mine, it was a huge shock. I had to teach a whole new English vocabulary. It's a huge stumbling block for everyone.* (Green)
>
> *And so, with such poor English skills, instead of initially covering my specific subject I become a language teacher. This takes a lot of your time, and it really does mean that subject specific outcomes are not always met.* (Blue)

According to Bailey (2013: 623), education can be conceived as "both an instrument and an effect of knowledge, discourse and culture". While acknowledging the benefits of education in building associations with others for mutual benefit, Bailey's concern lies with the hegemonic power education has for "articulating truths and impressing (or enforcing) cultural values across diverse territories". Unfortunately, as seen from the participants' comments about their second-language students' abilities in English, it would seem that none of them was cognizant of the concomitant power that their agential and role-incumbent position as educator had, nor how culturally prejudiced they were towards their students who did not have skills in English to match their own, or who did not share their own western-based beliefs and traditions. In Olcott's (2010: 2) view this is not due to "a lack of understanding" on the part of western educators, but rather caused by "a lack of awareness and to some degree ignorance". To this he goes on to suggest that "[p]erhaps foreign partners can enlighten these providers towards more cultural awareness rather than academic imperialism". Unfortunately, as discussed previously, the ADEC's post-2011 approach to English and the employment of first language [western] English-speaking academics, along with the fairly aggressive processes adopted in relation to the transformation processes of the education sector (ADEC, 2009 and ADCB, 2011), is a

stance that may well have contributed to participants' perceptions that, in addition to English, western customs and practices were desirable in Abu Dhabi's higher education system. To some extent, therefore, their beliefs and approaches can be understood - although certainly not condoned or excused. As also noted earlier, changes to the higher education system in Abu Dhabi introduced post-2011 resulted in the development of discontented Emirati religious leaders, scholars and laypeople, including some expatriate Muslim parents and academics (Romani, 2009 and Issa, 2013). Participants in my study had, unfortunately, been caught in the middle of this dispute, possibly contributing to their own perception of themselves as outsiders. This, in turn, could further have strengthened their affinity identity over their academic or institution identity (Gee, 2000).

> *I have found that I now only really speak to other South Africans about things like research as no one else seems to get m.e* (Purple)
>
> *We (South Africans) all feel we are just teachers, as what we do and how we teach is really not at a tertiary level.* (Green)
>
> *I am just sticking my head in the sand and only say anything negative to others who have the same view and practices as* me. (Pink)
>
> *Our systems were good so a few of us just carry on with the way we used to.* (Brown)

5.6.4 POSITIVE EXPERIENCES

Although much of what was expressed and discussed during the interviews was about negative experiences and conditions in their workplaces, participants also reported some positive experiences.

5.6.4.1 LOCAL CULTURE AND TRADITION

These emerged in relation to an appreciation and respect for local culture and traditions.

> *The culture of family, their [Emiratis'] close knit family orientated culture helps us teach our subjects in English. So, if someone is struggling, someone else will sit with that student. That student will explain all the work to the other one.*
>
> *I also respected their religion even if it takes time out of classes. You just adapt your schedule. It's certainly better than having to make up weeks of lost days due to rioting!* (Purple)
>
> *Students are not militant, even when they don't get 100% in exams and tests. They want you to like them and their traditions and religion. In that way, they represent an old-world set of traditions.* (Blue)
>
> *Older students from other Arab countries have a good work ethic.* (Red)

> *Students will help each other and translate in class if anyone has a problem. Weaker students used prayer time to catch up.* (Brown)

What was, however, really appreciated by many participants, was the quality and the facilities of their teaching environments. In South Africa, the historically black universities had always been starved of resources with the result that anyone teaching in one would have been confronted with relatively 'primitive' equipment and poorly maintained classrooms. This situation continued post-1994 because no additional money was provided to the historically black institutions to allow them to match the historically white institutions in terms of resources. Even academics working in the historically white institutions would not necessarily have enjoyed resource rich environments because of stringent financial constraints, equipment and facilities been damaged because of protest and riots and not been replaced, mismanagement of funds and facilities and the concomitant lack of maintenance.

> *Facilities work. Each student and staff member has a laptop supplied to them by the organization. Each classroom has a smart board and a projector. There are excellent computer labs. There is also excellent access to online library references. Classes can be big but tend not to be huge* (Brown).

