Black university students' experiences of negotiating their social identity in a historically white university

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology

At

Rhodes University

By

Opelo Petunia Mogotsi

Supervised by Sandiso Bazana

November 2017

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to explore the social identity of black students in a historically white university. Since 1994, South African government has been promulgating pieces of legislation aimed at ensuring racial integration, and indirectly enforcing acculturation in historically white universities. Studies have proven that institutional cultures in historically white universities alienate and exclude black students' identities. These students' sense of social identity, which includes amongst others; culture, heritage, language and traditions, and consequently self-esteem and self-concept is altered in these institutions. Research has been scant regarding the shape and form that black students' identity assume when they get to these spaces.

Face to face interviews were used to collect data and thematic analysis was used for data analysis. The Social Identity and the Acculturation models were used to explore the experiences of black students in negotiating their social identities in a historically white university. Evoking Steve Biko's analysis of 'artificial integration', it was illustrated how the 'integration' narrative sought to discard the identity of black students and psychologically enforce a simulation of black students into white established identities. The main themes discussed indicated that black students in this study had social identity and identity challenges in a historically white university. This study has implications for policy development as I hope to theoretically sensitize historically white universities to (apart from mere opening of spaces of learning) understand the social identity challenges of black students.

Keywords: institutional culture, artificial integration, racial segregation, identity, social identity, black students, Steve Biko, Fanon

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all the participants, thank you for sharing your lived experiences with me. This paper would not have materialized if it was not for you. To my supervisor Sandiso Bazana, for seeing and nurturing potential. Your input and feedback were invaluable.

To my mentor, Dr. Sophie Moagi, thank you for guiding my footsteps to this point. Your professional advice and support in this field are forever appreciated. To my friends, family, and colleagues, for being supportive and listening to my demotivated cries. This paper was a journey of both academic and personal development.

To my beloved parents, Obakeng Mogotsi and Theko Mogotsi, you have deposited in me, the strength and courage to move beyond boundaries and soar higher in any given obstacle. To my sister Keotshepile Mogotsi, you have forever been a pillar of strength.

God bless you all

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

HWU	Historically White University
HWI	Historically White Institutions
NPC	National Planning Commission
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission.
SIT	Social Identity Theory
RU	Rhodes University

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

This paper sought to explore the social identities of black students in a historically white university (HWU). The main aim of the study was to understand how black students negotiate their social identity in a HWU. The Social Identity Theory (SIT) by Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) and Berry's (2005) acculturation theory were used to understand the social identity of black students in a HWU. The introduction chapter introduces the reader to the topic and highlights the main aim of the study. It then discusses the social context of South Africa, the resulting effects of colonialism and apartheid as well as racial segregation. The chapter then introduces Historically White Institutions (HWI) by giving a brief history. Identity and social identity are then defined. The rationale for this study is discussed and research questions are also outlined. This chapter ends with an overview of other chapters in this research.

1.2 The social context of South Africa

Since universities are said to mirror societal experiences (Mnguni, 2016), the historical and resulting current social context of South Africa are relevant to understanding the social identity of South African black students in HWI. South Africa is diverse both linguistically (with 11 official languages), ethnically and culturally (embracing many cultures and customs) (Berg, 2012; McKinney & Soudien, 2010). South Africa is also diverse racially with African or Black people as the majority in numbers (Africans or Blacks consist of 80.5% of the population while Whites are 8.3% and Colored and Indians are 8.8% and 2.5% respectively) (Statssa.gov.za). 'Black' in this study was defined according to the South African race classification system as above. Black people are also diverse in terms of socio-economic status, with some black people living in urban townships and more affluent places.

The cultural diversity of the post-apartheid South Africa prompts a move towards multiculturalism (Berry, 2005) which Archbishop Desmond Tutu termed the 'Rainbow Nation' (Habib, 1997). As much as a movement towards multiculturalism or the concept of a rainbow nation is appreciated, some inequalities of the past cannot be undone (Matthews, 2015). Some of these inequalities were perpetuated by cultural superiority sentiments, which have shaped current South Africa, where 'white' culture has become ethnocentric (Crais, 1992).

1.2.1 The effects of colonialism and apartheid on black identity

Apartheid policy "regulated every aspect of political, economic, social and personal life, and progressively stripped 'Black' South Africans of their citizenship, homes, and human rights" (Franchi, 2003, p. 127). Due to colonialism and apartheid, black identity was flooded with negative connotations that contributed to the inferiority of black people (Fanon, 2008; Biko, 1986). Being white was promoted as being the ideal identity and skin color was of hierarchical importance (Fanon, 2008). The white race remains culturally and economically the dominant and powerful race because of privileges of the past (Matthews, 2015). In fact, the economic status of the 'white' race translated to cultural capital that became the quest of the colonized (Mda, 1994).

Apartheid in South Africa is, therefore, an undeniable political period that shaped social interactions (Foster, 1991). Racial segregation affected relationships among different race groups, mostly black and white relationships, and as a result, people formed culturally based interactions and social groups (Foster, 1991). Apartheid formed a basis for racial identities, black-us, and the white-other through legislation that enforced racial segregation (Barroso, 2015). "By imposing identification labels, the government provided its people with an identity" (Goldschmidt, 2003, p. 205).

In fact, starting from colonialism, cultural specific identities were crafted, but the economic upper hand that came through conquest positioned the culture of the colonizers as superior, and therefore, ethnocentric (Crais, 1992). Biko as cited in Hook (2004) observed the destruction of the 'black' person's ability to imagine and apply 'his' logical convictions, due to 300 years of oppressive rule. According to Biko, the most potent weapon that a 'black' person could use to remain 'sane' was taken away from him (1986). Decolonization, therefore, did not free black people from their complex past that not only affected their sense of identity but socio-economic status as well (Barroso, 2015). Therefore, sense of identity and socioeconomic status are important to understanding the social identity of black students in HWI. The relationship of these concepts to the social identity of black students in HWI will be explored later in this paper.

The enclaves that were created by the apartheid regime referred to as homelands contributed to the detachment of 'black' groups from other race groups in the country. This created a situation where 'blacks' in those enclaves recurved identities that were informed by first; their experiences of economic deprivation, exclusion from the broader South Africa, and most importantly, regrouping based on cultural values (Khunou, 2009). This created nervousness and

anxiety amongst 'black' people who dared to step out of their comfortable 'cultural zones' into 'white' dominated spaces, which is presently required of black students in HWI and South Africa as a whole.

1.2.2 Racial segregation in South African communities and universities

The South Africa Reconciliation Barometer Survey (2010) found that 42% of South Africans 'rarely' or 'never' speak to someone of a different race group while 60% 'rarely' or 'never' socialize with people of a different race group (Lefko-Everett, Lekalake, Penfold, & Rais, 2010). These results suggest racialized social interactions in the post-apartheid South Africa (in 2010). Racialized interactions continue to be reported in South African universities (Schrieff, Tredoux, Finchilescu, & Dixon, 2010; Barroso, 2015; Keizan, 2009; Pattman, 2007).

Racialized interactions, in the general South Africa and universities, may indicate unresolved anxieties, as already mentioned, that affect social relations even in HWI. According to Finchilescu, Tredoux, Mynhardt, Pillay, and Muianga (2007), the lack of racial integration is concerning as it hints a lack of transformation and unity of people of different races. The lack of integration in universities has been associated with non-acceptance of black students (Moodley, 2013). Could the historical context of South Africa and the resulting social context contribute to the social identity challenges of black students as well as challenges with racial integration in HWI?

1.3 A brief history of HWI in South Africa

The history of racial segregation in higher education in South Africa is important to understanding institutions of higher education, especially HWI in which black students are enrolled. The National Party came into power in 1948 and decided to offer higher education to black students in separate educational institutions (Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom did not accept black students, Rhodes University (RU) did the same with exceptions to certain postgraduate classes, Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand accepted black students) (United Nations, 1967).

The extension of University Education Act in 1959 proposed to have separate universities for black and white students (United Nations, 1967). Because of the bill, white institutions were prohibited from accepting black students (United Nations, 1967). According to Cutten (1987), the bill was an extension of apartheid policy that excluded people according to race. "A major task of South Africa's new government in 1994 was to promote racial equity in the state education system"

(Fiske & Ladd, 2006, p. 2). Racial equity in educational systems would highlight a racially blind system or a system where there is no exclusion based on race, which prompted the democratic government to make education accessible to all students regardless of their race (Fiske & Ladd, 2006).

Meier and Hartell (2009) stated that a racially blind educational system may lead to ignorance of the diversity of students in terms of cultural background and the implications of these on learning. A racially blind educational system may also result in an assimilationist approach, where "learners are expected to adapt to the existing character of the school and curricula that have been implemented for a different learner population" (Meier & Hartell, 2009, p. 181).

According to Collins and Millard (2013), HWI were created for a white student population. This results in a dominant white culture that excludes black students (Hook, 2004). Studies have proven that institutional cultures in historically white universities alienate and exclude black students (Steyn et al., 2014). These universities "culturally alienate outsiders, from the type of activities that are done in residences to the content of the curriculum that is taught" (Mnguni, 2016, para. 18). Approaches to theoretically understand the institutional culture in HWI show the underlying factors that contribute to the othering and exclusion of black students from the dominant culture (Phoenix, 2009).

These students' sense of social identity which includes; culture, heritage, language and traditions, and consequently self-esteem and self-concept becomes altered in these institutions (Steyn et al., 2014). Historically, education contributed to a conflict of cultures (Biko, 1978). Values, customs, and practices of the black community were negated in educational institutions (Biko, 1978) and continue to be negated through an institutional culture that favors a white culture in HWI (Matthews, 2015). Education brought by white people negated the culture of black people (Biko, 1978). Cultural practices were depicted as evil according to religion (Biko, 1987). "The people amongst whom Christianity was spread had to cast away their indigenous clothing, their customs, their beliefs which were all described as being pagan and Barbaric" (Biko, 1987, p. 56).

The institutional culture which favors white culture and disadvantage black students may make it difficult for some black students to adjust (Steyn et al., 2014). Educational systems are said to prioritize white culture through an institutional culture that alienates black students and makes them uncomfortable (Barroso, 2015). White culture in HWI can be defined as the types of materials and discourses (Vincent, 2015) in historically white universities before racial equity in

educational systems (Fiske & Ladd, 2006). The character of the university points out to institutional culture, which was defined by Vincent (2015) as the tangible (material) as well as intangible (discourse) way of doing things in an institution. The materials in these universities, (including buildings and teaching tools) as well as the discourse (way of thinking, doing and the stories people tell about the place- which have been reported to be ethnocentric and Eurocentric) disadvantage and alienate black students.

Disadvantaged students are vulnerable to adjustment difficulties (Petersen, 2006), especially when the institutional culture is different from their own (Bojuwoye, 2002). This may apply to students whose social, economic and cultural background had little or no direct influence of the white culture. For example, dining halls with high tables and the use of forks and knives at Rhodes university dining halls have been observed and questioned in terms of their suitability to black students from rural areas (Macupe, 2016).

Education in HWI is said to enforce an assimilationist perspective where black students are assimilated into the existing white culture, this involves the use of the English language, westernized concepts as well as resources for learning (Pilane, 2014). The use of English has been implicated in problems with learning (Moodley, 2013). Black students are assumed to readily assume this 'culture' and integrate into the existing system of learning that was historically created for a white learner population (Collins & Millard, 2013).

HWI are therefore not 'home' to black students based on the above. Being at home would involve being "in one's element" or to be "in one's natural abode, appropriate to one's character, nature, and activities, and in which one feels secure, enabled and productive" (Vice, 2015, p. 51). Feeling at home in a HWU would mean that one experiences the institutional culture as above. This experience would also involve a "fit between the person and the institution's way of doing things" (Vice, 2015, p. 52). HWI still have a long way to go for institutional cultures to be accommodative of all students. Transformation and decolonization of HWI will be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.4 Defining identity

"Identities are the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is. Identities can be focused on the past-what used to be true of one, the present-what is true of one now, or the future-the person one expects or wishes to become, the person one

feels obligated to try to become, or the person one fears one may become. Identities are orienting, they provide a meaning-making lens and focus one's attention on some but not other features of the immediate context" (Leary & Tangney, 2012, p. 69).

Personal identity as defined by Leary and Tangney (2012) is focused on the individual person, their dreams, and aspirations, their past experiences and future. Social identity, on the other hand, would be similar to the definition by Deng (1995), who defined identity as "…the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture" (p. 1). This definition is supported by Jenkins (1996), who defines identity as "…the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (p. 4).

While personal identity is about the individual person and their characteristics, social identity rather focuses on group relations and how people relate to each other based on their membership in different groups based on race, language, culture etc. (Tajfel, 1981). It can be deduced from the definitions and description above that social identity reflects the image (social systems, language, culture, folklores, values etc.) of a certain group of people. And, to follow this up, post-apartheid South Africa, was thought of as a 'rainbow nation', meaning having a unique, colorful cultural and racial identity/ies. This adheres to Bloom's conceptions of national identity as "…that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalized the symbols of the nation ..." (Bloom, 1990, p. 52).

1.5 Overview of the theoretical framework

The SIT was used to understand the experiences of black students in negotiating their social identity in historically white universities. Social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1979) is a social psychology theory that attempts to explain group behavior. Social identity is described as someone's self-concept in relation to a group that they belong to and value (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A group is people belonging to the same social category and emotionally connected to their group (Tajfel, 1981). Given its focus on intergroup behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the social identity theory will be useful for understanding the social experiences of black university students.

Black students may be a group if they classify themselves as such and are emotionally tied to their group. When trying to understand students' identities in South Africa, Pattman (2007) discovered that students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal classified themselves according to

racial groups and significantly pointed out race as a marker of identity. It is important to note that other classifying factors or individual differences such as gender, socio-economic status, level of education and place of origin may influence social categorizations and consequently the choice of social groups. Race is therefore not assumed to be the only classifying factor.

According to the social identity theory, people strive for a positive social identity which in turn enhances their self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Membership to groups is associated with negative or positive connotations which can lead to a positive or negative social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A positive social identity is as a result of feeling that one's group is distinct from the comparison group and it is valuable (Tajfel, 1981).

A negative social identity results from a comparison with the out-group where one feels that their group is inferior or insubordinate to the comparison group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). There are several solutions to feeling inferior, these include leaving the group to join a group of higher status, comparing one's group to the outgroup on a different dimension, changing values attached to the group and changing the comparison group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

As already discussed, black identity in South Africa has been historically associated with negative connotations that may still exist in the post-apartheid South Africa. These negative connotations may make black students feel devalued in HWI. Studies have indeed demonstrated the inferiority experienced by black students in HWI (Mnguni, 2000; Pattman, 2007; Barroso, 2015). In these studies, black students demonstrated a sense that they do not belong and are different from the underlying institutional culture in HWI. Different factors that have already been discussed may contribute to the development of a negative social identity.

Could the historical context of South Africa in conjunction with the resulting social segregation as well as the unwelcoming culture in HWI contribute to a negative social identity of black students in HWI? If yes, is there a possibility for a positive social identity development despite a negating history and a present alienating culture of HWI? Students may still positively negotiate their social identities despite the imposed negation of their identity.

Berry's (2005) acculturation model was used as a supplement to the overarching theory. It allowed us to understand the social identity of black students despite possible challenges with achieving a positive social identity. Acculturation refers to the interaction between different groups of people from different cultures. There are different responses to acculturation that individuals and groups can take. Integration was defined as the ideal response to acculturation. Integration is

described as the appreciation of different cultures while still keeping one's cultural identity (Berry, 2005). Integration would mean that a black student is open to learning other cultures but is still able to maintain their own values, customs, and principles.

Failure to do so would mean that the student assimilates, separates or marginalizes other cultures. Assimilation involves interactions with other cultures while one loses their cultural identity; separation involves avoidance of interactions with other cultures while trying to maintain one's original culture; marginalization refers to little interest towards other cultures (Berry, 2005). Studies have shown that students assimilate, separate and marginalize other cultures, mainly the white culture (Mnguni, 2000; Pattman, 2007; Barroso, 2015).

Integration as already mentioned has been indicated to be the ideal response to cultural differences. However, it has been noted that integration is only effective if it is done by both parties. Black students in Moodley's (2013) study indicated that they were the ones expected to integrate in a HWU. This one-sided integration has been described by Steve Biko as artificial integration (Biko, 1978). The model of acculturation by Berry (2005), like the SIT, illustrates different approaches to negotiating one's social identity in a multicultural environment. In addition to this, the model of acculturation provides a basis for understanding different responses to intercultural contact in a HWU.

1.6 Rationale and research questions

The author of this study concurs with Barroso (2015) that available literature on the identity (especially social identity) of black students in South Africa is scant. Moreover, the focus has been on self-identity and cultural identity (Goldschmidt, 2003; Mnguni, 2000) and rarely social identity. While some studies have shown that black students have positive identities (Barroso, 2015), there was evidence of difficulties with negotiating social identities. This would imply that a positive self-identity does not necessarily result in a positive social identity, therefore warranting an investigation of social identity among black students in HWI. The social context of South Africa has already been discussed as a possible factor that could influence the social identity of black students in HWI. Based on the background provided, one may ask, does the culture in HWI contribute to identity challenges of black students by imposing assimilation into the dominant white culture?

"As the historically white universities have widened access, the focus has inevitably been on academic throughput rather than on psychological wellbeing" (Young & Campbell, 2014, p. 362). However, resulting historical disadvantages can hinder the psychological well-being of black students (Young & Campbell, 2014). An unwelcoming institutional culture in historically white universities (Steyn et al., 2014), as well as the resulting consequences on the psychological well-being of black students (Young & Campbell, 2014), make the question of social identity relevant in historically white institutions of higher learning in post-apartheid South Africa (Meier & Hartell, 2009).

This study, therefore, aims to explore the social identities of black students in a HWU in South Africa. This study is relevant to conversations around decolonizing higher education in South Africa. As universities are opening access and coming up with policies to transform higher education (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015), they should also be aware of the shape and form that the identities of black student assume when they get to these universities.

To understand the social identity of black students in HWI, the main research question of this study was;

- What are the experiences of black students in negotiating their social identity in a HWU?

The sub-questions included;

- What influences the choice of social groups black students are in?
- What are the experiences of black students in the social groups they are in?
- Does the institutional culture in a HWU influence the social identity of black students?
- Does the institutional culture of the university foster a different identity from their groups' identity?

1.7 Overview of the chapters

The following chapter seeks to explore black identities and historically white universities. Writings from Fanon (2008), Steve Biko (1986), Manganyi (1973), and Bulhan (1979) are influential literature on black identity that was used to understand the identity of black students in a historical context of South Africa. HWI were then discussed, bringing in issues around decoloniality and transformation. Available research on the experience of black students in HWI was also explored. Chapter Three then discusses the theoretical framework of the study. The researcher explored the

tenants of both the SIT and the Acculturation model to demonstrate how they will be applicable in this study as well as how they will assist in answering the research questions.

In Chapter Four, the researcher explores the research methodology. The researcher documented how data was collected and analyzed. Ethical considerations such as reliability, validity, anonymity, and confidentiality were also discussed in this chapter. Chapter Five is the results and discussion. In this chapter, the researcher outlined the main themes and the sub-themes that were derived from the analysis process. Available literature (from Chapter Two) and theoretical frameworks (explored in Chapter Three) were utilized to make sense of the results. Chapter 6 is the conclusion. The researcher gave an overview of the whole research and summarized the findings. Suggestions for future research were outlined and the limitations of the study were also discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the identity of black students in the post-apartheid South Africa using writings from Fanon (2008), Biko (1986), Manganyi (1973), and Bulhan (1979). Literature from these authors were deemed to be an important contribution to understanding the identity of black students in a historical context of South Africa. HWI are also discussed exploring issues such as decoloniality and transformation. Available literature on the identity of black students in HWI is then explored. The chapter goes on to explore the heterogeneity of black students in HWI. This section on the heterogeneity of black students explores possible mediators of social identity negotiation in HWI.

2.2 Understanding identity

To understand the social identity of black students in HWI, we first need to understand the identity of black students. In a study with postgraduate students, black identity was associated with a dark skin color, culture (lifestyle and practices), language, and financial deprivation/poverty (Barroso, 2015). In a study by Franchi and Swart (2003), race, ethnicity, language, national identity and culture formed part of participants' self-descriptions. In another study, black students were reported to have more collectivist identification (Eaton & Louw, 2000). When trying to understand

students' identities in South Africa, Pattman (2007) discovered that students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal classified themselves according to racial groups and participants significantly pointed out race as a marker of identity.

Similar to Franchi and Swart (2003), factors such as ethnicity, gender, religion, and class contribute to the formation of the identity of black students (Pattman, 2007). Regardless of the demographics of the participants, (varying socio-economic status for example,) black was seen as being inferior to white (Barroso, 2015). Formal abolition of racial discrimination and segregation "did not undercut the existential experience of blackness" (Barroso, 2015, p. 69). Being black is then associated with shame and struggle (Barroso, 2015). Different views, however, do exist, some participants from the same study associated being black with pride as they reflected on surviving the struggle of apartheid (Barroso, 2015). In Pattman's (2007) study, some students reported that they were privileged to be at the university since some black young people do not get an opportunity to go to university.

Using Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, Trommsdorff (2012) purports that "values and religion constitute developmental contexts where family, peers, and school play important roles in adolescents' socialization in the respective culture" (p. 5). Identity is said to be a social construct that results from our social interactions (Cerulo, 1997). From Trommsdorff's (2012) study, social relationships with peers and family reinforced religious values. Identification characteristics such as gender, are said to be guided by social sanctions and social taboos (Butler, 1988). Through interactions with family, peers etc., specific gender roles, values and expectations are instilled through different cultures (Descartes, 2012).

2.2.1 Bulhan's Identity of The Black Intelligentsia

In his writing on the 'Black psyches in captivity and crisis', bringing in the concepts of colonialism, neo-colonialism, auto-colonialism and double consciousness, Bulhan (1979) discusses the identity of the 'black intelligentsia and how 'revitalization and radicalization' can bring about 'individuation and autonomy'. He described the black intelligentsia as the black person who has had contact with the western education and has internalized the western culture.

The western education is reported to slowly alienate the black intelligentsia from their social and cultural foundation. Bulhan explained it this way, "western education has nevertheless made significant inroads into the character structure and cognitive development even of those who

had the slightest contact with it" (p. 248). The black intelligentsia is separated from their homelands and they constantly battle with adjusting to a foreign culture. "Belonging at once to two cultures and to none, the individual psyche bears indelible marks of different cultural tempos and conflicting ethos" (p. 253). The black intelligentsia is "a creature of two worlds, and of none" Sivandan (1975), as cited in Bulhan (1979, p. 245). This is similar to the notion of double consciousness as explained by Du Bois (1903). Fanon, in his book, 'black skin, white masks' explains it this way "the black man has two dimensions, one with his fellows, the other with the white man… that this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question" (2008, p. 8).

Bulhan (1979) describes identity as "the affirmation and denial of certain attributes defining the individual in relation to others at any point during his development" (p. 246). According to Bulhan, this process of affirmation and denial can be conscious or unconscious and it only has meaning in the presence of culture. He described culture as "the dynamic synthesis of a community's knowledge, beliefs, values, and norms which express and derive from the contradictions existing, on the one hand, between man and nature and, on the other, among groups of individuals" (Bulhan, 1979, p. 246). With identity and culture defined, Bulhan (1979) purports that colonialism destroyed the African culture, leaving behind those aspects that were 'deemed harmless' or could easily be 'manipulated or mystified'.

The black intelligentsia's identity changes as they go through a process of identifying with the aggressor. According to Bulhan (1979), the process of identification with the aggressor results in the continuation of colonization- a colonized mind. While colonization involved direct control of the colonized, neo-colonization refers to the remote control of the colonized. Auto colonization, on the other hand, refers to the institutionalization and internalization of the oppression of the colonizer upon the colonized. This process of identification with the colonizer leads to identity change (Bulhan, 1979). "Cut from his indigenous mode of production and culture, alienated from his original social nexus and group reference, the contemporary black factor identifies with the oppressor and adopts his predatory practices" (Bulhan, 1979, p. 245).

Similar to identification with the aggressor, Fanon (2008) reported that "the colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards" (p. 9). This loss of identity, as the black intelligentsia identifies with the aggressor and loss of culture (through colonization and 'its camouflages') leads to significant distress (Bulhan,

1979). Separated from his culture, and not belonging to the colonizer's world, which he is now closer to, the black intelligentsia goes through a period of despair and loneliness (Bulhan, 1979). To combat this, Bulhan suggests that the black intelligentsia should radicalize and revitalize himself.

"Revitalization marks a painful stage of re-evaluation and re-discovery. Associated with it are categorical repudiations of an oppressive present and vehement affirmations of a romanticized past. This is a reactive phase and necessary prelude to the emergence of individuation and autonomy" (Bulhan, 1979, p. 260). The black intelligentsia must 'tear away' from the influences of the western culture. "The blacks who gain consciousness of their ordained factorship find that somehow they have to come to terms not only with a personal past but also a collective past tainted with scars left by alien forces" (Bulhan, 1979, p. 260). This is similar to Steve Biko's black consciousness movement, where a black person redefines himself, remembers their past, their culture and their roots (Biko, 1987).

The black student attending HWI fits the description of a black intelligentsia. Through processes of elimination, they have made it this far to university level with most of them living away from their families. They have had at least ten years of western education and through multiculturalism and acculturation, they have been slowly alienated from their culture. Bulhan (1979) helps us to understand the identity of a black man, more specifically the black man studied in this research, the black intelligentsia.

2.2.2 Manganyi's being black in the world

In his book entitled 'being black in the world', Manganyi sought to help us understand the black experience of being in the world. The urban African is described as someone who has been exposed to urbanization and industrialization that came with colonization. Africans in the urban areas of South Africa are reported to consist of the 'townsmen' and the 'migrants' (Manganyi, 1973). The townsmen have "no important links with the rural and their networks of important personal relationships are found in the urban areas". This is the opposite of the migrants, who are "more 'traditionalist in outlook' and their networks of personal relationships are rurally based" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 9).

In line with Senghor's understanding of Negritude, Manganyi's understanding of African personality means that there is "an experiential repertoire which may be considered distinctly

African" (p. 36). Manganyi postulates that "the concept of African personality is synonymous with that of Negritude as formulated by Senghor" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 41). Based on Manganyi's assertion, the history of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa has resulted in a way of being and relating to the world that is different for black people.

According to Manganyi, there is an African way of relating to the body, others, space and time and objects. "One of the legacies of colonialism in Africa has been the development of the dichotomy relating to the body, namely, the 'bad' and 'good' body" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 28). "The white man's body has been projected as the standard, the norm of beauty, of accomplishment... on the contrary, the black body, projected as the 'bad' body, has always been projected as being inferior and unwholesome" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 28). The distinction between the white body and the black body is reported to have affected interracial relationships (Manganyi, 1973). Based on the aforementioned, one's experience of their body, as historically depicted as bad, continues the dichotomy of the black experience of the world and the white experience of the world.

Manganyi's understanding of the black identity is relevant to this study in that he proposes a distinct way of being and relating for black people. Based on the aim of this study, one would conclude that there is possibly a different way of being for black students in historically white universities. The history of colonialism and apartheid that affected black people in South Africa may have resulted in a repertoire of behaviors and attitudes that are different for black students in historically white universities.

2.2.3 Inferiority, Double Consciousness, and Black Consciousness

Using Fanon, Du Bois, and Steve Biko's writings, this segment intends to understand the identity of black students based on inferiority, double consciousness, and black consciousness. Both Fanon and Biko speak about the inferiority of black people that have been historically imposed. The Black Consciousness movement speaks to correcting the injustices of colonialism and apartheid. All these authors, in one way or another, whether directly or indirectly, speak about the healing of the African soul- black consciousness. Different studies that have used these authors' brilliant minds to understand black identity will be referred to in this chapter.

Fanon remains an influential writer around black identities and decolonization. A recent study by Barroso (2015) will be referred to in this discussion. In a study in a South African historically white university (Barroso, 2015), it was deduced that Frantz Fanon's notion of the

identity of a black man is applicable and relevant to understanding experiences of black university students.

In his book on 'black skin, white masks' Frantz Fanon helps us to understand the psychology of the colonized mind. He proposes that the identity of the black man changed due to forces of colonization. His aim is to "help the black man to free himself of the arsenal of complexes that has been developed by the colonial environment" (Fanon, 2008, p. 19). The colonial environment has led to the inferiority of the black man both socially and economically. The solution to inferiority is then to assimilate to the dominant culture of the colonizer. The black man adopts a different language, which Fanon reported as an adoption of a different way of being, a different culture altogether (Fanon, 2008). Given his understanding of adopting a different language, it is understandable why Fanon speaks quite extensively about a man who has been to France (the colonizer's land) and not only is he speaking French, he behaves differently. "The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter—that is, he will come closer to being a real human being—in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language" (Fanon, 2008, p. 8).

The Negro that Fanon describes, aspires to be white by adopting and mastering his former master's language and culture. This is consistent with Bulhan's identification with the oppressor. In identifying with his master, the Negro can finally rid of himself his inferior body (Fanon, 2008). "The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle" (Fanon, 2008, p. 9).

Bhabha (1994) refers to this assimilation or identification with the oppressor as mimicry. Mimicry refers to an aspiration to be white, it encompasses trying to attain the "white culture, white language, white dress and white governance" (Barroso, 2015). In Pattman's (2007) study, some black students were reported to be "trying too hard to be white" (p. 481). The said black students are reported to use English among same ethnic group students and dressed in a way that was classified as "white". Barroso (2015) highlights the importance of assimilation into a white culture in that one needs to be socialized into the western world to make any sense and to be taken seriously. Being socialized into the white world is said to lead to one compromising to assimilate (Barroso, 2015). Black students would then have to compromise their customs, language, and beliefs to function in the white world.

This assimilation or identification with the oppressor becomes problematic as it leads to double consciousness. As the black man escapes his inferiority by adopting the dominant, superior culture of his colonizers, he is slowly drifting from his own identity and culture (Fanon, 2008). He adopts a new identity that he 'imposes' on those around him (Fanon, 2008). Fanon describes it with this example;

> "After several months of living in France, a country boy returns to his family. Noticing a farm implement, he asks his father, an old don't-pull-that- kind-of-thing-on-me peasant, "Tell me, what does one call that apparatus?" His father replies by dropping the tool on the boy's feet, and the amnesia vanishes" (Fanon, 2008, p. 13).

From the extract above, the young boy described comes back from France with a new way of relating to his family, he speaks a different language and he is a different person altogether. Mimicry is described to be more complex for the elite black man (or the black intelligentsia by Bulhan, 1979) who is constantly torn between the need to succeed (associated with being white) and longing for black sameness with fellow black men (Barroso, 2015). With specific regards to black students in HWI, identity is not only mitigated by institutional culture in HWI but black people in the wider South Africa as well (Barroso, 2015). Going to university is associated with aspiring to be white (Barroso, 2015). The act of being torn apart between aspiring to be white and the need to fit into one's society and culture is termed double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903; Fanon, 2008).

"WEB Du Bois, in the Souls of Black Folk refers to the notion of double consciousness as 'a peculiar sensation' (1903). Du Bois elaborates that; "…this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (1903, p. 15). It is this double consciousness that makes racial/cultural integration almost impossible as the paper shall demonstrate later.

Double consciousness places students in an awkward and uncomfortable position both at the university and at home (Barroso, 2015). They receive disdain when they associate with white people both at school and in the society. Participants in Barroso's (2015) study reported being called "coconuts", which is a derogatory term referring to a black person who acts "white" and has lost what it means to be truly black. Double consciousness brings about discrimination, isolation, and frustration and may further result in black on black racism especially if one is a foreigner (Barroso, 2015).

While double consciousness and mimicry can bring about isolation and frustration (Barroso, 2015), mimicry, as postulated by Bhabha (1994), seem to reflect some form of control and resilience on the part of the colonized. Mimicry, as postulated by Homi Bhabha, would suggest that the 'black' intelligentsia mimics the culture of the other, and upon mastering it—illustrate to 'his' masters that he has learned to be like the master (1994). Bhabha argued that mimicry could be used as a method of resisting the impact of colonialism (Bhabha, 1994). For Bhabha, when the oppressed mimics the oppressor ('very well') he/she indirectly suggests that the culture of the oppressor is a culture of performance. Meaning, it can be performed, it does not mean the oppressed is succumbing to the dictates of the oppressor's culture (as described by some authors above), for Bhabha, mimicry undermines the oppressor's gains (Bhabha, 1994).

Whether it as a result of succumbing to the oppressor's culture (Fanon, 2008; Bulhan, 1979), or performing the oppressor's culture to show resistance (Bhabha, 1994), double consciousness results in recognition that there are variations between the institutional culture and societal culture at home. Institutional culture (which will be explored in detail later) is depicted by how things are done in historical white universities (Vincent, 2015). The anticipation of a struggle of having to negotiate one's identity when at home may affect how one then negotiates their identity in HWI. Double consciousness creates an anxiety-provoking experience for black students because they lack a sense of belonging, they are a "coconut" but not white, and not black enough due to their level of education which is associated with being white (Barroso, 2015). The above indicates possibilities of identity struggle for black university students in the post-apartheid South Africa.

Fanon's ideas are relevant to understanding the identity of black students in a historically white university. Fanon asserts that his writings are applicable to any population that had been colonized. "I have reached pertain to the French Antilles; at the same time, I am not unaware that the same behavior patterns obtain in every race that has been subjected to colonization" (Fanon, 2008, p. 15). The black student who attends a HWU is like the Antilles going to France where there is the dominance of the colonizer's ways of doing things or way of being in the world. HWI have been reported to be dominated by the white culture in which they were founded (Mbembe, 2016). Barroso (2015) has demonstrated the applicability of Fanon's ideas in a historically white university.

In his writing on 'I Write What I Like', Steve Biko explored the inferiority of the black man as well as the privilege and dominance of the white man. "From this it becomes clear that as long as blacks are suffering from inferiority complex---a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration, and derision---they will be useless as co-architects of a normal society where man is nothing else but man for his own sake" (Biko, 1987, p. 21). Black consciousness then stems from this recognition of the inferiority of the black man.

Manganyi (1973) reported that black consciousness "starts from the existential fact of the black body" (p. 19). Black consciousness includes a mutual knowledge of the mutual suffering (of black people) through abuse and exploitation (by colonialism and apartheid) and a mutual need to escape this suffering (Manganyi, 1973). It also includes being conscious of one's cultural heritage which has been 'assaulted' by colonization (Manganyi, 1973). Black consciousness requires the black man to "pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth" (Biko, 1987, p. 29). "We are being called upon to experience our black body in a revitalized way, we are being called upon to change the negative sociological schemas being imposed upon us by the whites" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 19).

> "Here again "black consciousness" seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not to be fooled by white society who have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other" (Biko, 1987, p. 30).

When commenting on skin color, and whether black consciousness is based on race, Manganyi reported that "the skin color in and of itself is insignificant" and that "what is important is what the skin color actually signifies in sociological and psychological terms" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 18). Black consciousness "works on the knowledge that 'white hatred' is negative, though understandable, and leads to precipitate and shot-gun methods which may be disastrous for black and white alike" (Biko, 1987, p. 31). Black consciousness, therefore, seeks to channel the anger of the black man away from white hatred but towards appreciating ones' culture, value systems and religion which have been degraded by colonialism and apartheid (Biko, 1987).

2.3 Heterogeneity of black students

To understand the shape that the identity of black students assume in historically white universities, one needs to understand that black identities and experiences are not homogeneous. Heterogeneity of black students is, therefore, a contributing factor to the development of black identities. These differentiating factors include family background and experiences (Goldsmith, 2003). Family background is said to fuel perceptions of the white 'other' due to socialization through apartheid stories that depict the "bad" white 'other' (Barroso, 2015). Alternative stories can be assumed to have different impacts on the identity development of black students hence their experience of negotiating their identities in HWI.

Experiences are mainly interactions with the white 'other' (whether directly or indirectly) that form a basis for one's perceptions of being black (Barroso, 2015). In Barroso's (2015) study, one participant reported that she becomes aware of her blackness when she is around white students or when she has to speak English. Perception of the white other due to experiences and family background is said to be fluid and open to change and could be further reshaped by understanding the white other which would, in turn, changes one's perceptions of their identity as black (Barroso, 2015).