> *The technology we have available to us includes interactive white boards, smart boards, projectors, all that. Technology-wise, it's first world. Nothing is missing. Absolutely nothing. Students can have their own laptops, or they are issued laptops. I was issued a laptop as I am expected to have separate work laptops from my personal PC. We give back our laptops. Students are given their devices as long as they maintain a minimum attendance*. (Purple)

> *Facilities were great. I didn't have to carry antiquated OHP's around from lecture theatre to lecture theatre to ensure that I could use some visual aids. We had everything at our fingertips. These things helped remind you of the benefits of working there, especially when students took an inordinate amount of time to pray, or just move between classes. These irritations did give you a break to sort out the piles and piles of admin stuff that we were expected to complete for every lesson.* (Silver)

> *Classrooms are well equipped with all the technological devices that are required for teaching and learning.* (Green)

While it was uplifting to hear that there were aspects of their students behaviour and culture, and of the structures and systems in their institutions that the participants did appreciate, my impression, once again, was that these properties served to strengthened participants' affinity-identities rather than their professional identities. This, I believe, is

because it was only other South African expatriate academics who, because of their previous experiences of teaching large classes of second language students in institutions that had to some extent become ungovernable at times during student unrest, were really able to appreciate Emirati students' passive nature and compliance to authority. The South African participants' appreciation of the technology and modern facilities also seemed to set them apart from other academics, especially those who were local or who came from places such as the United Kingdom or the United States as they seemed to have considered the amenities to be a little passé and the participants' enthusiasm a little sad. As all academics were also more involved in teaching and associated administrative roles than in research roles, their academics identities also tended to decline, with the result that they looked towards other aspects of their lives with which they could align notions of themselves and their ultimate concerns.

> *The relationship between South African staff is good because of the environment. We all seemed to come together and depend on each other. We don't always hang out together in our personal capacities, but we understand each other's stories.*
>
> *The way you bring your South African personality into the classroom. They find us different.* (Orange)
>
> *At work, we come together as a team as we seem to share a common understanding.* (Green)
>
> *Only other South Africans appreciate how good it is here. Even the other Arab lecturers seem to have had an easier situation in their home countries.* (Red)
>
> *Other staff just didn't get that not being able to voice your opinion or challenging authority was counter to progress. They just saw us* [South Africans] *as being a little rude.* (Silver)

Given that the UAE is a relatively conservative Muslim country (Godwin, 2006; Rupp, 2008; Romani, 2009; Ghabra, 2010; Heard-Bey, 2011; Ridge, 2014; and Williams, 2017), one of the conditions that was expected to emerge was the issue of women educators exercising their agency in classrooms occupied by men. It was anticipated that the tradition roles and practices expected of women in a Muslim culture could possibly negatively impact on classroom practices as well as on expatriate educators' sense of themselves. This is because the participants, all of whom, bare one, was female, had been in the 'new South Africa' during a time when their natural-identity as women and their institutional-identities as academics (Gee, 2000) were fore fronted and being

affirmed. Their discourse-identities, as a result of the way they were accustomed to behaving around men, and their affinity-identities because of their somewhat blunt South African manner (Gee, 2000) were potentially, therefore on collision course with traditional Muslim beliefs with regard to authority and control. Fortunately, none of the female participants in this study experienced any situation in which their gender/authority became an issue.

> *The men are more open and friendly. They are reserved. They will engage with you to a certain degree, but they are much more reserved than I am used to. So, I try and also avoid physical contact as I know that it makes them uncomfortable.* (Purple)
>
> *We had to originally separate classes and eating areas into separate male and female classes and areas. Students even had to have separate passages from each other in order for them not come into contact with each other. Thankfully these practices changed from the second year when we all had to relocate to a new campus.*
>
> *Despite students coming from the military, with no women, I was treated with respect and my authority was accepted.* (Silver)
>
> *The younger men I taught were quietly indifferent. What I mean by that is that they were not unpleasant, but neither were they at all interested in me as a person. Actually, they were all just lazy in a pleasant sort of way. There really was no hostility. I think they had come from schools that had female teachers, so they accepted our authority. The men I now teach are from other Middle Eastern countries and their attitudes and ideas are really quite western in nature.* (Blue)
>
> *In this institution, the classes are mixed. The big difference between females and males is that the females are highly motivated, and not shy to voice their opinions. I think that in keeping quiet the men are being respectful to me, and the female students in the class.* (Brown)

5.6.5 THE EXPATRIATE ACADEMIC AS TIGHTROPE WALKER

Linked to the concept of being an 'outsider' due to the difficulties and differences they experienced with the people and systems with whom and which they worked, the South African participants, like some of the expatriates in Richardson & McKenna's (2001) study who had also worked in the UAE, were aware of the "precariousness of expatriation" and "felt their lives had an element of risk". Personal security aside, as this was a positive impression experienced by many South Africans, perceived threats involved the possible loss of their jobs and the subsequent need to leave the country if they transgressed any

laws or customs. According to Pathak (2012), there are many laws that are easy to break in the UAE due to the differences between Western and Muslim customs and traditions. As non-Muslims, these differences and the threats associated to their transgression once again seemed to strengthen this group's kinship and therefore their affinity-identity. It certainly undermined participants' academic identities and put a halt to their notions of academic freedom, collegiality, a community of scholars and community of practice, and the seeking, inspection and questioning of accepted truth and wisdom (Kuh & Whitt, 1986; Ramsden, 1998; Wenger, 1998; Coady, 2000; Scott, 2004; Lynch, 2006; and Le Grange, 2009).

Adding to these comments, I would suggest that, although participants may have perceived a number of benefits as accruing from their lives in Abu Dhabi, the conditions that had emerged in the higher education sector as part of the region's traditions and culture had little synergy with their notions of academia and their professional identities. To some extent it would seem that they had moved from the frying pan into the fire.

> *The Arab culture is very much a blame culture. I find that a lot of the HODs want to find someone to blame when things don't run smoothly - but not to change things. But society here is too scared to, too scared to rock the boat, too scared to question things. I couldn't stand back and not say anything. I suppose I am lucky that I only lost that job [this participant had lost her position in a previous institution for questioning authority] and not my reputation or residency in the country. Other South Africans have though! (*Pink)

> *It's definitely a life changing experience. I mean it's like the most difficult thing I have ever done. How can I explain it? It's the insecurity and always worrying. Have I got a job tomorrow? It's worrying about doing something wrong. Ja! The way you interact with your students. The way you bring your South African personality into the classroom. They find us different.* (Orange)

> *When I worked at a more mixed institution a few years back, although they were split into separate buildings, both male and female students became quite demanding when some students did not get the results they wanted. A whole lot of them went to the Principal and, ultimately, the newspaper. It caused a huge problem. Unfortunately, everyone capitulated except one South African HoD. Their marks were raised. And people were fired, including the South African. So, we work under pressure to give higher marks than the normal benchmarks would give. And you don't say stuff, just to keep the peace.* (Red)

> *I think that to keep your job you have to avoid confrontation by learning not to express your opinion on controversial subjects and issues. Keep a low profile. This may change you as a South African.* (Purple)

I have a constant thought in the back of my mind that I need to adjust things to keep my job, and not in the way that I would like. But obviously if students' demands are met to keep up appearances, then there is something very sad about the system. We really would not do this in South Africa. (Green)

But as I said before, there was no security and people lost jobs for all sorts of bizarre reasons. And boy were they out of the country before you could blink. So, I was careful about what I said and how I did things. Very different to who I was and who I used to consider myself to be. Actually, I almost sometimes think I was suspended in some parallel universe, but one that I had sold my soul to. (Silver)

5.11 SUMMARY

As was shown in the preceding section, changes within the South African higher education sector's systems brought about changes to participants' views of themselves as academics. This section, shows how systems and practices in Abu Dhabi, had participants emerge with a view of themselves that was more akin to Gee's (2000) affinity-identity than their previous, and much valued, professional identity.

ACT SIX: CURTAIN CALL, BOWING OUT

"Life can only be understood backwards
but must be lived forwards".
Søren Kierkegaards (1843)
Research Center

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Located in relation to the globalization of higher education, the purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between the emergent properties and powers of the cultural and structural conditions that nine South African higher educators encountered as academics in their work-based contexts in South African post-1994, and as expatriates working in higher education in Abu Dhabi between 2008 and 2018. The point of focusing the emergent properties and powers was to explore their impact on the social identities of the group of participants.