Heterogeneity of black students also has to do with varying socio-economic status (SES) and social exposure to different races. According to Soudien (2007), racial mix is only seen in affluent institutions; township schools still consist of mainly black students and black teachers. Black students from lower socio-economic class may then have to interact or come into the picture of a 'rainbow nation' when they get to universities. Middle-class blacks are said to be more socially and economically privileged (Barroso, 2015).

Students from middle-class backgrounds can access private schools at pre-university level (Franchi & Swart, 2003). Varying SES within black students then creates a hierarchy. Black students from lower socio-economic class are then construed as particularly less desirable or inferior when compared to black students from middle-class families (Barroso, 2015). Prior interactions with the white students by middle-class black students would mean prior chances to negotiate one's social identity around varying cultures which might influence the way one then negotiates their social identity in a HWU.

Peltzer (2002) refers to this exposure to a westernized world through interaction with others as a westernized personhood. According to Peltzer (2002), an African with a westernized

personhood has been integrated into a western way of life. This person is different from a traditional personhood who has no direct influence of the western world, and a transitional personhood who is in the process of integrating into a western culture. Some black students from rural communities may have to maneuver their way from the traditional personhood through the transitional personhood to the westernized personhood to fit into the institutional culture in HWI. As already mentioned, prior exposure to western culture would be an added advantage to some students in HWI -since they turn to be more accepted, especially when they relinquish their 'real' identities and embrace the acceptable middle class 'transformed' black student identity, which is an assimilation into the culture of the 'other'.

Hierarchies within black students due to differences in class hence exposure and access to private school may contribute to a good command of the English language. A good command of the English language is reported to help one integrate better in HWI where English is the medium of communication (Barroso, 2015). Language is critical as it can either identify one's accent as aspiring to be white (due to fluency in speech) or inferior because they are not fluent in English (Barroso, 2015). A black man who approximates the identity of a white man, for example, speaks 'better' English, will see himself or be seen by others as better than his fellow black man (Fanon, 2008). Steve Biko provides an example of this in the collection of his writings; I write what I like". Biko writes that;

> "…they have been made to feel so long that for them it is comforting to drink tea, wine or beer with whites who seem to treat them as equals. This serves to boost their own ego to the extent of making them feel slightly superior to those blacks who do not get similar treatment from whites" (Biko, 1986, p. 23).

Other hierarchies are reported to be based on skin color. Being light-skinned is reported to be seen as being beautiful and better than having a darker skin (Barroso, 2015). The lighter the skin, the closer to being white. Being dark skinned is considered foreign. A very dark skin is associated with other African countries hence indicating that one does not belong. Black on black racism has been reported based on a darker skin color (Barroso, 2015).

In conclusion, drawing from Leary and Tangney's (2012) definition above, identities of black students seem to be focused on the past- the legacy of racial oppression during apartheid, the present- the realities of post-apartheid South Africa reflecting a "rainbow" nation, encouraging racial integration, the future- a wish to succeed (associated with being white) with a fear of losing

one's culture and heritage. Identities are a journey of self-discovery for black students, challenging both at home and at school, sometimes feeling that one does not belong anywhere, having to prove one's blackness at home and ones' whiteness, in HWI (Barroso, 2015). Identities are fluid and not concrete and they change given different situations (Barroso, 2015). In the light of the above discussions, one may deduce that the historical context of South Africa contributes to the identity development of black students.

2.4 Historically White Universities

A brief history of HWI has already been explored in the introduction. To avoid repetition, this segment discusses main issues currently affecting HWI such as decolonization and transformation in their relation to the social experiences of black students. HWI have already been discussed to be alienating of black students' identities. Institutional culture has been defined according to Vincent (2015). Using available literature, this part of the chapter explores different challenges faced by black students in HWI. Issues around language, socio-economic status, and academic performance are discussed. The paper also explores the relationship between social identity, academic performance, and well-being.

2.4.1 Decolonizing higher education in South Africa

The challenges of black students in HWI has led to the movement towards decolonizing the curriculum in higher education, following the Rhodes Must Fall protests in 2015 (Heleta, 2016). There is a consensus that universities of higher learning need to transform as well as decolonize their institutions (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). However, the journey towards transformation and decolonization seem to be a slow, complex process. Decolonization would involve making spaces in HWI inclusive of students from different cultural, social and political backgrounds (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). While some universities have tried to transform as evidenced by renaming buildings (this is associated with undoing injustices of the past), there is still a long way to go as most universities remain colonial spaces in their materials and discourses (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015).

Professor of Genetics at the University of Pretoria, Professor Wingfield defined decolonization of education as the independence of a nation in producing and acquiring knowledge, values, and skills (Wingfield, 2017). While Wingfield (2017) gave evidence for local

research in science and technology (African epistemology), she also gave insight into decolonizing education. According to Wingfield (2017), decolonizing knowledge does not mean removing all knowledge that is western, but it means supplementing it with and recognizing African knowledge.

Supplementing and recognizing African knowledge is still a challenge in HWI (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). "While all universities have had new policies and frameworks that speak about equality, equity, transformation and change, institutional cultures and epistemological traditions have not considerably changed" (Heleta, 2016, p. 2). Universities of higher education are reported to be western in that the methods and the ways of teaching still reflect the Eurocentric epistemology (Mbembe, 2016). In an interview with one of the students at the University of Cape Town during a protest, Evans (2016) sought to understand what decolonization is and why universities should be decolonized. The interviewee reported that the curriculum 'dehumanizes black students' in that it required them to use western epistemology as a standard way of thinking and looking at the world (Evans, 2016).

Higher education is not only based on Eurocentric epistemology, it is also reported to be colonized (Heleta, 2016). A Eurocentric, colonial curriculum is one that disregards and patronizes African views while reinforcing western views (Heleta, 2016). "There is something profoundly wrong when, for instance, syllabuses designed to meet the needs of colonialism and apartheid should continue well into the liberation era" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 32). "Whereas political freedom was achieved in 1994, many structural imbalances, inequalities and injustices remain stumbling blocks for the emancipation of black South Africans" (Heleta, 2016, p. 1).

The history of colonialism and apartheid has affected education in South Africa (United Nations, 1967) and has led to the dominance of western, Eurocentric views (Heleta, 2016), which black students are expected to assimilate to (Steyn et al., 2014). The westernization of higher education has led to a movement towards the transformation and decolonization of institutional culture (Heleta, 2016). However, the institutional culture in universities remain Eurocentric and western (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). The effect of these on the identity formation of black students have been demonstrated above.

In addition to challenges in transforming and decolonizing higher education, white males remain dominant in these universities (SAHR Report, 2016). Transformation of the demographics of academic staff in HWI remains a challenge since the number of black and colored professors is still insufficient (SAHR Report, 2016). Keeping the history of apartheid in South Africa, the

dominance of white race in HWI can perpetuate the view of a superior other and an inferior black. Racism and unfairness towards black students, by white lectures, was also reported to be a problem in lecture rooms (Department of Education Report, 2008). Deducing from the above, transformation of higher education is a complex, multifactorial endeavor that clearly involves the curriculum, demographics of academic staff as well as institutional cultures, which remain colonial. In conclusion, the institutional culture in HWI, which is described as colonial, could affect the social identity of black students.

2.4.2 Language as a challenge in HWI

The English language is used as a medium of teaching and learning in most universities in South Africa, including RU (Rhodes University Language Policy, 2014). One of the policy declarations in the Language Policy of Rhodes University is "creating the conditions for the use of particularly isiXhosa as a language of learning and eventually also teaching" (Rhodes University Language Policy, p. 2). According to the SAHRC report (2016), "the lack of commitment to multilingualism in institutions of higher learning, as well as the lack of real commitment to the development of indigenous languages as academic and scientific languages that can be used as mediums of instruction" signals the slow progress of transformation policies (p. 10).

Introducing indigenous language as a medium for teaching and learning has been slow process (SAHR Report, 2016). This has resulted in the linguistical silencing of those indigenous languages (Prah, 2007). According to Mbembe (2016), including indigenous languages should form part of the decoloniality project. This will allow those who speak indigenous languages to culturally own knowledge that is produced in these institutions of higher learning (Prah, 2007).

Using the English Language has been identified as a potential barrier to performance (Moodley, 2013; Barroso, 2015). Participants in Moodley's (2013) study indicated that with their first language being non-English, being taught by white lecturers can be a challenge. Participants also added that African accents were associated with 'stupidity' leading to reluctance to participate in class discussions even if they added to ones' course mark (Moodley, 2013). In another study in Cape Town, black clinical psychology students reported their struggle with feeling pressured to talk white and write white during their training (Kleintjes, 1991). Using the English language is said to increase one's sense of belonging (Gibson, 2012) which makes failure to speak or use the English language alienating for black students. A negative connotation associated with African

accents (Barroso, 2015) as well as challenges experienced with writing and speaking in English (Kleintjes, 1991), can lead to black students feeling alienated in HWI.

In a study at Witwatersrand, Rafaely (2014) makes us aware of the impact of the proficiency in English in selection into the master's in clinical psychology programme. Students who are more proficient in the use of the English language are said to be better able to express themselves and make contributions to discussions (Rafaely, 2014). Students who find it easy to express themselves in the English language are mostly white students and black students who attended private schools before coming to university. This, therefore, makes a link between English proficiency and socioeconomic status (Rafaely, 2014). Only advantaged black students were reported to stand a chance to be accepted into the psychology programme (Rafaely, 2014).

2.4.3 Impact of socioeconomic status in HWI

Colonialism and apartheid led to the dislocation of resources from black people to the then ruling white people (Withnall, 2016). While the fight towards equality and transformation is on-going, black families remain in the desolate areas of South- Africa (Withnall, 2016). There is still an economic gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa, with the majority (estimate of 27 million) of black South Africans being poor (Withnall, 2016). When asked about economic change over the 16 years since the transition to democracy, "only about one-fourth (27%) of South Africans believe there has been an improvement in narrowing the gap between rich and poor" (Barometer report, 2010, p. 6). Participants in Magubane's (2017) study reported that they provided financial assistance to their families to bridge the economic inequality gap.

Black students from poor backgrounds struggle to afford education in HWI, and where financial assistance is sought through bursaries, some students still struggle with necessities such as printing (Das-Brailsford, 2005). The poor socioeconomic status in black communities also translates to poorly resourced schools with limited or no access to learning materials, libraries, and computers (Carrim, 2013; Kessi & Cornell, 2015). This shortage of resources further affects the quality of education of black students (Carrim, 2013). Quality of education has been linked to the availability of resources- including preparatory materials for university (Carrim, 2013).

In Moodley's (2013) study, white students were associated with privilege. White students were reported to use laptops and 'ipads' while some black students needed to use school computer labs. Access to laptops is said to have a positive impact on learning (Righi, 2012). Black students

without laptops may, therefore, be academically disadvantaged. It was also highlighted that since students from underprivileged communities are not familiar or cannot afford supportive resources such as seeing a psychologist, they may perform poorly academically (Moodley, 2013).

2.4.4 Academic performance of black students in HWI

Poor academic performance has already been mentioned as a consequence of adjustment problems (Steyn et al., 2014), which black students may experience due to several factors that have already been discussed above. In fact, the National Planning Commission report that; "race remains a major determinant of graduation rates in our higher education institutions" (NPC, 2011, p. 16). Furthermore, the completion rate for black students is less than half of the completion rate of white students and the figures are particularly low where first-generation students are involved; only one in five graduated in the required time (NPC, 2011). Steyn et al. (2014) associated this scourge of low throughput rate to unique social, educational, cultural and economic background experiences of 'black' students which this paper seeks to understand.

In conclusion, if the institutional culture in HWI is unwelcoming of black culture and the identity of black students, then it continues to reproduce the discourses of an inferior black and an ideal white. A black man whose identity has not been freed from negative connotation and inferiority (Fanon, 2008) surely will be challenged in a space that fosters a white culture, devaluing blackness. Any attempt to deinstitutionalize or decolonize HWI should consider this. A historical culture that contributes to the inferiority of blackness plus an unwelcoming institutional culture in HWI encourages mimicry and the dilemma that comes with it. Moore (2005) refers to this as a mental conflict that can be anxiety provoking for a young black student.

2.4.5 Academic achievement, social identity, and well-being

In their study to understand the effects of the social identity of students on learning, Bliuc, Ellis, Goodyear, and Hendres (2011) found that a strong identification with the social group 'university student' was associated with deep approaches to learning. According to Bliuc et al. (2011), "it seems plausible that high identifiers with the social category university student would be more likely to be motivated to pursue learning at a deeper level, rather than just complete tasks in order to meet the requirements for the course" (p. 571). It can be deduced from Bliuc et al. (2011) that black students who feel alienated by the institutional culture and believe that they do not belong

in HWI would be less motivated to complete their academic work and would rather provide the mere minimum needed to pass the course.

In a different study by Fearon (2012), social identity was linked to academic achievement. This study further reinforces the idea that students need some form of social identity, including academic identity to achieve academically. According to the SIT, belonging to a group and having emotional ties to the group boost one's self-concept and esteem (Tajfel, 1981). It is therefore understandable that students who find it difficult to fit into a social identity of the 'university student' would perform poorly.

The social context of SA, as well as the identities of black students in HWI, have been discussed. These factors play a role in whether the students feel welcome and as part of the social group 'university student' in an environment that has been discussed to be alienating and unwelcoming of black students. These environmental factors, and other factors as well, can be assumed to act as a barrier for black students to find their social identity as students, in other words, their identity as university students. In Bizumic et al. (2009), "school climate was significantly related to measures of positive well-being (self-esteem and positive affect) and negative well-being (depression, anxiety, loss of emotional control, aggressive and disruptive behavior)" (p. 187).

Fordham and Ogbu (1986), communicated an important point around black students' academic performance and identity. According to Fordham and Ogbu (1986), students may refuse to adapt to the mainstream culture while trying to assert their cultural identity. This is termed "oppositional culture" and it is said to explain the difference in academic achievement between black and white students (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Black students are said to have a fear that they will be accused of being white (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). This fear of being called white and a need to defend one's cultural identity has been observed in South African black university students by derogatory terms such as 'coconut' (Barroso, 2015). A black student has been reported to go through a dilemma of achieving academic excellence and maintaining their culture which Du Bois (1903) and later Fanon (2008) termed 'double consciousness.

2.5 Artificial integration in HWI

The 'rainbow nation' narrative in South Africa is predicated on the integration idea. The rainbow nation narrative encourages the idea of the 'new' South Africa as an inclusive community. The 'rainbow nation' narrative, when used in the 'integration' discourse, means the coming together

of different race groups and cultures in a multicultural and multiracial country. Integration would lead to acculturation, however, according to Biko, in South Africa, cultural/racial integration only took place between the Boers and the English (Biko, 1978), and all other races and cultural groups have been forced into assimilation on terms defined by white people.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu's campaign of advancing the rainbow nation notion and calling on South Africans to celebrate diversity has fallen on deaf ears. There are certain important days in the democratic order of South Africa such as the Freedom Day, Heritage Day etc. All these days are celebrated by one group of the South African population; the black group (Segalo, 2015) - arguably, this is a sign of lack of racial integration and social cohesion, and therefore, to an extent, an indicator of a failed 'rainbow nation'.

Viewing Universities as a microcosm of the broader society, the failed racial integration phenomenon becomes vivid in HWI. Due to the national government social change policies, HWI have had to open their doors to students from black social groups. However, "instead of aiming to shift the ruling symbolic, structural and intergroup traditions within universities, certain notions of integration, whether based on race, gender, class, sexuality or ability" transformation policies seem to have resulted in an assimilation of black students into these universities (Ratele, 2015, p 2). Biko referred to this kind of integration, as 'artificial integration'.

According to Biko, the talk about 'integration' in South Africa is artificial in that "….it is a response to conscious maneuver…. rather than to the dictates of the inner soul" (Biko, 1986, p. 21). Biko goes further to argue that "…the people forming the integration complex have been extracted from various segregated societies with their in-built complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the nonracial set up of the integrated complex" (Biko, 1986, p. 21). Bourdieu argues that "the cultural reproduction of knowledge and values of the economically and culturally dominant groups in society…. validate and reinforce the cultural capital that students whose cultural traits and characteristics are subordinated and/or excluded from mainstream norms experience alienation in school cultures" (cited in Nieto, 1996, p. 284). Hence black students have no choice but to assimilate if they are to succeed in the HWI.

Fanon argues that if a black person is overwhelmed by the

> "…desire to be white, it's because he lives in a society that makes 'his' inferiority complex possible, in a society that proclaims the superiority of one race over another; it is

the extent that society creates difficulties for him that he finds himself positioned in a neurotic situation" (2008, p. 80).

In other words, there is no racial or cultural integration but assimilation, and assimilation makes integration false and unrealistic, hence 'artificial'. This is because blacks who were stripped of the 'self' have not attained that envisioned self beyond and above the terms of "cultural and physical dominance as conditioned by apartheid" (Hook, 2004, p. 108) and colonialism. Moreover, whites' superiority complex is still intact (Biko, 1986) and universities are the bastion of white supremacy, (Ratele, 2015) especially HWI.

Writing in the 70s, Biko criticized integration that makes a 'white' person a perpetual teacher and black a perpetual pupil. Biko denounced the idea that white people are "divinely appointed pacesetters in progress" (Biko, 1986, p. 25). Biko argued that a country in Africa ought to reflect such African values, and if the majority is Africans in that country, that majority should determine the "broad direction taken by the joint culture of that society" (Biko, 1986, p. 26). According to Biko, owing to decades of oppressing and white racism, real integration can be achieved when black people have managed to assert themselves to a point that mutual respect has been shown" (1986, p. 26). According to Biko, such 'mutual respect' for each other and complete freedom of self-determination will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the lifestyles of the various groups" (1986, p. 22).

Therefore, higher education institutions reflect the social conditions of the broader South Africa, which encourage black students to assimilate instead of maintaining their identities. Moreover, failure to assimilate leads to social alienation of black students. This might impact on academic performance, high dropout rates and other forms of delinquency (Kozol, 1991). The 'blind' education system and institutional culture of HWI serve the 'class education' that Chancellor Williams referred to in his classic of 1974 entitled; the 'Destruction of Black civilization'. Williams argues that this education system makes these 'black' students learn what is foreign to their traditional communities—it replaces their identities with those of their superior masters, the white identity (1974).