The study was guided by the following research question:

> What and how did cultural and structural conditions in the South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors alter participating faculty members' work experiences and identities?

A number of sub-questions were then developed from this main question. These were:

- What cultural emergent properties did educators encounter?
- What structural emergent properties did educators encounter?
- How did they exercise agency in response to these?

6.2 STRUCTURE AND IMPRESSIONS OF THE STUDY

The structure of the dissertation includes an introductory chapter (Act One) that laid out the reasons for my initial interest and purpose of the study as well as the research question and sub questions. I presented a concise summary of more pertinent historical and cultural information to South Africa and to Abu Dhabi and the UAE in response to a view expressed by Sayer (2000: 53 regarding individuals' situations; "there is no view from nowhere - all knowledge is socially situated, and contextual". This was strengthened by Maxwell's assertion that "individuals' physical contexts have a causal influence on their beliefs and perspectives" (2012: 20).

I then went on to explain that my interest in this study had initially emanated from my personal experiences as an expatriate living in Abu Dhabi. In this section I began, unbeknown to me at the time, to introduce the relationship between structure and agency by relating my personal reasons for no longer being able to remain in my previous, and much loved, position as an academic in South African. This as was explained was as a result of the many changes that

had been introduced to the higher education sector post-1994, and my inability to reconcile these changes and pressures with my notion of myself as an academic. I then continued with an account of my move to Abu Dhabi to live and work - made in the hope that the conditions in my new milieu would allow me to replicate my former functions and responsibilities and revive my sorely battered identity as an academic and faculty member.

While in Abu Dhabi, I had many occasions where I met other South African educators. Their accounts of events and experiences in their former positions in South Africa and current positions in Abu Dhabi caught my attention and piqued my curiosity and I began to think about why they had experienced so many things in the same way that I had. As my reading progressed so, too, did my understanding that my interest went beyond superficial accounts of individuals' experiences and observations. I soon realized that there was a host of information on structures and systems that could have possibly caused expatriate faculty members to become transnational migrants. I further came to understand that people and the causes of their contexts were autonomous and separate from each other with different causes and influences affecting them, and as such required that they be viewed separately. With these insights I was more easily able see how a study based on self-initiated expatriate South African higher education faculty would be of value to future educators considering expatriation to Abu Dhabi.

As my intention in conducting this research was no longer to merely establish participants' "patterns of social reactions" (Cohen *et al,* 2011: 20), but rather to try and understand the underlying mechanisms of participants experiences, I chose to base what I understood to be a qualitative case study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Danermark *et al,* 2005; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009; and Cohen *et al,* 2011) on the underlabouring philosophy (Sayer, 2000; Danermark *et al,* 2005; Mutch, 2004; and Hartwig, 2007) and "foundational pillars" (Archer 2007a: 3) of Roy Bhaskar's critical realism (1986, 1998 & 2008). This was in response to my newfound appreciation and understanding of the importance of linking one's choice of substantive theory to an appropriate philosophical and methodological approach. Having also heeded Archer's assertion, that for anyone "engaged in substantive social analysis, it is crucial to be clear about the three necessary components – ontology, methodology and practical social theory – and their interconnections" (1995: 4), I decided to include Archer's (1995) analytical dualism and morphogenetic approach to explore the interplay between the 'people' (the expatriate educators) in relation to the 'parts' (structures and culture) that they experienced as academics in South Africa and Abu Dhabi. Further to articulating the realist concept of the 'people', and as the study was guided by the question of how participants' identities were altered by the cultural and structural conditions in the South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors,

Act Three served as the chapter in which identity theories, the relationship and the dialectic development of personal and social identities is discussed and explained. It also provided the context in which realists' stratified view of agency, and the concomitant emergence, at each level, of their different properties and powers (PEPs) were explored.