It was on this basis that Biko decried a one-sided view of integration—according to Biko, this meant 'blacks' need(ed) to assimilate into 'white' society and embrace white values for them to be accepted as human beings. Integration as such, argued Biko, positions 'whiteness' as a norm or standard. This form of integration must be destroyed and replaced with an aspiration for a more

human content (ibid). The human content would bring about true integration where one's humanity is respected, and that is 'true integration', (Biko, 1986). Biko asserts that "true integration is the provision of each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self (ibid). Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another. Mutual respect would lead to a genuine fusion of different groups (Biko, 1986).

This means, for the HWI to provide inclusive educational experience for black students whose identities are less represented in these structures; these institutions must develop a greater appreciation of diversity and how this diversity could be effectively managed. These universities need to go beyond the legislative prescripts of Affirmative action and inclusive education and engage seriously and meaningfully with diversity management. Affirmative action must be acknowledged as the process that creates diversity which must then be managed. Norris (cited in Havenga, 1993) explains this process of diversity management by asserting that

> "diversity starts with a realization of diverse interests…unlike affirmative action which is a process for creating diversity, that the very essence of the institution and its culture must be renegotiated and re-conceptualized from a perspective other than the dominant culture" (Norris, 2001, p. 219).

It is important for universities to deal with this because as studies have proven, the current structures in HWI contribute to black students' social alienation and academic progress or lack therefore.

2.6 Wellbeing

This chapter uses the writings of all the authors discussed in this chapter to understand the psychological well-being of black students. In his work as a clinical psychologist, Manganyi's observation is that the adaptation lifestyle of black people consists of a "chronic sense of insecurity and helplessness" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 10). "Anxiety states and reactive-depressions with anxiety features are the most common presenting complaints among African psychiatric patients" (Manganyi, 1973, p. 10). The black intelligentsia, separated from his homeland, struggles to adjust to the culture in the university. "Forcing us to leave our history and adjust to what is alien, it also made the natural process of psychological development necessary tortuous and taxing the colonized" (Bulhan, 1979, p. 427).

The black intelligentsia also struggles with intense loneliness and hopelessness (Bulhan, 1979). The hopelessness here is "a constant effort to run away from his own individuality, to annihilate his own presence" (Fanon, 2008, p. 43). Double consciousness means that the more the black man acquires knowledge, the further they are alienated from their identity. Bulhan (1979) reports, "the search for knowledge should not be synonymous with increasing alienation and loneliness" (p. 248). The western education is reported to slowly alienate one from their social and cultural foundation. Bulhan describes loneliness as an "inevitable part of the assimilationist African's life with the empirical structure" (1979, p. 248).

The black man has lost his manhood (Biko, 1987) and self-esteem (Bulhan, 1979). "Indeed, we find that the life experience of the African, there is hardly any situation in his life in which his sense of self-esteem is nourished" (Bulhan, 1979, p. 10). The Negro, according to Fanon, also suffers from humiliation and despair (2008). He is also full of rage (Fanon, 2008), which he projects to his fellow man (Biko, 1987).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter intended to firstly explore the identity of black students. Using writings from Fanon (2008), Biko (1986), Manganyi (1973), and Bulhan (1979), the black identity was explored. Bulhan (1979) helps us understand the identity of the black intelligentsia who in pursuing education and has been separated from their roots. The black intelligentsia is said to have a specific set of experiences of being in the world. Manganyi (1973) refers to this as a black way of being in the world. Due to the effects of colonization, the black elite is said to relate to the body, others, space and time and objects in a different way. Fanon (2008) and Biko's (1986) writings facilitated discussions around inferiority, double consciousness, and black consciousness. The black identity is said to be characterized by a historically imposed inferiority, a feeling of being stuck between two cultures and a need to reconnect with ones' roots and appreciate ones' blackness. Literature from these authors was deemed relevant to understanding the identity of black students attending a HWU. The second part of this chapter explored challenges that confront black students in HWI. Factors such as socio-economic status and language are discussed as challenges that black students face in HWI. Wellbeing and academic achievement of black students in HWI were also explored.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The Social Identity Theory (SIT) will be used in this paper to understand the social identities of black students in HWI. Due to its focus on intergroup behavior, the SIT was deemed suitable for understanding social experiences of black students. The Acculturation model as described by Berry (2005) was employed to understand the different approaches to multiculturalism that a black student can take in HWI regardless of their social identity status.

This chapter introduces a brief history of the SIT. After introducing the history, the researcher then explained the basic tenants of the SIT. These tenants of the theory lay a foundation for understanding their applicability in the current study. A brief conclusion of the SIT and its applicability in the post-1992 South African context is given at the end of this chapter. A brief overview of the acculturation model is also discussed.

3.2 A brief history of the SIT

The SIT developed from Henri Tajfel's research on intergroup behavior (Hogg et al., 2004; Islam, 2014). Tajfel has made notable contributions to intergroup studies in social psychology (Tajfel, 1981). Social psychology is concerned with how individuals view and interact with the society and how this interaction affects the way they function in the groups that they belong to (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). Social psychology is also interested in the social and cultural context of these interactions, as well as their underlying nature (motivations, interpretations, perceptions, and emotions) (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978).

Tajfel conducted research aimed at explaining social problems such as discrimination and prejudice, without focusing on the individual differences or personality (Hogg et al., 2004). This broad social focus was influenced by the political and historical context in Europe, following World War II. This focus was based on what Hogg et al. (2004) referred to as "a distinctive European social psychology" which emerged around the 1960's (p. 250). The focus of European social psychology at that time was focused more on intergroup behavior as opposed to intragroup processes (Hogg et al., 2004).

Tajfel's studies of 'minimal groups' suggested that there is evidence for some processes in intergroup situations and behaviors (Tajfel, 1981). The aim of the 'minimal groups' was to create

minimal conditions in which an individual would distinguish between the ingroup and the outgroup (Tajfel, 1981). Tajfel's research around the 1970's showed that discrimination towards the outgroup "existed in conditions of minimal ingroup affiliation, anonymity of group membership, absence of conflict of interest and absence of previous hostility between the groups" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 9). Anonymity in the 'minimal group' experiments did not prevent ingroup favoritism (Tajfel, 1981). These findings refuted the realistic group conflict theory which purported that "real conflict of interest causes group conflict" (Tajfel, 1986, p. 7).

Tajfel later collaborated with John Turner who contributed greatly to the theory, leading to their 'classic' article entitled 'The social identity theory of intergroup relations' in 1979 (Hogg et al., 2004). After Tajfel's death in 1982, Turner continued with research on the theory leading publications on the self-categorization theory (Hogg et al., 2004).

3.3 Main tenants of the theory

The SIT is a social psychology theory that attempts to explain intergroup behaviors and processes. Social identity was defined by Tajfel (1981) as "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255).

A group has been defined as a group of people who share the same attributes or identify themselves in a similar way (Hogg et al., 2004). The description of

> "a group which may include a range of between one to three components: a cognitive component, in the sense of a knowledge that one belongs to a group; an evaluative one, in the sense that the notion of the group and/or of one's membership of it may have a positive or negative value connotation; and an emotional component in the sense that the cognitive and the evaluative aspects of the group and one's membership of it may be accompanied by some emotions (such as love or hatred, like or dislike) directed towards one's own group and towards others who stand in certain relations to it" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 229).

One must be aware that they are part of the group and have some form of evaluation of this membership as having some value or connotation attached to it (cognitive component) (Tajfel, 1982). Secondly, one must be emotionally invested in the first component- cognition (Tajfel, 1982). That is, there must be some emotional investment in this awareness and the value or

connotations of such an awareness (Tajfel, 1982). This definition of groups affects both small group and large groups, it also affects social behaviors towards the ingroup and the outgroup (Tajfel, 1981). One can have as many social identities as the groups they are part of (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

Intergroup relations refer to interaction with an outgroup, by an ingroup, either on an individual or group basis (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). These behaviors are based on one's identification as belonging to a group and others as belonging to the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Intergroup relations provide a space for group members to deal with their emotions and release tension in an intergroup setting (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). Intergroup behavior allows group members to maintain or gain some form of advantage over the outgroups in terms of prestige, resources or status (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

In extreme cases, this intergroup behavior may lead to discrimination and prejudice against the outgroup. These extreme forms of intergroup behavior have been linked to authoritarian personalities (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). From a psychodynamic point to view, authoritarian personalities would result from a specific set of parenting responses that lead to one to be "intolerant of ambiguity and uncertainty, and hostile and aggressive towards weaker others" (Hogg & Abrams, 2001, p. 2). Intergroup behaviors are characterized by conflict and discrimination towards the ingroup and favoritism towards the ingroup (Tajfel, 1981).

Membership to groups can contribute positively or negatively to one's image of themselves (Tajfel, 1981). Belongingness to groups is therefore said to affect one's self-concept and self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Dominant groups who have resources, prestige and social status may experience a positive social identity in comparison to the subordinate or minority group (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). Based on this foundation (definition of what SIT is and its aims as well as group identification, self-esteem and self-concept in relation to the SIT) the main tenants of the theory will be discussed below.

3.3.1 The behavioral continuum and the belief system continuum

Tajfel and Turner (1986) describe two extreme social behaviors namely; interpersonal and intergroup behavior. Interpersonal behavior refers to interactions that are individually driven and based on interpersonal relationships while intergroup behaviors on the hand are fully determined by ones' membership to a certain group with whom they emotionally identify with (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These two extremes are reported to be rarely found in their pure form in real life.

Examples of interpersonal behaviors can be found in a marital relationship while soldiers during battle will represent more of an intergroup behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Interpersonal continuum is described to be more absurd when compared to the intergroup continuum (Tajfel, 1981). It is absurd in that its purest form is rarely found in real life; interpersonal relationships are in some cases influenced by individual's membership to some groups (Tajfel, 1981). Even during heightened group process like during the war, one soldier may respond to the action of another soldier from a different camp on an interpersonal level (Tajfel, 1981). Different intergroup processes can cause a shift towards either extreme (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The belief system continuum includes two extremes, namely; social mobility and social change (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). With social mobility, there is an assumption that group membership is flexible and permeable and therefore one can move to a different group if they are not satisfied with the group they are in (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social change is the opposite of social mobility. In social change, there is some form of stratification in the social group that makes it difficult for individual members to leave the group if they are unsatisfied (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

> "This difficulty is created by laws, rules, sanctions and social norms designed to prevent the members of a lower-status group from penetrating into the higher status group. At the same time, it would hardly be attractive for members of the 'higher' groups to try and join the 'lower' ones even if there were no serious sanctions for doing this- and such sanctions are a fairly common occurrence" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 245).

Other than keeping the status quo and preventing members from different social status to move between groups, other stratifications based on religion, ethnicity and socio-economic status can be difficult to penetrate (Tajfel, 1981). Individual members feel that they would be betraying the group if they move to a different or opposing group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and they may fear to leave the group based on the type of the stratification (Tajfel, 1981). Different stratifications will affect social behavior in different ways (Tajfel, 1981).

One's position on the social change- social mobility continuum is "assumed to be a powerful determinant of acting towards members of outgroups either on an interpersonal or an intergroup basis (Tajfel, 1981, p. 247). The social change belief system tends to move members of the group towards the intergroup continuum described above (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Members

are more likely to stand in solidarity of the group's values instead of their interpersonal relationships (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The belief system continuum and the behavioral continuum, therefore, affect social behaviors in that manner.

3.3.2 Social categorization and intergroup discrimination

"The role of categorization in perceptual and other cognitive activities has for many years been one of the central issues in psychological theory" (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978, p. 305). Social categorization refers to the way in which we organize the information we get from the environment (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). "Social categorization is the foundation of intergroup relations" in that people prescribe perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and actions that define the ingroup and distinguishes it from relevant outgroups" (Hogg & Abrams, 2001, p. 5). According to Tajfel (1981), categorization helps to "create and define an individual's place in society" (p. 255).

Categorization allows us to systematize the environment according to preexisting cognitive classification system or preexisting ways of looking at the world (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). Social categorization can be a conscious or unconscious process (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). This systematization or ordering of the social environment then affects our social behavioral behaviors (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). In other words, the process of assigning people to categories, (whether based on race, religion or culture) has some form of meaning attached to it and would affect how individuals relate to the groups they socially identify with (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978). Assigning people to categories often leads to stereotyping of other groups leading to prejudice or even racism (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

Social categorization is said to be enough to lead to out-group discrimination and in-group favoritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) or in extreme cases, racism, prejudice (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). "The mere awareness of the presence of an outgroup is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the in-group" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 13). Social categorization also triggers competitive behaviors between groups. In their experiments on intergroup behavior, Tajfel and Turner (1986) found that the ingroup would compete with the outgroup instead of simply following a strategy that would lead to economic gain for the ingroup. In those studies, the ingroup would give less to the out-group even when giving more to the outgroup would have had no effect on the amount that the ingroup already had (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

3.3.3 Social identity and social comparison

Social groups allow members to identify themselves in social terms (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). "These identifications are to a very large extent relational and comparative: they define the individual as similar to or different from, as 'better' or 'worse' than, members of other groups" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 16). "The characteristics of one's group as a whole (such as its status, its richness or poverty, its skin color or its ability to reach its aims) achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 258).

To fulfill its function, a social group must protect its members by maintaining a positive distinctiveness from the outgroups. "In other conditions, this distinctiveness must be created, acquired and perhaps also fought for through some forms of relevant social action" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 259). Social identity is based on the following assumptions and principles adapted from Tajfel and Turner (1986)

1. "Individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem: they strive for a positive self-concept" (p. 16).
2. Group membership is associated with positive or negative connotations which can lead to a positive or a negative social identity. Positive social identity is as a result of one perceiving their group as 'positively distinct' from the out-group.
3. Through social comparison, one evaluates their group in relation to other groups. "When social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or make their group more positively distinct" (p. 16). The main purpose here is to attain a positive self-concept and self-esteem.

For a group to attain this distinctiveness, there are three conditions that need to be met. Firstly, there must be a group (as defined at the beginning of this chapter), secondly, the social comparison must take place based on the above assumptions and principles, and thirdly, the outgroup must be a relevant comparison group as described above (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). "The aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 17).

3.3.4 Superiority and social identity

When defining what inferiority or superiority means, Tajfel (1981) reported that the social derivatives of these terms must be understood. Tajfel gave an example that "Black skin is not, outside of specific social contexts, either an inferior or superior attribute; but it may become one, given certain social-psychological conditions" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 277). Any attribute or group characteristic could, therefore, be evaluated as superior or inferior based on the meaning, value, connotation and or social contexts attached to them (Tajfel, 1981).

In superior groups, 'insecure social comparisons' may arise if the group feels that their status of being superior is threatened by a relevant outgroup. Another instance is if there is a conflict of interest within the group. In the case of a conflict in the group, there are three alternatives as adapted from Tajfel (1981);

1. If the conflict tampers with members sense of social identity, members may leave the group if this conflict becomes overwhelming.
2. The conflict of interest can be evaluated and diffused into the preexisting group values. This is mostly informed by members' high affiliation with the group or 'social change' as described under the belief system continuum.
3. The conflict of values exists but is not relevant to the superior groups' social comparativeness. The challenge or threat towards the superior group may benefit the inferior group more but still not affect the social identity of the superior group who may change social comparison groups or dimensions.

'Insecure social comparisons' may also arise in inferior groups. According to Tajfel (1981), social identity problems may not easily be reflected by social behavior in inferiority groups, especially if members have not realized that there is an alternative to that negative comparison or evaluation (Tajfel, 1981). "Disadvantaged groups will engage in direct competition with the dominant groups if they perceive intergroup boundaries to be permeable, if they perceive their lower status to be illegitimate and unstable or if they can conceive a new status quo that is achievable" (Hogg & Abrams, 2001, p. 12). Once the above is ascertained, the inferior group can do the following (as adapted from Tajfel, (1981)).

1. "Compare the in-group to the outgroup on some new dimension" (p. 20). Decide to be more like the superior group by altering their group values or characteristics

2. Reinterpret/recreate previously negative social comparison characteristics in a positive way that gives them some form of distinctiveness from the outgroup. The appreciation of black hair and black music, as well as their new meanings in society, were given as an example (Tajfel, 1981).
3. Changing the high-status out-group can decrease inferiority and boost self-esteem. In their study, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) (as cited by Tajfel and Turner (1986)) found that black students' self-esteem improved when social comparisons were made to black students instead of white students.

Point 2 and 3 are referred to as 'social creativity'. Social creativity allows the inferior group to attain a positive social identity in situations where social mobility is not possible. Once the inferior group adjusted in the manner described above, they need to positively evaluate these changes (Tajfel, 1981). For the inferior group to attain positive social identity, the superior group should also acknowledge these changes (Tajfel, 1981). The superior group may find these new characteristics challenging and they may respond in different ways as explained above (Tajfel, 1981). If the superior group does not acknowledge the adjusted characteristics, the new characteristic will not be enough to build a positive social identity (Tajfel, 1981). This may then lead to hostility, discrimination, and competition between the groups (Tajfel, 1981).

3.3.5 Critique of the theory

SIT like other social psychology theories are increasingly being applied to 'real world' situations (Moghaddam, Taylor & Wright, 1993). SIT has been commended for explaining concepts such as ingroup bias, ingroup favoritism even in the absence of an obvious cause for such favoritism. It has also been commended for distinguishing between personal identity and social identity (Brown, 2000). However, there are some problematic assumptions in the SIT that have been highlighted and will be discussed in this section.

Social categorization is one of the social cognitive theories aimed at understanding social behavior. Social categorization has already been discussed as one of the basic tools for organizing information from one's environment. Billig (1987) suggests that "by basing theories of thinking upon the importance of categorization, psychologist have tended to construct one-sided theories of thinking" (p. 119). Not only is this view seen as one-sided, it is also reported to be non-rhetorical (Billig, 1987). Categorization is said to simplify and distort the world in that "the full richness of

the social world is shut out by the imposition of stereotypes, or group schemata, and variety is reduced to simple categorical distortions" (Billig, 1987, p. 125).