A good deal of Act Three focused on Archer's descriptions of 'modes of reflexivity' (2000, 2003, 2007a, 2008 & 2012) as she strongly believes that the "most important of the properties and powers [of people] is the 'inner conversation'" (2000: 306). This property, she explains, emerges following the development of a social identity and serves as the "mode of articulation between people and reality" (*ibid*: 306). Further to this, I decided to use Archer's (2008) questionnaire *The Internal Conversation Indicator* to try and establish if there was a mode common to the participants. The result was that all, except one of the participants emerged as 'autonomous reflexives'. According to Archer (2007), autonomous reflexives are "those who sustain self-contained internal conversation, leading directly to action (*ibid*: 93). They also tend towards being "upwards and outward bound" and inclined "to adopt a *strategic* stance towards constraints and enablements. They are motivated to strive to progress up the occupational hierarchy through self-disciplined dedication to work to achieve those aspects of themselves that they consider to be their "ultimate concerns" (*ibid*:5). In depicting the more self-determining characteristics of autonomous reflexives, Archer describes them as being predisposed to "remain strong and respond to the challenge of combining social and geographic mobility" (*ibid*: 6). These results were constant with individual who had become transnational expatriates as a result of untenable former conditions in their work places.

Interrogation of participants contributions revealed that although participants had moved to Abu Dhabi for the purpose of maintaining their professional, or 'institutional' (Gee, 2000) identities, they were unfortunately to be disillusioned by the cultural and structural conditions they encountered in their new workplaces. High contact hours, administrative loads and bureaucratic processes, micro-management, lack of continuity in management, rules, systems and frequent and seemingly irrational changes to curricula alongside the poor English abilities of students and their lack of application and motivation were cited as examples of some of the reasons for their disenchantment. Additionally, and of particular concern to participants, was the lack of academic freedom and the dearth of a culture of research in their institutions. This consequently led to most of the participants believing that their expatriate work experience would have detrimental effect on their future careers, and that they would emerge from their employment in Abu Dhabi disadvantaged and less well off than when they had started.

As a result of not being able, once again, as in South Africa, to be part of a corporate agency able to use their PEPs to impact on the CEPs and SEPs that they encountered as part of their workplaces, participants, by drawing on their "human qualities of reflexivity and creativity" (Archer, 2000: 288) to considered other aspects of their lives to personify (*ibid*: 11). Citing their backgrounds and ability to work hard as characteristics that distinguished them from colleagues, participants paradoxically, but perhaps not unexpectedly, began to diverge from their former, and life-altering adherence to the importance of their notions of themselves as academics, and began to view themselves in relation to their status' as 'expatriate South Africans'. This is possible, according to Archer (*ibid*: 293), because role-incumbent actors "themselves are the active jugglers with their competing role requirements", for it is their own definition of what constitutes self-worth in society which as at stake. As described in Act Three, this identity perspective is consistent with Gee's (2000) Affinity Identity, as the participants of this study, as a result of sharing experiences with other South Africans, began to view their allegiance "to a set of common endeavors or practices" as well as "to other people in terms of shared culture or traits" (*ibid*: 105).

Act Five was designed to show the way in which the accordance of separate and distinguishing emergent properties and powers to culture, structure and agency - SEPs, CEPs and PEPs – alongside Archer's a belief that "[t]he emergence of our 'social selves' [the agent and the actor] is something which occurs at the interface of 'structure and agency'" (2000: 255), allowed for the research questions I had identified for my study, to be answered. In this chapter, it was thus important to describe the culture and structural systems that the participants, as role-incumbent academics, inherited from past agential action (T^4 / T^1), and to describe the way in which they interacted with these, to provide the reasons for their transnational migration. The result was the metaphorphosis of their academic roles, agency and identity into an affinity identity.

Having presented my findings, and in trying to remaining true to the pillars of critical realism, I need to note that I am conscious of the view expressed by Archer *et al* (1998: 236) that "all beliefs are socially produced, so that all knowledge is transient, and neither truth-values nor criteria of rationality exist outside of historical times". In addition, as stated by Mutch *eta al* (2006: 611), I further appreciate that as a researcher I do not have "privileged access to the truth", as such, at best, my study is a "genuine attempt to formulate better means of understanding". As I further appreciate that I don't "[h]ave any objective or certain knowledge of the world" (Maxwell, 2012: 5) that I consequently "[a]ccept the possibility of alternative valid accounts of any phenomenon" (*ibid*: 5). The beliefs expressed in this thesis are therefore necessarily fallible and incomplete and cannot be generalized. I hope too that I provided a

descriptive and theoretically valid account of the cultural and structural emergent properties and powers that this group of participants experienced in both the South African and Abu Dhabi higher education sectors during their time as faculty members. I trust too that, without bias or prejudice, I was able to describe the way they exercised their emergent agencies.

6.3 LIMITATIONS TO THE RESEARCH

- The study is limited to the size of the sample. The sample size was small due firstly to the limited number of higher education South African academics in Abu Dhabi. The small number was also as a result of my having heeded the advice given by Danermark *et al* (2005) regarding the complexity of case study approaches to research; taking, therefore, practical considerations into account, I chose rather to study each case more intensely. By defining the requirements to a limited set – including: first-language English-speaking South African who had grown up and been educated in South Africa; had worked as a lecturer in at least one higher education institution in South Africa for two years before 1994 and for at least three years between 1994 and 2008; being a self-initiated expatriate, and having worked for at least one entire academic year in Abu Dhabi, I, in effect, limited the number of candidates eligible for consideration. In so doing I chose to err on the side of quality versus quantity.
- Despite the extent of data obtained from each participant, owing, as noted earlier in this thesis, to participants tending to unburden themselves of years of frustration and anger, I only made use of the more pertinent references and comments made in respect to the relevant structures and systems described and discussed.
- In spite of the assurances of anonymity given to participants, as well as the care I took to ensure that all data generated would be secured, many participants exhibited reluctance to speak openly on contentious issues that had been experienced. Responses to my more provocative questions were most often sidestepped and avoided. This, I believe, was due to the fear of losing their jobs that participants expressed elsewhere in the data.

6.4 CONSIDERATIONS ARISING FROM THE STUDY

- Institutions and authorities would generally probably do well to recognize, as noted by Barnett (2000: 6) almost two decades ago, that "professional life is increasingly becoming a matter not just of handling overwhelming data and theories *within* a given frame of reference but also a matter of handling multiple frames of understanding, of action and of self-identity". If they were able to appreciate these concepts along with other "practices that undermine the motivation and goodwill of university employees" (Charharbagi, 2007 in Davis *et al,* 2014: 3), they would probably be able to reduce staff attrition by "reducing work overload" (Gillespie *et al,* 2010: 54), "pressures"

(Johnson, 2006: 62), “intensity”, “loss of control” and “academic stress” (Webster & Mosoetsa, 2001: 13 & 14).

- Academics considering work opportunities in foreign countries as self-initiated expatriates would well be advised to consider the global nature of higher education and that “… *supercomplexity* increasingly characterizes the world we live in” (Barnett, 2000: 6) and, therefore, that many of the negative conditions experienced in their present places of employment, may well go beyond their institutions, regions, and countries – indeed they may be global.

- Given many of the views and assumptions revealed by the expatriate educators; academics who are considering work in the international job market should, as a matter of course, and in view of engendering cultural sensitivity, be informed of the hegemonic power education has for “articulating truths and impressing (or enforcing) cultural values across diverse territories” (Bailey, 2013: 623).

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

As previously acknowledged, this research involved a sub-group of individuals who had not previously been investigated with reference to the given set of systemic conditions. Given different subgroups, period and/or countries, it is a study that could be replicated *ad infinitum* using critical realism as an underlabouring philosophy and Archer’s analytic dualism and morphogenetic/static methodology as explanatory frameworks.

FINAL BOW: SUPPORTING CAST AND SCRIPTS

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I am not I: thou art not he or she:
they are not they".
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : COPY OF MEMORANDUM TO PARTICIPANTS

TO:

FROM: Gillian Janet Reid (Shan)

RE: Voluntary Participation in a PhD Research Study

DATE: xx xx 20xx

Dear

I am presently registered for a PhD in the Faculty of Education at Rhodes University, South Africa. To achieve the degree, I am required to conduct a. study within a chosen field of higher education and complete a dissertation.

In order to fulfil this requirement, I am conducting a study entitled: *Shifting contexts, shifting identities: A realist exploration of transnational mobility, change and identity construction in South African Higher Education expatriates in Abu Dhabi, UAE.* The title, and my interest in t his subject, stems from my own experiences of living and working in Abu Dhabi, UAE as an expatriate educator.