Ingroup favoritism is reported to be a result of distorted or simplified categorization of external stimuli (Billig, 1987). "The prejudiced person exaggerates the extent to which members of the same group are similar to one another, and at the same time chooses to view people belonging to different groups as very different" (Billig, 1987, p. 125). Due to a need to simplify information from the environment, stereotyping is then an inevitable consequence of distorted categorizations.

Brown (2000) argues that the idea that categorization is solely for the purpose of simplifying information processing neglects the social role of these tools in understanding intergroup relationships. For example, the underlying processes for ingroup identification and favoritism are identity protection/maintenance (Brown, 2000). Furthermore "it may not be very helpful to regard stereotypes as faulty distortions which need to be corrected or overcome since from particular in-group points of view they may be rather reliable guides to judgment and action" (p.750).

Challenges with measuring group identification and group bias have also been reported. These challenges arise from the nature of the research (correlational studies), non-unitary measures, and flawed assumptions that group processes are static, not variable (Brown, 2000). These challenges result in some principles of the SIT not being empirically researched or available research being inconsistent or flawed. According to Brown (2000), another problem with empirical studies has been that 'real life' phenomenon "where experimental manipulations of identification would be practically impossible to implement or psychologically difficult to achieve" (p. 754).

The use of minimal groups in the SIT has been critiqued. Rabbie, Schot, and Visser (1989) argue that responses of participants in minimal groups may have been to maximize their 'economic self-interest' not a need to enhance their self-esteem. Self-esteem, as linked to positive group identification, has been reported to be better explained as a byproduct of discrimination than a direct consequence of group identification (Brown, 2000).

One may argue that regardless of the cause/effect relationship, self-esteem seems to be implicated in social identity processes. Furthermore, subsequent research on the SIT has shown that responses to being a member of a low-status group can be expanded (Brown, 2000). These responses involve making comparisons over time to find mitigating factors, reorganizing the

ingroup to identify positive attributes etc. (Brown, 2000). In the light of these critiques and pitfalls of the SIT, one may conclude that the SIT continues to explain a range of social identity processes and research on the different principles of SIT continue to be revised (Brown, 2000). The current research made interpretations taking into consideration the critiques discussed above.

3.3.6 Applicability of social identity to the South African context

The historical context of South Africa has already been discussed in previous chapters. As already mentioned, the legalization of apartheid imposed racial identifications leading to segregation based on race and social status (Goldschmidt, 2003). The post-apartheid era, therefore, would mean that people have the freedom to re-define and re-explore their social identities without such identities being politically imposed (Cornelissen & Horstmeier, 2002). "As a result of radical societal power shifts in South Africa, all the different population groups are undergoing social identity re-categorisation and a profound re-personalisation process" (Booysen, 2007, p. 16).

On a national level, the ruling party found the need to come up with nation-building projects. "This is done mainly through the promotion and use of political symbols, such as the national flag, the new national anthem (which coalesces the anthems of apartheid South Africa and that of the liberation movement), and national holidays that commemorate key moments in the recent history of the country" (Cornelissen & Horstmeier, 2002, p. 56). According to Segalo (2015), some of these holidays are only celebrated by only one race, the black race, thus signifying a lack of integration or social cohesion.

In a study in South Africa, with Afrikaans and English-speaking students, Pettigrew (1958), investigated the racial attitudes of the participants. Participants were noted to have hostility and racial prejudice towards Africans (Pettigrew, 1958). Even though results from this study are interpreted with caution due to the year in which the study was conducted (before the abolition of apartheid), it is interesting that racial prejudice still exists in the post-apartheid South Africa. Barroso (2015) and Pattman (2007) have reported that there still exists racial segregation in South African universities and that there is evidence of social identity challenges. "The question remains as to how South Africans can un-think old categories of citizenship and redefine themselves as a nation, in order to move beyond racial categorisation and their own political bondage" (Booysen, 2007, p. 16).

In du Plessis's (2014) study participants used ethnic identities and were ambivalent towards embracing westernized ways of life. In another study on identities of people in the Western Cape in South Africa, Cornelissen and Horstmeier (2002) found that participants identified with their long-established racial, ethnic and residential areas identities, not the provincial identity fostered by their political leaders. From this study, Cornelissen and Horstmeier (2002) postulated that "the spatial and psychological boundaries of apartheid continue to exercise an influence on people's consciousness (p. 79). The abolition of apartheid, therefore, does not automatically lead to a change in the social identities of people to be more inclusive and to identify with other groups outside the historically imposed pre-apartheid identities. "The loss of identity and of internalised learned boundaries and prototypes are severely felt, not only in those groups that are gradually losing power but also in the groups that have gained most power" (Booysen, 2007, p. 16). Based on the studies above and discussion in Chapter 2 of this paper, one may conclude that current social identities are still based on the race and ethnic identifications. The notion of a superior, dominant white culture therefore still exists in the post-apartheid South Africa.

3.4 Conclusion

The SIT was deemed suitable for understanding the shape and form that the social identity of black students can take in social spaces in HWI. The behavioral continuum helps us to understand whether social interactions are based on an interpersonal level or intergroup level. The belief system continuum describes whether one views their group as flexible thereby permitting one to change groups if they wish (social mobility) or that their group is impossible to leave (social change). Social mobility allows an individual to move to a higher status group to boost their self-esteem while social change allows the group to make changes (such as changing their values, changing the comparison group or making comparisons on different dimensions). It has been demonstrated that these changes do not always lead to a positive social identity. The inferior group would need to get some form of acknowledgment from the superior group. Until this process is repeated or other options (as described above) are explored the inferior group will remain inferior. A critique of the SIT is discussed, and the last part of this segment illustrated the applicability of the SIT in the South African context.

3.5 Acculturation model by Berry (2005)

3.5.1 Introduction

This model was used to understand the different approaches to acculturation. This is not an extensive review of acculturation theories or a robust understanding of theories on acculturation. This segment of the chapter rather explores different approaches to acculturation as proposed by Berry (2005) to make sense of black experience in HWI. The model was used as a supplement to the SIT which is an overarching theoretical model for this paper. It was found useful to understand possible reactions to being in a multicultural setting especially with 'non- dominant groups' as Berry reported. Brown (2000) suggested an integration of the Contact Hypothesis Theory and the Acculturation model to understand this phenomenon. Based on Brown's (2000) suggestion, one may conclude that the Acculturation model is a good supplement to understanding responses to multiculturalism.

In his 2005 paper entitled "Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures", Berry explores different ways in which groups and individuals respond to acculturation. According to Berry, "acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (p. 698). Different cultures may come into contact because of different reasons such as colonization, invasion or migration and sojourning (Berry, 2005). According to Berry, acculturation can be a smooth process or one with conflicts between groups. Acculturation would result in some form of psychological and cultural adaptation either at an individual or group level (Berry, 2005).

Berry reported that individuals and groups do not undergo acculturation in a similar way. Different ways of engaging the process of acculturation are called acculturations strategies. Acculturation strategies consist of two components namely; the attitude and behavior (Berry, 2005). Attitude refers to how an individual chooses to acculturate while behaviors are patterns of relating with others on an everyday basis.

> "Four acculturation strategies have been derived from two basic issues facing all acculturating peoples. These two issues are based on the distinction between orientations towards one's own group and those towards other groups. These issues involve the distinction between (1) a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and

identity, and (2) a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups" (p. 704).

Responses to intercultural contact by a non-dominant group include assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry, 2005). During assimilation, individuals seek to 'shed' their cultures and heritage to adopt the dominant culture. Separation would occur if an individual holds on to their culture and in the process, avoids other cultures (Berry, 2005). This may occur as a result of the need to hold on to ones' cultural heritage and avoidance of other cultures that may contaminate this culture.

Integration would result when one is able to interact with other cultures while keeping their identity (Berry, 2005). "Integration can only be ''freely'' chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Thus, a mutual accommodation is required to attain integration" (p. 705). Marginalization results when an individual does not have any interest in other cultural groups. These responses can occur at both a group level or individual level.

> "When separation is forced by the dominant group it is called ''segregation''. Marginalization, when imposed by the dominant group, is called ''exclusion''. Finally, integration, when diversity is an accepted feature of the society as a whole, including all the various ethnocultural groups, is called ''multiculturalism''. With the use of this framework, comparisons can be made between individuals and their groups, and between nondominant peoples and the larger society" (p. 706).

3.5.2 Conclusion

Acculturation in South Africa was historically a result of colonization. However, there are other reasons for acculturation as listed above. Different approaches to understanding acculturation allows us to understand responses to acculturation by black students. Given the history of HWI, black students would be the non-dominant group in HWI. As discussed in other chapters, HWI have been reported to enforce assimilation and do not provide an opportunity for integration. This model also allows us to explore the responses from the dominant group's point of view. Since integration is a two-way process, are dominant groups part of the integration process? As already mentioned, integration is the ideal response to acculturation. According to Berry, "generally, those pursuing the integration strategy experience less stress, and achieve better adaptations than those

pursuing marginalisation; the outcomes for those pursuing assimilation and separation experience intermediate levels of stress and adaptation" (p. 697). It would be interesting to explore how black students respond to acculturation especially in social spaces in HWI.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction and aims of the study

This study seeks to explore the social identities of black students in a HWU. The main aim of the study is to understand the shape or form that the social identities of black students assume in HWI. A qualitative research methodology was used. The qualitative research allowed in-depth study of the experiences of black students in their natural setting or school environment (Brink, 1993). Various threats to validity and reliability in qualitative research such as researcher bias, participants' social desirability tendencies, as well as the methods of data collection and analysis were taken into consideration (Brink, 1993).

This chapter will outline the research questions, discuss procedures for data collection and report on the participants and data sampling used. It will also discuss procedures for data analysis and the steps used during the analysis process. There is a reflexive segment where the researcher explores personal factors that may have impeded the data collection and analysis process. This chapter ends with an exploration of the ethical issues (anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent) as well as the validity of the study. A brief conclusion of this chapter is given at the end.

4.2 Research questions

To understand the identity of black students in a HWU, the following research questions were used as a guideline

- What are the experiences of black students in negotiating their social identity in a historically white university?

The sub-questions would be;

- What influences the choice of social group students are in?
- What are the experiences of black students in the social groups they are in?

- Does the institutional culture in historically white universities influence the social identity of black students?
- Does the institutional culture of the university foster a different identity from their groups' identity?

4.3 Procedures for Data Collection

Permission was sought from the registrar to post advertisement posters on campus. Advertisements posters were placed on campus around the library, the cafe and some residences to invite students to participate in the study. Face to face, semi-structured individual interviews (See Appendix 1) were used to collect data. This method of data collection allowed the in-depth and explorative approach to answering the research question and it allowed the researcher to seek clarity where necessary (Guion, et al., 2001). As already mentioned the researcher took notes of the verbal and non-verbal cues as they occurred and reflected on these relating to the content of the interview (Guion, et al., 2001). Guiding principles by Guion, et al. (2001) were utilized to make the interviews a success. Interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed.

Unlike in other forms of data collection like telephonic interviews and mailed questionnaires where the participant can answer in their own comfortable space (for example at home), face-to-face interviews can be intimidating for some participants. The researcher tried to build rapport in the interview; this was done as part of the introduction and signing of consent forms. It allowed participants to settle in and ask questions before the interview even began. Interviews were audio tapped to allow for transcription. Step by step guidelines for using thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to reduce biases in the analysis.

4.4 Participants and Sampling Procedures

Convenience sampling was used to select the sample of participants. Only participants who were interested and contacted the researcher were part of the research. Snowballing was to be used to recruit more participants, however, due to the 'fees must fall' protests, which took place in November 2016, most students had already left campus. Given the nature of the research, only black students, both male and female participated in the research. Six black students, one male, and five females, participated in the research. All participants were above the age of 18. There were four masters' students and two undergraduate students. Three of the masters' students were doing their year one, while the other student was completing her year two. Both the undergraduate students were doing their second year.

Table 1: Characteristics of participants

Pseudo-name	Gender	Level of study
Amandla	Male	2nd-year undergraduate
Botho	Female	2nd-year undergraduate
Cama	Female	1st year Masters, 3rd year as a student in RU
Dhlomo	Female	1st year Masters
Enkosi	Female	1st year Masters
Fikile	Female	1st year Masters, 3rd year as a student in RU

4.5 Procedures for Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using thematic analysis model by Braun and Clarke (2006). The analysis also followed a latent, deductive approach to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). "Thematic analysis at a latent level goes beyond the semantic content of the data and starts to identify or examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations- and ideologies- that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 13). Since thematic analysis does not exist within any theoretical model, it can be used with any theoretical framework.

Using thematic analysis within a specific theoretical framework is a deductive approach in that the researcher already had pre-existing ideas about the data set and was, therefore, looking for themes in relation to an existing theory. This research is grounded on the social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and the acculturation theory by Berry (2005). Both theories influenced the interview questions asked as well as data analysis. Certain assumptions and meanings from the theoretical models were therefore theorized as underpinning the data content. The researcher went beyond the content of the data and examined the meanings and assumptions (from the theoretical framework) that inform such content.

4.5.1 Steps for data analysis

Steps used to analyze the data included; "familiarizing with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and producing the report" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). A step-by-step review of what was done at every step of the analysis is as follows:

1. Familiarizing yourself with the data

Braun and Clarke (2006) listed transcribing the data and repeated reading of the data material as ways of familiarizing oneself with the data set. The researcher conducted all the interviews in person. This allowed familiarity with the collected data even before transcribing the data. After the interviews were all completed, the audio files were transcribed verbatim. The researcher then went over all transcriptions to ensure that everything was captured in writing. Transcriptions conversions by Parker (1992) were used (See Appendix 2) to assist in the readability of the material. Non-verbal cues were also noted during the interview. The researcher then read the transcribed data repeatedly looking for ideas, searching for meanings and making little summaries of such where applicable.

2. Generating initial codes

Codes are defined as "word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 3). The manual by Saldaña (2013) assisted in understanding what a code is as well as the practical methods of coding data. The researcher approached the data with pre-existing ideas around SIT and acculturation theory and coded around these. Based on the mentioned theories, codes were identified in relation to identity, social identity, institutional culture and wellbeing. Matching data extracts for all the codes were highlighted. Some data extracts were coded multiple times, others once while some were not coded. Uncoded extracts (see Braun & Clarke, 2006) were put in a file that was later accessed to see if they may still form part of some codes.

3. Searching for themes

At this stage, the researcher studied the different codes from step two and made decisions about whether they could be collated to form an overarching theme/themes. Different codes were therefore sorted into potential themes. Themes generated were also informed by the research question and the theories. For example, there were themes around social identity and acculturation etc. Some codes formed the main themes while others formed the supporting themes. Codes that did not form part of any theme were transferred to a different file where they were later reviewed again.

4. Reviewing themes

The researcher studied the themes as well as their extracts to determine if they formed a coherent pattern. Some themes were combined to make one theme while broader themes were broken down to make detailed and specific themes. Some themes had to be reworked to see where they fit with the already existing themes while other themes were discarded. The next part of this stage was going over the themes to see if they represent the data set as well as the theoretical models. Any data missed during coding was also coded at this stage. Uncorded extracts from step two and codes that did not form part of any theme were also revisited at this stage to determine if they could still be relevant to existing codes or whether they could form a 'miscellaneous' theme.

5. Defining and naming themes

At this stage of analysis, the researcher defined every theme in detail, laying out what the theme is about and how it fits into both the research question and the theoretical framework. Themes were also defined in relation to their sub-themes and hierarchy was demonstrated in that sense. The researcher also jotted out ideas of what to name the themes in the report.

6. Producing the report

The report was written in a way that it provided validity of the analysis process. It outlined different stages of analysis and what was done at every different stage. Themes were presented with relevant and sufficient data extracts in a concise and logical way. All the themes were then related to the research questions as well as the guiding theoretical frameworks.

4.6 Reflexivity

Researcher reflexivity is a validity procedure within the critical paradigm that allows the researcher to disclose their assumptions, beliefs, and positions in the areas that are being studied (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Researcher reflexivity is important in that it makes the reader aware of the influences that shape the researcher's interpretations of the results (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The researcher is a black student from Botswana, who was attending at Rhodes University. This paper was influenced by my own personal experience of the institutional culture and social spaces in a HWU. Other influences were derived from political and social conditions at the time of conducting this research. Political situations at the time of conducting this research involved a cry from the society for economic redistribution (seen through social media protest such as #bring back the land) and social situations in HWI were signified by quests towards decoloniality and transformation of

higher education. These quests involved protests such as #Rhodes must fall and #Fees must fall protests, some of which were on-going during the data collection stage of this research.

I noticed the economic gap between students at Rhodes University (through conversations around university campus as well as social media). In my previous university (University of Botswana), most students were being sponsored (full tuition and optional university accommodation) by the government and received a stipend every month (see www.gov.bw for information on government sponsorship). I was also sponsored by the government to pursue my postgraduate studies. I, therefore, could not identify with or even fully understand the struggles of being unable to pay one's university fees. #Fees must fall protest, therefore, influenced me to critically think about how some of these factors can influence one's social identity. Furthermore, the protests also encouraged a desire to empirically understand the social identity of students, taking into consideration the history of South Africa.

Batswana (meaning citizens of Botswana) contributed or donated money, as well as cows from their farms to build the University of Botswana (refer to Mokopakgosi, 2008). Due to this fund-raising project, there was always a sense of belonging and ownership of this university during my undergraduate studies. This is contrary to how I experienced Rhodes University. I experienced the environment as well as the institutional culture at Rhodes University to be different and challenging to adjust to. I also had conversations with friends and colleagues who presented their challenges in adapting to the culture of the university. I could now understand the motive for #Rhodes must fall protests and the need for transformation and decoloniality. The need to decolonize these universities became not only an academic interest but a felt and experienced reality. After attending and presenting my research proposal at the Decoloniality Conference in Pretoria, in August 2016, I was even more motivated to contribute to this massive cause.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

4.7.1 Consent

Sampling, data collection and data analysis all commenced after getting consent and ethical clearance from all the relevant authorities. Firstly, the research proposal was reviewed by RPERC (Research Proposal and Ethics Review Committee) who approved the research after making minor adjustments (See Appendix 3). Secondly, consent was sought from the Registrar to post research advertisement posters around campus as well as to use Rhodes University students as participants

in the study (refer to Appendix 4). Thirdly, consent was sought from the participants themselves. Participation was voluntary, and participants were asked to sign a consent form (See Appendix 5) that explained the purpose of the study, confidentiality, anonymity as well as a request to record the interviews.