As a potential candidate who fulfils the requirements of the methods chosen, I am therefore requesting your participation in the study which will comprise at least one hour-and-a-half, to two-hour interview, with the possibility of a further interview as follow up. The interview will be conducted at a time and place convenient to yourself. I am hoping too to be able to find a suitable time and venue to conduct a focus group over a two-hour period with all participants in attendance. This will depend on results of information obtained from the interviews as well as availability of members.

A voice recorder will be used to document sessions, and these will be transcribed as soon after the event as possible. No participants will be identified, and anonymity will be provided through the course of the study and thereafter by the use of pseudonyms, as well as by the scrupulous securing of all recordings and documents pertaining to the research subjects. Copies of transcriptions will be made available to you before I proceed with the analysis in order for you to feel confident of correctness of your contribution.

Participation is entirely voluntary, and you may choose to remove yourself from the study at any time.

Please complete the attached consent form if you are willing and able to take part in the study. This will be collected from you prior to the start of the interviewing process.

Thanking you in anticipation

Gillian Reid (Shan)

CONSENT FORM:
PhD RESEARCH

I……. (full name), hereby confirm that I understand the contents of the memorandum and the nature of the research project, and I consent voluntarily to participate in the research study entitled:
Shifting contexts - shifting identities: A realist exploration of transnational mobility, change and identity construction in South African Higher Education expatriates in Abu Dhabi, UAE.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT: ……..…….

DATE: …… …….…… 20……..……..

PLACE ……

THE INTERNAL CONVERSATION INDICATOR (ICONI)

Some of us are aware that we are having a conversation with ourselves, silently in our heads. We might just call this 'thinking things over'.

Is this the case for you?

Yes	
No	

ON THE WHOLE	**←Strongly Agree**						**Strongly Disagree→**
	7	**6**	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
1. I do daydream about winning the lottery.							
2. I think about work a great deal, even when I am away from it.							
3. I dwell long and hard on moral questions.							
4. I blot difficulties out of my mind, rather than trying to think them through.							
5. My only reason for wanting to work is to be able to pay for the things that matter to me.							
6. Being decisive does not come easily to							

me.							
7. I try to live up to an ideal, even if it costs me a lot to do so.							
8. When I consider my problems, I just get overwhelmed by emotion.							
9. So long as I know those I care about are OK, nothing else really matters to me at all.							
10. I just dither, because nothing I do can really make a difference to how things turn out.							
11. I'm dissatisfied with myself and my way of life, both could be better than they are.							
12. I know that I should play an active role in reducing social injustice.							
13. I feel helpless and powerless to deal with my problems however hard I try to sort them out.							

X. In general, what are the three most important areas of your life now - those that you care about deeply? (Please give the most important first).
1.
2.
3.

X. Name your (current or last) occupation.

Participant Colour Code	

SCORING SUBJECTS ON ICONI

N.B. Please note carefully that for Question 6 and Question 11, numerical scores should be INVERTED when calculating an individual's score.

1. The questions are divided into 4 categories.

That is there are 3 questions indicative of 'Communicative reflexivity',

3 questions indicative of 'Autonomous reflexivity',

3 questions indicative of 'Meta-reflexivity and

4 questions indicative of 'Fractured reflexivity'.

---

2. The scores for the four modes of reflexivity are calculated as follows:-

Communicative reflexive score = (Q1 + Q5 + Q9)/3

Autonomous reflexive score = (Q2 + Q6* + Q11*)/3 (*= inverted)

Meta-reflexive score = (Q3 + Q7 + Q12)/3

Fractured reflexive score = (Q4 + Q8 + Q10 + Q13)/4

---

3. A score of 4 and above on any of the four categories of questions assigns a

subject to the C, A, M, F category, as their dominant mode of reflexivity - whichever is their highest score over 4.

4. F scores of over 4 are held to 'trump' other scores. Such subjects are registered as 'F' regardless of their other scores - even if these are higher.

5. Regarding question 'X' – it is presented here as we used it, that is, as an open-ended question about subjects' ultimate concerns. However, this has created some difficulties in later collapsing their responses into manageable categories. Although a lot has been learned through this, we would recommend that others take advantage of our experience and employ fixed choice categories.

We can supply some suggestions here which basically seek to tap:

'C' concerns (inter-personal relationships with family and friends),

'A' concerns (work, career, performative achievements, financial success etc.), '

M' concerns (intrinsic interests, socio-ethical pre-occupations, spirituality etc.) and

'F' concerns (resolving problems, establishing a better way of life, overcoming present difficulties).

* Archer, Margaret (2008). The Internal Conversation: Mediating Between Structure and Agency: Full Research Report ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-23-0349. Swindon: ESR2C7

ANNEXURE 4

<table>
<tr><th>STRATIFIED OPEN SYSTEM of the WORLD ONTOLOGICAL STRATIFICATIONS</th><th>STRUCTURE</th><th>CULTURE</th><th>PEOPLE as Agents and Actors</th></tr>
<tr>
<td>REAL
Includes events and experiences.
Unchanging objects of knowledge, Generative mechanisms, Non-observable Emergent Causal Powers, Tendencies.

Sources of powers from which identities emerge
-Nature Identity powered by nature and processed through natural development.
-Institutions Identity powered by authorities and processed through positions or roles.
-Discourse Identity- powered by rational individuals through their discourse and dialogue and processes through their recognition.
-Affinity Identity - powered by rational individuals through their discourse and dialogue and processes through their recognition.</td>
<td>Structural Emergent Properties (SEP’s) - Organizations, Educational Institutions and Systems, Roles, Academic Positions, Policies, Labour, Marriage, Property, Political Parties, Class, Race, Gender

Structural emergent properties (SEP’s) are distinguished by their dependence on physical and human (material) resources (Archer 1995:175),

Sources of powers from which identities emerge
-Institution Identity powered by authorities and processed through positions or roles.</td>
<td>Cultural Emergent Properties (CEP’s) - Ideas, Beliefs, Values, Attitudes, Intentions, Ideologies, Theories, Doctrines Language

Cultural emergent properties (CEP’s), are defined by their logical relations between constituents of the CS (Archer 1995:179),

Sources of powers from which identities emerge
-Discourse Identity powered by rational individuals through their discourse and dialogue and processes through their recognition.</td>
<td>Personal Emergent Properties (PEP’s) - Reflexivity, Creativity, Imagination, Ideals, Skills. (:187)
People’s emergent properties (PEP’s) are defined by their causal relations between Cultural Agents (Archer 1995:179).
As stratified beings people function in the realms of the Natural order - physical well-being, the Practical order - performative order, and the Social order - self-worth as “the self, the person, the agent and the actor” (Archer, 2000:254) having emerged from biologic persons with a personal identity, via primary agents to collective agents to actors with ‘unique’ personality having developed role incumbents social identities with a view of themselves as to “who they are as persons in society” (Archer, 2000:261). Emergent powers, these orders, and the development of ‘identities’ links in with Archers concept of reflexivity and how people “consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa”, as it is through the combination of the above and fallible deliberations that “people determine their future course of action” (2007:4).

Sources of powers from which identities emerge

-Nature Identity powered by nature and processed through natural development
-Affinity Identity - powered by rational individuals through their discourse and dialogue and processes through their recognition.

<table>
<tr><td>Natural</td><td>Physical</td><td>Social</td></tr>
<tr><td>Physical well-being.</td><td>Performative order.</td><td>Self-worth.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Nature - Powered by nature and processed through natural development</td><td>Core Self and Personal Identities</td><td>Affinity Identity - Powered by rational individuals through their discourse and dialogue and processes</td></tr>
</table>
</td>
</tr>
</table>

					through their recognition.
ACTUAL Includes events and experiences. Core identity/Self identity Continuous sense of self over time Powered by forces, authority, discourse and dialogue and shared in practice	S Conditioning T1 S Interaction T2 T3 S Elaboration T4 Morphogenesis of Structure Authorized by authority	C Conditioning T1 C Interaction T2 T3 C Elaboration T4 Morphogenesis of Culture Discourse and dialogue	S-C. Conditioning of Groups T1 Group Interaction T2 T3 Group Elaboration T4 Morphogenesis of Agency Forces of nature. Practice		
EMPIRICAL Includes experiences. Interaction and level at which aspects of identity are acted out, recognized and experienced by others.	I-Identity – role incumbent position.	D-Identity – traits	N-Identity – biological state A- Identity – practice		

Calvin and Hobbes clearing a path through the snow. Watterson, B. (2011).

A cartoon depicting the convoluted path of my research journey.
A caption of Calvin digging through sand may have been a little more symbolic of the context.