4.7.2 Confidentiality and anonymity of the data

Seeking consent from participants was used as an opportunity to discuss issues around confidentiality and anonymity. Firstly, participants were notified that the research is voluntary and that they are not obliged to disclose any information they are not willing to disclose. Participants were also informed that they can choose not to answer any question or stop the interview at any point without any consequences. Participants were informed that their information is confidential and that anonymity will be ensured. An audio recording of interviews was stored on a password-protected computer and deleted as soon as the data had been transcribed. Transcribed data did not contain any identifying information of the participants. To safeguard the anonymity of the participants, their names were replaced with pseudo names in both the transcriptions and the final report

Given the sensitivity of issues around race and identity as well as emotions and thoughts that can be evoked as a result of discussing one's experiences, participants were informed that the Rhodes University Counselling Center is available if they need psychological support. The researcher however made sure that there were no obvious potential risks to participants.

4.7.3 Validity and reliability of the research

Brink (1993) was used as a guideline to understand and combat threats to reliability and validity in this qualitative research. According to Brink (1993), the main threats to validity and reliability in qualitative research are the researcher, participants and the social context in which the data is collected. The researcher ensured that she has the right skills needed to conduct this research. Research seminars, training as well as research supervision ensured that the researcher is well equipped for qualitative data collection and analysis. The researcher was also aware of personal factors that could introduce bias at any stage.

The researcher was also aware of participants' possibilities of introducing bias. These include responses that are aimed to please the researcher or to present themselves in a more positive or even a negative light (Brink, 1993). The researcher was aware that as a black student, there

might be a propensity for participants to answer in a certain manner/ pattern. Through social desirability, it is possible that participants answered in a certain way to try to please a black researcher who is asking them questions about their experiences as black students in a historically white university. To avoid this, questions were asked in a neutral manner and the researcher followed the participants' lead on what is relevant to their experiences. By doing this, the researcher avoided to bring up information that the participants did not voluntarily give out.

The researcher clearly informed the participants about the aims of the study, this is said to reduce bias (Brink, 1993). The researcher also built rapport with participants to make it easy for participants to communicate if they were losing attention or needing a break. The social context was scanned for any possible bias and such were reduced where possible. The interviews were conducted in well lit, aerated offices. The researcher ensured that there were no disturbances and interviews were conducted during times when the surrounding was mostly quiet.

Furthermore, as per Brink's (1993) guidelines, the researcher specifically outlined the research methodology including the steps for data analysis as well as the theoretical underpinnings of the study. It was demonstrated that each stage of the data collection and analysis was guided by available research. The researcher was also aware that having gone through different researchers that document the experiences of black students, there might be biases in listening, understanding and analyzing the information from the transcriptions. To combat this, the researcher was open to alternative theories and ideas to understand the narratives.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter explores the methodology of the research. The researcher first started by outlining the process of collecting the data after seeking all the relevant ethical clearances and consent from relevant authorities. The chapter then outlines the data analysis process, highlighting different steps as well as the contribution of the theoretical framework in shaping both the research questions and the data analysis process. The researcher was aware of her race and experiences in relation to how they can affect both data collection and analysis. More threats to reliability such as the participants and the social context were also discussed. The researcher ensured that anonymity and confidentiality were explained to participants and consent was sought.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to explore the experiences of black students in a historically white university. Due to the historical context of SA, it was noted that there are racialized interactions not only in the broader South African context but in universities as well. Universities in this sense confirm the view that they are microcosms of broader society and therefore reflect the societal challenges. In addition to the historical context that may affect the social identity of black students in HWI, the institutional culture in HWI have been previously noted to be unwelcoming of black students (Steyn et al, 2014; Moletsane *et al,* 2004; Hannaway, 2012). An unwelcoming institutional culture has been reported to contribute to adjustment issues (Steyn et al., 2014) that may, in turn, affect students' psychological well-being (Young & Campbell, 2014) and educational achievement (NPC, 2011).

As literature has outlined above, the study was premised on Social Identity theory and Berry's acculturation ideas. As such, the interview questions were based on the above theories and discussed based on the following factors;

- Understanding identity; how participants define their identity and what forms part of their process of self-identity- Fanon (2008); Biko (1986); Manganyi (1973) and Bulhan (1979).
- Understanding institutional culture; understanding the discourses and materials in HWI and how these affect black students- Tabensky and Matthews (2015); Vincent (2015) as well as Mbembe, (2016); Heleta (2016) and Wingfield (2017).
- Understanding Social identity; understanding how black students negotiate their social identity, which groups of students they are mostly likely to interact with, and the responses to feeling either inferior or dominant in the groups they are in -Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) and Berry (2005).
- Wellbeing; understanding whether the challenges faced by black students affect their well-being in HWI- Young and Campbell (2014).

The study will outline the findings following the chronology of the factors mentioned above and the themes that each factor generated during interviews.

Table 2: Summary of themes and sub-themes

THEMES	SUB THEMES
Formation of identity	**1. Demographic identifiers** - race, gender, age **2. Religion, culture, and socialization** - Culture and religion, - Socialization into these belief systems **3. Black students identify themselves as poor** - Poverty, coming from rural areas, - Disadvantaged **4. Coloniality, apartheid and identity formation** - effects of coloniality on the cultural identity of black students
Institutional Culture of a HWU on black students' identities	**1. The institutional culture in Rhodes University alienates black identities** Socio economic status and difference in cultures **2. Rhodes University is inaccessible to black students** Language, SES, and quality of education **3. The institutional culture is colonial** Using the colonizer's language, Teaching methods, as well as frameworks and policies in HWI, are colonial **4. Is Rhodes University aware of current issues?** Racial inequalities, Continuity of colonization
The black social experience of being in a HWU	**1. Black students are reserved in a HWU** Shy, reserved, not part of social groups **2. Racial segregation** Observed in university residences and noted during political debates **3. The inferiority of black students and perceived superiority of white students** Black students view themselves as inferior to the perceived superior white students **4. Assimilation and double consciousness** Assimilation as a survival tactic Double consciousness as an undeniable product of assimilation **5. Integration versus artificial integration** Integration according to Berry (2005) versus artificial integration by Biko (1978). **6. Black consciousness and positive social identity** Black consciousness according to Biko (1978) and positive social identity according to the SIT (Tajfel, 1981)
The well-being of black students in a HWU	**1. Pressure to perform** To alleviate their poverty, to match the 'quality education' in HWI **2. Psychological distress** Anxiety, withdrawal, depression **3. Lack of self-help tools** **4. Adjusting back home**

5.2 Theme 1: Formation of identity

Personal identity has already been defined according to Leary and Tangney (2012). Identity is also said to be socially constructed (Cerulo, 1997). These traits, characteristics, and roles are shaped by our interactions with other people and what society collectively deems as important and real. Our way of being in the world and relating to the world is said to be determined firstly by our nuclear interactions and consequently how we relate to our environment (Manganyi, 1973). To

explore the formation of black identity, these subthemes were elicited; demographic identifiers; religion, culture, and socialization; black students identify themselves as poor; coloniality, apartheid and identity formation.

Subtheme 1; Demographic identifiers

Generally, participants' comments on demographics identifiers revolved around; age, language, gender, and race. Participants in other studies also noted demographic identifiers are part of their identity (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Pattman, 2007 and Barroso, 2015). Demographic variables have been described as social constructs that affect identity development (Descartes, 2012). Age is a "social construct that is shaped by cultural norms and values of a specific society" (Descartes, 2012, p. 52). There are often cultural expectations given specific ages as well as markers of transition into certain ages/stages (Descartes, 2012). Identification as male or female is also said to be socially constructed (Butler, 1988). There are also specific gender roles, expectations and values given in different cultures (Descartes, 2012).

Extract 1

> A young black female, that's the identity I came with. That I am black (2) that I am female. – Cama
> The language, the color of my skin, those things influence how then I identify myself. – Fikile
> I am an African woman. - Dhlomo

Participants in this study identified as being black. Their skin color was paramount in that it formed part of how they identify themselves. This is consistent with the findings by Pattman (2007) who reported that "race continues to be accorded much significance by students in the post-apartheid … context" (p. 480). Race has been identified to be a significant factor in post-apartheid South African (Barroso, 2015) and a major theme affecting social identity and interactions in universities (Pattman, 2007).

Demographic identifiers were discussed as social constructs that are influenced by being part of a certain culture, community or religion. They were emphasized to be affected by interactions with other people in ones' context. The significance of race was discussed as mainly shaped by the history of South Africa. Other studies mentioned above (Pattman, 2007; Barroso, 2015; Biko, 1987; Fanon, 2008) have supported the notion that race is a relevant and significant factor in discussions in the post-apartheid South Africa.

Subtheme 2; Religion, culture, and socialization

Culture, religion, and socialization are important and should be considered when studying any group of people (Trommsdorff, 2012). Participants belief systems formed part of their identity. Participants who identified culture as part of their identity also mentioned language as forming part of their cultural identity.

Extract 2

> There is a culture that follows IsiZulu. - Amandla
> I come from a background where we honor our ancestors. – Dhlomo
> Just be polite, that's really what I can say is my culture- Botho

Participants reported that socialization into specific cultural values and norms formed part of their identities. Participants' experiences can, therefore, be viewed as being a product of their social environment. Some participants in this study reported that the stories they were told about the history of South Africa influenced how they identify themselves.

Entle reported, "obviously being around my father (...) his brother and just around my family". Entle referred to her father's role in the formation of her identity, "my father was heavily involved in the struggle, so he was informed in that way, so his mission was to make sure that we were also aware of our historical background. So, in that way, I was cued up on the history of what happened in pre-democracy". Due to her father's involvement in the political liberation struggle, Entle says, "my identity was that of a hard worker which is informed by family values, humble beginnings and just a lot of history based on our history as the country".

Expanding on the question of identity, another participant, Cama, pointed out the fact that her cultural-ethnic/tribal identity continues to shape her identity. This participant also referred to her father; "am Zulu, am a Zulu girl (4) I was socialized from when I was young, with my father and the way he looks at things. My dad is a very Zulu man and so (3) I do not know if that has caused a conflict in who I identify myself as". Socialization into cultural norms and values means that Cama will identify with being Zulu, as well as with Zulu customs because her father is Zulu. These cultural values and principles would have been passed on to her as she was growing up. The confusion between culture and religion as described by Cama will be discussed in later subthemes. Identity was explained as something that originates from one's interaction with their community. Participants, therefore, reported that their identities are not only affected by their interactions with their immediate families but their community as well. Fikile explained it this way, "the stuff that I bring from home, the culture, the people, the language, the gender, basically my birth order, all

those things, they influence my identity. They are the things I brought from home and my social interactions with my community."

Fikile here seems to be explaining more of a social identity than a self-identity. Her identity is informed by her culture, language and even birth order. The value of these attributes situates Fikile into certain groups within her community through social categorization. Her social interactions with her community, based on these values and principles, therefore forms part of her social identity. These findings are consistent with Goldsmith (2003) who reported that family background and socialization influence one's identity.

Family was noted to define who one is, therefore influencing what one identifies as. Amandla said, "firstly when I grew up, I was told am male and then I get told that I am black". Amandla identifies as being male and black because it is something that has been communicated to him by his society/family. This affirms Butler's (1988) argument that gender is an act or performance guided by social sanctions and social taboos. Gender and race have already been discussed as socially constructed. Amandla's identification with and performance of being black and male carries with it a certain culture and history (Butler, 1988).

One participant reported that she is part of a collectivist culture where assistance is given to other members of the family who are not well off. Entle reported, "so culturally I would say based on that idea of collectivism, doing things not only for yourself but your family, the parents, to take care of them in the future". Entle seem to be using collectivism and helping family members in need (sometimes called black tax) to mean one thing and to symbolize her identity. In their study with university students in Cape Town, Eaton and Louw (2000) discovered that university students who spoke African Languages (mostly black students), had interdependent self-descriptions, suggesting a more collectivist identification. Biko (1986) also refers to African cultures as collectivist. Participants in Magubane's (2017) study reported that once they started working, they provided financial assistance to bridge the economic inequality gap.

In trying to understand this, one may deduce that a more interdependent identification (collectivism), may lead to one feeling responsible to take care of other people in the family, whom one may see as needing assistance. Interdependence is therefore seen on an emotional, social and even economic level. Black tax or collectivism is not the focus of this paper; however, it would be interesting to find out how collectivist cultures, as well as black tax, may impact on the identity and well-being of a black student.

Culture, religion, and socialization have been noted as important factors that should be considered when studying any group of people (Trommsdorff, 2012). Participants in this study reported that culture, religion, and socialization form part of their identity. The culture of black students in this study involved different traditional practices from their respective cultural/ethnic groups. Most participants identified as Christian and that their Christian beliefs also form part of their identity. Socialization was discussed as growing into a certain culture and learning values and principles from one's family as well as the community. Some participants were also socialized into collectivist cultures where people are interdependent on each other and may need social or economic assistance from others. According to the SIT, values informed by culture and religion would affect social categorization. In other words, the groups black students join would be informed by these values and how black students have been socialized when growing up.

Subtheme 3; Black students identify themselves as poor

Participants in this study identified as poor, coming from disadvantaged families or rural areas. This identification is consistent with what has been discussed in Chapter 2 of this research, that many black people in South Africa remain poor because of colonialism and apartheid (Withnall, 2016).

Extract 3

> I identify mostly with the rural- Fikile
> I am from a poor family. From a disadvantaged family. - Cama
> So, my identity I would say coming from home was more village girl, humble beginnings, not exposed to a lot of multicultural factors or not exposed to other races. – Entle

In comparison to the other who is privileged, these participants identify as poor. Comparisons were made with the other who has been historically privileged. Participants had this to say;

Extract 4

> I would even question in my childish way of thinking, why is it that at home we had to be the ones that have less - Amandla
> Because I was not born into a rich family, there was always some struggle here and there. - Cama
> And also coming from a rural area and navigating myself on the urban side, so that then becomes my culture. – Entle
> Not just young and black but disadvantaged, being from a disadvantaged background. I feel like that is an identity I carried throughout my time here at school. – Cama

In comparison to the out-group, the in-group is described as poor, it has less, it struggles and most importantly, the ingroup negotiates this difference in the social space with the out-group. These findings are similar to Moodley's (2013) study where participants associated white students with

privilege and made comparisons based on white students' access to laptops and iPads. From Extract 3 Entle reported that navigating the two economically different areas forms part of her identity. This is similar to what Bhabha referred to as hybridity (Bhabha, 1994). By adjusting to a different culture, Entle now has access to two social classes, being hers and the one she is adapting to. Identifying as poor is something that one is aware of and carries with them wherever they go. Cama found that she did not only bring her identity as black and female, she also brought her identity as a poor person.

The characteristic of being poor gains its significance in the presence of other groups which are not poor. Cama positions herself as struggling because she is not rich (that is she is not part of an out-group that is rich). There is a negative connotation attached to this characteristic, as Amandla said, "it is unfair". Cama's evaluation is also negative in that this classification results in a struggle. Entle reported that one must then negotiate this struggle in social space (Extract 4). One would assume that there would be some social identity strategies that signify this negotiation in social spaces.

This theme shows the impact of colonization and apartheid on the economy of black people who in large numbers remain poor. Poverty was discussed as forming part of the identity of black students. Black students identified as poor and coming from disadvantaged communities. Poverty was reported to be something that a black student would have to negotiate and accept, especially when they come to historically white universities. Comparisons in this theme were made to the other who is more privileged. The impact of poverty on social identity will be discussed in later chapters.

Subtheme 4; Coloniality, apartheid and cultural identity formation

As already discussed above, culture and religious beliefs formed part of the identity of black students. Even though culture was noted to form part of black students' identities, participants also mentioned that culture has evolved, and it is not what it used to be.

Extract 5

> I can say it's not really Zulu, I find that it is not really authentic. I can say it's not really, Zulu, in the sense that influences of the western. - Amandla
> Influence by African mainly and a little flavor of westernization. - Dhlomo
> But then some of them [cultural practices] get blurred or are not done because of influences of Christianity. Since Christianity does not allow ancestral worship, and many things involving ancestral worship. – Amandla

What is described by the participants in Extract 5 is consistent with the writings by Manganyi (1973) and Biko (1986). Manganyi (1973) asserts that colonialism and apartheid brought along urbanization and industrialization which resulted in a cultural change of the inhabitants. Biko (1986) asserts that Christianity in South Africa was introduced to justify colonialism and that religion came with a negation of African customs and practices which were referred to as pagan and barbaric. Religion and culture, therefore, remain difficult to negotiate given the influence of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.

The dilemma of religion and culture leaves black students between 'a rock and a hard place'. They are forced to deny their cultural heritage, beliefs and customs to fully practice the religion that was presented by their colonizer, hence the notion of artificial integration (Biko, 1987). Amandla reported that some of his cultural practices, such as ancestral worship, are not done because of the influences of Christianity. Participants from du Plessis's (2014) study also found it challenging to practice their traditions in a westernized society.

This negation of the African culture brings about a negative evaluation in comparison to the out-group (the westernized culture). Here, comparisons are between the in-group, whose culture is barbaric and the out-group whose culture was presented as distinct and "better". In such situations, the inferior group, in this case, would have to find some form of distinctiveness from the out-group. Social mobility, in this case, would be difficult due to the value of culture and the history that comes with it.

Extract 6

> My dad is a very Zulu man and so (3) I do not know if that has caused a conflict in who I identify myself as. But we are also religious, so that forms part my (3) I guess religion is culture. I think that is also my culture that forms who I am. Religion and the fact that I am a Zulu girl. - Cama
> And African in that sense, in the sense that I come from a background where we honor our ancestors. It's funny am also Catholic [anxiously laughing] – Dhlomo

The merge of cultural beliefs with religious beliefs can pose a challenge if these two belief systems have opposing views. Participants who reported both belief systems seemed to have challenges negotiating these. Cama seemed to be struggling to identify as both Zulu and Christian. Negotiating one's way around an evolving culture and making sense of practicing one's culture while at the same time being part of a religion that does not allow aspects of one's culture, therefore, formed part of the participants' identities.

This subtheme helps us understand the cultural and religious identities of black student in the light of the history of colonialism and apartheid. Arguments from Biko (1978), Biko (1986) and

Manganyi (1973) were evoked to understand how a black person negotiates religion and culture. One would have gone further and linked colonization and apartheid to identity formation and inferiority, however, this would be discussed in the later chapters.

Summary

Participants listed demographic identifiers such as race, language, gender, age as forming part of their identity. Similar to other studies (Barroso, 2015; Pattman, 2007), race was indicated as a marker of identity. Gender and age were identified as social constructs that are important both from a developmental, cultural and social point of view. Culture, religion, and socialization were also noted as forming part participants' identity. The dislocation of black lives was noted to have contributed to black people's low socio-economic status to the extent of (black students) identifying as poor. Black students identified poverty as something that is part of them; they must negotiate it wherever they are. Comparisons based on socio-economic status were made in reference to the privileged white other. The influence of colonialism and apartheid were also noted to have led to a negation of African cultures including a loss of cultural values and principles. One participant reported that the culture that remains it is not authentic, and they cannot identify with it. With the influence of socialization into specific cultural norms and principles, some of which involving ancestral worship, black students in this study showed difficulties in negotiating their religious and cultural identities.

5.3 Theme 2: The Institutional culture of a HWU on black students' identities

This chapter seeks to understand black students' experiences of the institutional culture in a HWU. It seeks to understand whether the materials and discourses in historically white universities cater for their identities as black students. The main theme of this chapter is 'Institutional culture of a HWI on black students' identities'. The following subthemes were elicited; the institutional culture in Rhodes University alienates black identities, Rhodes University is inaccessible to black students, the institutional culture is colonial, is Rhodes University aware of current issues?

Subtheme 1; The institutional culture in Rhodes University alienates black identities

Participants reported that the institutional culture in Rhodes University is uncomfortable for black students. The main factors that make the institutional culture uncomfortable for black students

were socioeconomic status and the difference in cultures (black students' culture and the institutional culture). It is important to note culture and socio-economic status have already been discussed as forming part of the identities of black students.

Socio-economic status of black students is a hindrance to comfort in HWI

Socioeconomic status was identified as a contributing factor to discomfort in HWI. Black students who have already identified themselves as poor and coming from disadvantaged families found it difficult to get around town and enjoy themselves like other students. Transport around town was indicated to be a problem to black students who do not have cars.

Extract 7

> It is an environment that is comfortable for mostly white, English speaking students, even with the places around here, the hangouts, the clubs and the surroundings and all of that, so it is easier for a white person to just live comfortably here. If they have cars, they have freedom of movement [Grahamstown is characterized by poor public transport]. – Amandla

Cama explained that for black students to fit into the institutional culture, they would have to have money. Fitting in would involve dressing a certain way, and as mentioned above, going to certain places where one would still be required to spend money. Certain social circles are reported to be inaccessible to black students who do not have money.

Extract 8

> It is the money, if you have money, you get to be popular, you dress in a certain way, you get in certain social circles, you are *cool* [cool here refers to being of a higher social status], and you are the *cool kid* [a cool kid is someone belonging to a higher social status regardless of age]. – Cama

Low socio-economic status has already been discussed as forming part of black identities (Extract 3). From Extract 4, black students reported that being poor is something that they must negotiate in historically white universities. From Extract 7 and 8 one can deduce that poverty marks black students as different in HWI because they dress differently, and they cannot access certain social circles. The impact of poverty on social identity will be discussed in the next chapters.

The institutional culture in a HWU is different from black students' cultural values

Participants reported that the institutional culture in Rhodes University is different from their own cultural values and principles. Participants noted differences in dress code, manners/respect as well as values and principles. One participant mentioned dress code as something that is different from her own cultural values.

Extract 9

> Some of the kids here would wear *bum shorts* [trousers so short that they show part of someone's buttocks], and they are comfortable with that, and I am okay with that. But I think wouldn't do it because I, it is just a matter of who I am. This is informed by my own biases, informed by my own values and principles, but I sort of find that it is an acceptable culture at RU for those things to happen. – Fikile

Another participant commented on respect

Extract 10

> I have heard a lot of students who disrespect their elders, and who disrespect others, you know, arrogance. So that is different, compared to where I came from, you respect everyone regardless of age, background. – Dhlomo

One participant remarked on the issue of religious beliefs and practices,

Extract 11

> I told you I was a Christian, so these things to me [things that are contrary to her Christian values], I would go back home and be like, "oh please God am so sorry I drank so much", it was that thing it came back to me, this is not how your mom raised you. This is not how she would want to see you. – Cama

According to the above extracts, the university culture is different in terms of dress code, religious beliefs, and practices as well as manners and respect. Spaces in HWI were reported to be foreign to black students who grew up in townships. Such students felt a need to make friends outside of school so that they can be in environments that they are most familiar with.

Extract 12

> But if you are black and maybe you are socialized in our South African townships, there is really no movement for you because you are restricted to the places closer to the university. I have heard that some of my friends they go to the townships if they have friends in the township in Grahamstown. – Amandla

Extract 12 has two components. The first component is that black students have challenges with transport, therefore, their movement is restricted. The second part of this extract is that black students who are socialized in the townships seek similar environments. The township in Grahamstown, like in many other towns and cities in South Africa is on the outskirts of the town. It is, therefore, a contradiction in that Amandla says black students are restricted to areas closer to the university, but they still travel a longer distance to townships. In trying to understand this, one may bring Extract 7 (by the same participant) in that the closer facilities were historically not created for black students. Black students would rather travel longer distances to places where they will feel at home. This is similar to the concept of 'feeling at home' as discussed by Vice (2015).

Institutional culture has already been defined according to Vincent (2015). Black students in this study reported that they struggled to adjust to the culture in the university, both the material and discourses, that are different from their own culture. The spaces and materials in the universities were foreign. The way of doing things, the dress code (Extract 10) and the culture was also foreign to black students. Those who are dominant in the institution establish the culture (discourses), and in this case, the students' discourses included a different way of being, relating and interacting with the world (dress code, activities such as drinking alcohol, a different kind of or apparent lack of respect etc.). All these discourses give one an idea of the institutional culture (as felt and experienced by students). According to Bujuwoye (2002), students find it more difficult to adjust to the institutional culture if their culture is different from the dominant culture. Adjustment difficulties have been linked to poor well-being (Young & Campbell, 2014).

Subtheme 2; Rhodes University is inaccessible to black students

Participants reported that it is difficult for a black student to come to Rhodes University. The identities of black students, which are different from the institutional culture make it difficult for black students to access HWI. As already mentioned in subtheme 1, factors such as SES, language, the difference in cultures make black students uncomfortable in HWI. These factors (under subtheme 1), including quality of education, were identified as factors that hinder black students from accessing HWI.

Extract 13

> It is difficult to get into Rhodes because you are not White [being white has been associated with a higher SES] – Fikile
> It is assumed that we will all afford the fees. – Amandla

When commenting on SES, some participants reported that black students are unable to pay the fees in HWI. Participants in a research by Steyn et al. (2014) and Dass-Brailsford (2005) also reported being financially disadvantaged in that they cannot afford university fees. In cases where the students received financial aid to cover their university fees, they reported that they still struggled to meet other university financial demands such as laminating or making copies (Steyn et al., 2014). Financial assistance and bursaries were reported to not always provide financial support enough to cover all university costs including textbooks (Steyn et al., 2014).

Extract 14

> I passed my matric, very very good, you know, and I had an opportunity to go to university, and as weird as it sounds [laughing], my dad paid for my first-year fees with that barrister job. – Cama

Students who passed very well reported that it is difficult to come to schools such as Rhodes University because their parents cannot afford to pay for their fees. Cama found it very hard to pay her fees because her father's job was not high paying.

Extract 15

> It is difficult to get into Rhodes because the standard of education you are coming with. Even in the academic setting, you might study together but it is not really the same because the other might have an upper hand in relation to the language and the quality of education they have. In as much as you are in the same class, the way of conceptualization and the way of understanding is not the same. - Fikile
> Not that I had to prove myself but that I had to work hard in order to meet that standard (5) so *yah* [means yes], given my background and all of that and my upbringing. – Entle
> I don't think you will be able to "how-how-how" [imitating a white accent] here. – Fikile

Black students also noted that their quality of education is an important factor to consider when one is trying to study in HWI. Participants felt that they needed to work extra hard to meet the standard and quality of education in HWI. According to Carrim (2013), quality education would include the availability of basic resources and infrastructure that affect academic performance Carrim (2013). These resources would include libraries, computers, textbooks and other learning infrastructure Carrim (2013). It was reported that there is lack of resources in schools in South Africa, mainly in poor areas. According to Kessi and Cornell (2015), the increasing number of black students in HWI has resulted in a discourse that "that represent black students as lacking incompetencies, lowering academic standards and undeserving of their places" at these universities (p. 1).

In a study at the University of Cape Town, black students were reported to internalize and embody this negative image of incompetence and self-doubt (Moodley, 2013). Similar to black students in this study, black students in Kessi and Cornell's (2015) study questioned their competencies. Participants in Kessi and Cornell's (2015) study also reported that "ideas of incompetency are associated with the guilt of taking the place of white students" (p. 6). This view would explain why black students in this study (Extract 15) reported they needed to work harder and prove themselves to meet the standard of education, almost to show they are deserving of a place in HWI.

Society's views about Rhodes University also influence decisions to apply to Rhodes or continue studying at Rhodes. The society was reported to view Rhodes University as a white

university. Fikile had this to say, "I mean applying at Rhodes, people will be like that is a white institution, or it is difficult to get at Rhodes and those are influenced by the structures that made Rhodes to be what it is. So those things they influence how you behave, think of Rhodes and how the society still think of Rhodes."

Black students reported that Rhodes University is inaccessible. Attending Rhodes University is associated with being white and having the financial resources to afford higher education. Participants also questioned their quality of education in a HWU. Comparisons were made to the white out-group who were reported to be comfortable in HWI because they can afford the fees and the student life which black students reported that it was different from their own culture and values. Fearon (2012) proposes that students need to socially identify as university students, for them to achieve academically. This may indicate that if black students feel that they don't belong to, or are not part of HWI then, as already mentioned, it may affect their academic achievement (Fearon, 2012).

Subtheme 3; The institutional culture is colonial

Participants in this study reported that the institutional culture in RU is colonial. To illustrate this, the following factors were discussed; using the colonizer's language, teaching methods and frameworks are colonial.

Using the colonizer's language

Participants noted that the prominent use of the English language shows Rhodes University is a colonial space- it's roots are deeply embedded in its colonial values. Participants noted that the English language is a powerful language that came with the colonizers. The English language was also historically seen as superior to other languages to an extent that the colonizers made sure that their colonies learn the language, in the process disregarding their own languages. Participants noted that the English language is not just a language, but it also represents so many historical injustices that black students should be aware of. Rhodes University is therefore seen as colonized if it continues to regard the English language above other languages.

Extract 16

> We have to learn English; it's a language of success. It is a language of power. But not ending there, going back to how did it become a language of power, what were the processes behind that? (3) So, to actually know that people were dehumanized and all the wrongs that were done in order for this language to be powerful (.) That many lands were invaded, and this language was left. – Amandla

Amandla found it unfair that they had to learn the English language while white students were not obliged to learn African languages. He remarked, "I think my problem is that some of my peers, my white peers, is that, so few of them learn our languages." It has been discussed in Chapter Two of this paper that transformation policies to include the use indigenous languages are still slow in HWI, including RU. The use of the English language made black students feel alienated. Some participants reported that they could not truly express their black identities because they feel compelled to speak English all the time. Amandla found it very uncomfortable that he could not speak his home language and it caused him distress. He reported, "I find a high occurrence of English because, for the first time I came here, I would even call home and cry to my mother that I even miss speaking isiZulu."

The use of the English language was also seen as a barrier to joining clubs and societies in the university. By only using the English language, clubs and societies were an extension of the uncomfortable culture in the university. Amandla left a university society/club because he felt that there was no opportunity for him to express himself in his own language. He said, "I just found it to be another extension of English, of the English culture."

As already mentioned, black students have identified language as forming part of their identities. Being unable to speak one's own language meant that one is denied expressing their identity. "As things currently stand, the overwhelming majorities of South African society are culturally relatively-deprived and linguistically silenced" (Prah, 2007, p. 19). According to Mbembe (2016), teaching African languages should be part of the movement towards decolonizing higher education. Consistent with Prah (2007), another participant explained this 'silencing' this way,

Extract 17

> But for me personally, I haven't really been as fully comfortable here in expressing my blackness [blackness here seems to be associated with speaking one's language] (3) so I am forced to translate to English so that I can show people my blackness expression if I can say that. – Amandla

Rhodes University is also viewed as colonized in that it treats black students as a homogeneous group. Not only does HWI continue using the English language but they are reported to also assume that black students are the same and that they have no problems being addressed in English. Amandla reported, "there is an assumption that we have shared values, it is assumed that all of us want to learn in English, that all of us want to write in English, we want to be addressed in English."

As already discussed in previous chapters the main aim of racially blind educational systems is to promote racial equity where there is no exclusion based on race. However, this may lead to this phenomenon mentioned by Amandla where black students (or any other group of students) are treated as a homogenous group. This is consistent with Meier and Hartell (2009), who reported that racially blind educational systems may be ignorant of the diversity of students.

Language has already been noted as encompassing a culture and a way of life of any group of people (Fanon, 2008). Participants in this study reported that Rhodes University is colonial space because only the English language is used to teach. Acquisition of a new language has been discussed as alienating black students from their own identity in that it forces them to acquire another's culture (Fanon, 2008). Due to the institutional culture in historically white universities, black students are forced to assimilate to being taught in English and socializing in English.

The results in this study are consistent with studies (Barroso, 2015; Moodley, 2013; Rafaely, 2014) which reported that black students struggled with using the English language in HWI (already discussed in Chapter Two). An example of these studies is the study by Kleintjes's (1991) who reported that black students struggled with the pressure to write and speak English. It is understandable why participants viewed the Rhodes University as colonial since the same language of teaching that was used during colonialism and apartheid is still being used even after democracy. If the institutional culture denies expression of one's language, then it facilitates black students to adopt a different culture altogether, leading to an identity change.

<u>Teaching methods, as well as frameworks and policies in HWI, are colonial</u>

Participants noted that the content of the teaching material in HWI is colonial. Not only are black students taught in a foreign language, they are also expected to learn the history of their colonizers while denying their own heritage. One participant noted that due to the colonial curriculum in HWI, black students do not know about their own histories as much as they know other histories. This is consistent with Mbembe who reported that "there is something profoundly wrong when, for instance, syllabuses designed to meet the needs of colonialism and Apartheid should continue well into the liberation era" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 32).

Extract 18

> Most of the history we learned about was the World War and French Revolution, and that's the only thing, so we were never taught history, our own history, colonization, or even before colonization. – Amandla

This is consistent with Heleta (2016) who noted that the curriculum in higher education "remains largely Eurocentric and continues to reinforce white and Western dominance and privilege while at the same time being full of stereotypes, prejudices and patronizing views about Africa and its people" (p. 2). In Evans's (2016) article, a black student from the University of Cape Town reported that the curriculum requires black students to only use western epistemology as a lens for looking at the world. These Eurocentric views have been reported to negate the experiences and the culture of the black intelligentsia. As already mentioned, the black intelligentsia cannot own the science and technology in Africa if is westernized (Prah, 2007).

Extract 19

> We even know of people who lived so long as Socrates, or Aristotle, and all of those people, but then we hear stories of great Kings that we have had, but we do not know them as much as we can still reference people like Darwin, and Darwin lived hundreds of years ago. - Amandla

Frameworks and policies in HWI were also reported to be colonial. Participants noted the impact of the history of South Africa on HWI. They explained that since HWI were founded under the colonial and apartheid era, current frameworks and policies have evolved from such. Participants noted that there are policies or frameworks still reflect the colonial past in this democracy era. "While all universities have had new policies and frameworks that speak about equality, equity, transformation and change, institutional cultures and epistemological traditions have not considerably changed" (Heleta, 2016, p. 2).

Extract 20

> Unfortunately, I cannot shy away from the policies and the frameworks and what influenced those [current] policies and frameworks. I mean coloniality and apartheid happened. We still see institutional racism, a lot of things that were happening in the colonial era and the apartheid era are still happening under the democratic government. - Fikile
>
> I think a lot of time people complain that the face of RU [Rhodes University] is so accepting, decolonized, so liberal, but what happens in the institution, students experience of RU is not as good as the face of RU as what RU portrays itself to be. The laws might have changed but the thinking and the experience of those that lived then it has not really changed. - Entle

Participants noted that a change in institutional frameworks and policies do not always reflect what is happening in the university and it does not always match the experiences of those in the university. The frameworks and policies may change on paper, but students' experiences may remain the same. This specific finding is consistent with Tabensky and Matthews (2015) and Heleta (2016) on the notion that even though policies and frameworks have been formulated to facilitate transformation or decolonization, their applicability is hindered by the institutional culture in HWI.

Examples of such policies would include making higher education multilingual which Prah (2007) describes as an endeavor that currently exists in literature but has not yet materialized. Participants in this study reported that the policies on paper do not reflect their lived experiences of the institutional culture. Participants were aware of the history of HWI and how it still impacts on the running of these universities. Some of these include curricula that were created for White, English-speaking students (Collins & Millard, 2013) that continue to be implemented even after democracy and multiracialism in universities.

Subtheme 4; Is Rhodes University aware of current issues?

Some participants noted that Rhodes University is sensitive and aware of current issues around the protests, these include the rape culture protests and the fees must fall protests. The institution was reported to be supportive and that it responded to concerns made by students.

Extract 21

> I mean with the rape culture protest [protest that happened around November 2016 in response to rape incidents on RU campus], I was inspired, I was amazed by that. I have never seen an institution that cares so much about victims, you know, and supports victims. - Dhlomo
> Institutionally yes, I would say that RU was not only accepting as in the student body but also the institution itself being aware of things like the rape culture. - Entle
> Being aware and in tune with the language that is being used, accepting and celebrating other languages and also being clued up in terms of picking up on issues of prejudice and acting on them. – Entle

Rhodes University was reported to accept different races, languages as well as social backgrounds. Entle reported, "I would say Rhodes is more accepting of race and other social issues that affect us in terms of colonialism and just language as well, teaching black people and other races that were previously disadvantaged, but I would say it's not perfect." This is a contradiction when looking at the narratives about language. However, this may be a specific comment from this participant who had reported that she was comparing Rhodes University to her previous university which is also a HWU. Not perfect here may indicate that there is more that could still be done to transform HWI.

Rhodes University, just like other HWI has been trying to transform and slowly undo the injustices of the past. Some of the transformations involves the renaming of buildings as explained in Chapter Two (VC's circular, 2016). However, transforming universities is complex and most universities in South Africa are struggling with transformation (Tabensky & Matthews, 2015).

Even though Rhodes University is reported to be accepting and aware of social issues that affect students, Entle continued to explore the idea that there could still be some improvement.

Extract 22

> However, there have not been the best (5). Some of the things that are not so perfect, are for example, one (2), with the rape culture, the rape protests, that brought a lot to life in terms of just the way things are handled around that, the disciple around that and how the accused are still walking around campus and are not punished the way they are supposed to. That and also just how management, there is this divide between management and the student body. And especially during the protest the students did not feel supported by management at all. Especially because the institution allowed so much police presence and on top of that a lot of police brutality towards the students. The students felt that they were not supported in terms of that. - Entle

The above extract is another contradiction from the above extracts by the same participant. Entle reported above (Extract 21) that RU was cued up on issues surrounding the rape culture and that RU was also able to pick and act on issues of prejudice. This comment is also contrary to the comment by Dhlomo above who reported that the institution was supporting victims. Contradictions like these may indicate the ambivalence of black students towards the institutional culture. Or perhaps, it just reflects the differences in experiences of the university by those who live in it.

Conclusion

This theme of 'Institutional culture of a HWU on black identities' allowed us to understand the institutional culture in Rhodes University and how black students experience it. The first subtheme on 'the institutional culture in RU alienates black identities' explored the main reasons for this alienation which was socio-economic status and difference of the institutional culture from participants' cultural values. In Subtheme 2, participants reported that RU is not accessible to black students because of their socio-economic status and quality of education (which was reported to be inferior to that found in HWI). Subtheme 3 reported concerns from participants that the use of the English language indicates that RU is a colonial space. Participants also reported that policies and frameworks in RU are informed by its colonial history. The chapter ends with an ambivalence as to whether RU is aware of current issues affecting black students in HWI and whether they can act on those.

5.4 Theme 3; The black social experience of being in a HWU

The section documents black students experience social spaces in a historically white university. The Social Identity Theory by Tajfel and Turner (1979), the acculturation theory by Berry (2005), as well as Steve Biko's artificial integration will be used in this chapter to understand the social identity of black students. Ideas from Fanon (2008), Manganyi (1973), and Bulhan (1979) will also be incorporated. To explore how black students experience the social space, these subthemes were elicited; black students are reserved in a HWU, racial segregation, inferiority of black students and the perceived superiority of white students, assimilating and double consciousness, integration versus artificial integration and black consciousness and positive social identity. Even though some of these subthemes have been alluded to in previous discussions, this segment allows their in-depth discussion and analysis using the theoretical models.

Subtheme 1; Black students are reserved in a HWU

All the participants reported that they are reserved for different reasons. Some described themselves as shy and therefore not being interactive in the social spaces while others were reserved because of their demanding academic workload.

Extract 23

> Personally, I am a very reserved person. So, I keep to myself too much, I don't socialize that much- Amandla
> There is a sense of not being involved, not being overly concerned, you are just there to complete your studies, that's it. So, we are not as immersed as people are in the Rhodes culture, we are just loosely associated with the university- Dhlomo
> Because I was such a rowdy girl, I got excluded – Cama

One participant who used to be interactive in the social space reported that since she had been previously excluded after failing a semester, she finds it paramount to focus on her studies. She also reported that she failed because she was a "rowdy" girl who partied and drank alcohol. She reported that she used to be part of the most popular group. Another participant was reserved because she could not find her place in the social spaces in Rhodes University. She reported that she was dealing with the culture shock she experienced when she moved to South Africa.

Extract 24

> Interviewer: have you been part of any social groups?
> Not at Rhodes, because I have really been battling with culture shock as well, I don't necessarily talk about it because I don't think other people understand it- Botho

One participant who identified herself as a mature student also described herself as quiet and reserved. She found it difficult to penetrate the social space, which she perceived to have been already saturated by people who have formed strong bonds over the years.

Extract 25

> It's kind of difficult because am not a very social person, am very… I don't talk a lot and I don't socialize either. I came as an older student and people had already formed friendships, people who went straight to university I came at a very later stage where I was working and coming into a culture where people have already identified from their first years to Honors now you come in the middle of their identity. It was difficult, especially because I am a quiet person, it is difficult to break those barriers and find an identity. – Fikile

Some studies have reported a similar finding, that black students are reserved in HWI. In a study in Cape Town, "many students silence themselves and are thus not able to participate fully in university life" (Kessi & Cornell, p. 11). In Moodley's (2013) study, participants felt they did not belong to the university. Feelings of inferiority (Fanon, 2008; Biko, 1978), perpetuated by an unwelcoming institutional culture (Hook, 2004) can lead to black students being reserved. Since interactions in social spaces have been associated with an identity challenges like double consciousness (Barroso, 2015), black students may be reserved to protect their identities. All these are assumed reasons to why black students are reserved in HWI. Hopefully, the subthemes that will be presented will shed a light on this phenomenon.

Sub-theme 2; Racial segregation

Different studies have reported on racial segregation in South Africa (Barroso, 2015, Pattman, 2007; Moodley, 2013 and Keizan, 2009). The studies listed have attributed different reasons for racial segregation. Some attributed it to black students feeling uncomfortable around white students (Barroso, 2015), need for white students to unite against the threat (being black students) (Keizan, 2009), stereotypes around races (Moodley, 2011). Participants in this study noted that there is racial segregation on campus. The racial division was reported to be visible in dining halls where students will have racial groups and rarely a mixture of races. The division was also reported to be noticed in the school residences where the students reside.

Extract 26

> There is too much division (3) you can see it even if you are not looking for it. It's usually there, you see it in the dining halls, white people usually sit at these tables, all together, now every other table is the black people. The white people don't join anything. The Indian people never came to events. The event we had, I

was new at the residences, but I noticed that the black people were in charge (4) Race does have an effect- Botho

Racial segregation was attributed to economic class and race. In other instances, racial segregation was reported to be due to disagreements about current issues such as the protests that occurred last year at Rhodes University. Entle reported, "there was a time where we don't agree on issues, on social issues, especially around the protest, we had a lot of debates." During these disagreements, participants have realized that class and race have a contribution. Entle explained, "but sometimes it gets difficult. Whether is a race thing, or whether it is that privilege thing, I am not quite sure. It is the privileged thing, the disadvantaged or the economic standing that influences the disagreement or the divide." To conclude on this dilemma, Entle said, "it is more of people coming from an advantaged point of view, and those who are coming from a disadvantaged point of view and not being able to meet at a certain middle ground"

Biko (1986) reported that it is a white privilege that influences a white person's standing on political issues. One can further say, that the black way of being in the world, as described by Manganyi (1973) would influence the black person's standing on political issues. Participants in this study, however, noted that where there were disagreements based on economic class, there was no racial division since such disagreements may be black on black students, white on white students, or black and white students. Entle reported, "this is not even as people not agreeing as black or white but even black on black and white on white". It can, therefore, be assumed that black students from an advantaged background may also speak from a position of privilege and power just as the white people that Biko (1986) referred to. By this, the study dismisses to an extent Biko's assertions and places his assertions in the time and era in which he wrote his analysis of society.

Race and socioeconomic status were reported as the attributes or characteristics that divided students into groups. The two groups (low economic status versus high economic status and black versus white) are reported to have disagreements. These disagreements may be a way of defending one's superior position, or groups making sure that they are distinct from the outgroup. If being affected by political situations is associated with a low-value status, then groups that are not affected by these political situations (regardless of race) may want to distinguish themselves from the other groups, thereby boosting their social identity. The group that is not affected would now be 'superior' compared to the group which is affected. They would possess a quality which

lacks in the 'inferior' group. Intergroup behavior is then characterized by discrimination (white people not joining events or black people taking charge of events) and conflict (due to disagreements about political issues) as described in Extract 26.

As already mentioned, racial segregation is not only a university problem but a societal problem as well. In understanding racial segregation, the 'us and them' phenomena, we need to be aware of the history of South Africa and the resulting black experience of the world (Manganyi, 1973). Historically, racial segregation was legalized, not only in universities but the broader South Africa (United Nations, 1967). Apartheid, as already mentioned, formed the basis for social interactions (Foster, 1991). Even after 20 years of democracy, it seems racial segregation still exists in South Africa. Racial segregation has been reported in some studies (Barroso, 2015; Pattman, 2007; Finchilescu et al, 2007). Racial segregation has been noted to be a hindrance to transformation and unity (Finchilescu et al, 2007). In this study, racial segregation was attributed to disagreement on social issues which were fueled by the difference in SES. Racial segregation hinders cultural integration and the movement towards multiculturalism (Berry, 2005) or integration (Biko, 1978). It goes against the notion of the 'rainbow nation' (Habib, 1997).

Subtheme 3; Inferiority of black students and the perceived superiority of white students

This part of the study discusses participants' experiences of being inferior in the presence of the perceived superior white counterparts. The dominance of the white community, as well as the imposed inferiority of the black community, has been demonstrated in Chapter 2 (Fanon, 2008; Biko, 1987; Manganyi, 1979). Black students in this study viewed themselves as inferior to white students and they reported that white students perceive themselves as superior to black students.

<u>The inferiority of black students</u>

Participants reported that have been put in an inferior position due to the history of South Africa. The perceived inferiority was reported to be a result of material deprivation leading to low socio-economic status.

Extract 29

> Black people will have an inherent inferior complex that is obviously informed by our historical context. So, (.) I obviously had that inferior thing, especially because I am not coming from a very advantaged background - Entle
> I think that the indigenous people of those areas, they were always put in an inferior position. I would say that history paired us in an unhealthy relationship (4) that because my ancestors were deprived of many

> material things. So, it was positioned that I, as their descendant, was materially inferior to them. I would say that those social things like money, SES, them having more material, cars, houses and all of those things, then they would be more dominant in that regard. - Amandla

SES was reported to contribute to the inferiority experienced by black students. Being poor or disadvantaged has already been discussed as forming part of black identities. This is consistent with what Barroso (2015) said that inferiority embodies the black identity. Comparisons are once again based on socio-economic status. Poor economic status here is associated with inferiority. The out-group is discussed as having cars and money. These possessions are given a positive connotation, making the out-group dominant or superior when compared to the in-group. The in-group is only inferior because of the comparison made with this specific out-group.

Extract 30

> Maybe my white counterpart comes from a very advantaged background and as a friend. And only as a friend, they offer help to me, I don't know I will lift you somewhere, I can get you that, I can pay for that. As a personal thing, it does influence that inferior complex that now the other person with a different color is doing things for me and that kind of takes away my power. – Entle

Interactions with white students where black students would receive financial or material assistance were viewed as disempowering. From this extract, Entle feels disempowered by receiving financial help from a white student. The skin color of the person helping influenced Entle's perceptions of the help she was receiving. Like Amandla said (from the extract above), history has paired both races in an unhealthy relationship. It was noted that assistance from black students was viewed in a different light when compared to assistance received from white students. Entle did not feel disempowered when she was assisted by her fellow black students. This affirmed to Entle, that the history of SA has contributed a lot to her feelings of inferiority.

Extract 31

> I have also had black friends who have the abilities or provisions, I don't feel as emasculated or as disempowered as I would feel if a white friend would help me but that is only because the whiteness of her skin and the blackness of my skin influences such history, and such you know, the context is just the context. – Entle

When Entle received assistance from a black person, she seemed to have viewed this as in-group assistance, therefore, no comparisons were made, and she did not feel disempowered. Even though interactions between Entle and her white counterpart seem to have been on an interpersonal basis, when assistance was offered, Entle moved more towards the intergroup pole of the behavioral continuum. She felt inferior because she identified herself as belonging to an inferior, poor, disadvantaged group. The value attached to these qualities are historically driven to such an extent

that Entle seems to only have a problem with the help she is receiving because of the color of the skin and the connotations that come with it.

Extract 32

> You are a black female, you don't really have much or you are surviving. But it doesn't mean that you don't interact with the other, you do but form a different perspective because their class is not yours, their race is not yours, and therefore their experiences are not yours."- Fikile

This inferiority was reported to be a barrier to interacting with other students, especially white students. Fikile reported that qualities such as race and class separated her from the outgroup. According to the SIT, superior groups maintain their 'high status' and social identity by making sure that they are distinct from the other groups and social categories are also made in a way that makes social mobility impossible. In other words, Fikile cannot move from her group to these valued groups because the stratification or organization in the outgroup keeps the status quo and prevents individuals (who do not possess similar characteristics) to join the group. This social categorization keeps the status quo in that the out-group then becomes a high-status superior group if comparisons are made based on race or class (and the same negative connotations remain constant). Feelings of inferiority due to difficulty penetrating these 'superior' groups may explain why black students in this study reported that they are reserved in HWI and they do not interact as much.

Where black students interacted with white students, they described their experiences as 'awful'. Some of their awful experiences were attributed to feelings of inferiority due to their low socio-economic status. Dhlomo reported, "It was awful because I don't have money, I don't have a car, and I am black, that already puts me at the bottom of the list. Even if we ended up socializing together, I was never invited, I was invited by association." In her relationship with the other, Dhlomo is put at the bottom of the list because of her race and low SES and therefore cannot afford material things that her white friends have. Dhlomo further explained, "so it was awful, I was not respected as a person, you know. I recall talking to a friend and I said, 'I feel like I am a kaffir', and I meant it, I felt like what I had to say didn't matter."

When trying to understand Dhlomo's experiences, it was noted that having more money in these groups meant one gets more respect and therefore none for her given her economic status. Interactions in these groups were reported to be based on who has the most money and such a person will mostly make the decisions in the group. Given that the black students in this study,

including Dhlomo, reported that they have a low SES, it meant that she could not contribute to decision making in the groups. This left her feeling disrespected and disempowered.

Extract 33

> It's a matter of who has the last say. They get to decide who goes where, who gets what, you know, how much time we spend there or they spend at that particular place. I remember social interactions we went to one of those lady's flats and I wanted to leave, and I couldn't leave because I did not get myself there. Even though I voiced that guys [can be used as a synonym for buddies or friends, the word guys here is unisex], I really would like to leave now, no, it didn't matter, we only left when the person whose flat that belonged to said "ok, I have had enough of you guys, you can now leave". – Dhlomo

It seems like Dhlomo did not agree with the way of doing things in this group. Her low economic status negates her experience in the group in that she does not have a say and she barely gets invited. Her low economic status is given a negative connotation- it takes away her respect by others and her decision making in the group. Due to these experiences, her sense of belongingness is being affected. Her view of herself as being part of this group is now associated with negative connotations such as 'disrespect' and 'awful'. Based on Fikile's extract above, one can conclude that penetration into 'high status' groups when one does not 'qualify' based on the comparison characteristics and connotations attached to these, will lead to a lowered self-esteem and negative social identity as per Dhlomo' s experiences.

Dhlomo does not only feel inferior because of her race and socioeconomic status, she also feels inferior because of her body. On the issue of the black and white body, Dhlomo explained how her body is inferior to the dominant white body. She reported, "I [the white counterpart] have blue/green eyes and you have brown, you know, I have wavy hair and you have coarse hair. You have to put a weave in your hair to look like us." According to Manganyi, the black body has been portrayed as 'bad' while the white body has been viewed as 'good'. Dhlomo is 'unwholesome' as Manganyi (1973) described, because she has to change her body to look like the ideal white body. Her coarse hair and brown eyes do not represent beauty, they are inferior to the standard and norm, which is the white body. In comparison to the white body, Dhlomo feels inferior because she does not possess the attributes that are deemed beautiful or those characteristics that have beautiful connotations. When comparing the 'black body' with the 'white body', it seems Dhlomo is once again feeling inferior because of the values attached to these bodies.

The inferiority of black students in HWI has been influenced by the political history of South Africa. Participants in this study reported that they view themselves as inferior to white students, and are made to feel inferior in their interactions with white students. Black students in

this study reported that they cannot penetrate the 'superior groups' because they lack qualities that make the superior groups, superior. These qualities included a high socio-economic status and being of a white race. The black body was associated with a negative connotation as opposed to the 'good white body'. Poor socio-economic status led to disrespect in groups where a high socio-economic status was important.

Black students perceived white students as superior

"Indeed no, the good and merciful God cannot be black: He is a white man with bright pink cheeks. From black to white is the course of mutation. One is white as one is rich, as one is beautiful, as one is intelligent" (Fanon, 2008, p. 36). Just as the negative connotations contribute to black inferiority, positive connotations, like the one from Fanon above, relate to the dominance and superiority of the white race. Black students in this study reported that white students view themselves as superior to black students. White students were reported to view their race as superior to other races. Dhlomo had this to say, "When I say race matters I mean their race matters more than any other race, so they might deem themselves superior to my group, so that is how they relate to others, that is how they relate to my group."

According to this extract, just as black students interact with others from a viewpoint that they are inferior, white students' interactions with other races are perceived to come from a viewpoint that they are superior to other races. These perceptions may emanate from internalized inferiority by black students, and an internalized (historical) need to be suspicious of the other who was historically oppressive. White students were perceived to view themselves as superior to black students regardless of any achievement that a black student has.

Extract 34

> Because my skin is lighter than yours I am so much better than you are. I don't care where you are from, I don't care what your achievements are, I don't care how hard you worked to get here, I am better than you because I am lighter in complexion. Experiencing someone who perceives themselves as someone who is better than you are, regardless of who you are or where you are from. – Dhlomo

Dhlomo seems to have felt the same way a certain gentleman described by Fanon felt. Fanon's description of this man is that "he had an agonizing conviction that he was not taken at his true worth—not on the university level, he explained, but as a human being. He had an agonizing conviction that he would never succeed in gaining recognition as a colleague from the whites in his profession and as a physician from his European patients" (Fanon, 2008, p. 43). Just like this

gentleman, Dhlomo reported that her achievement did not matter in front of her white counterparts, her inferior body spoke louder than her experiences and achievements. According to Fanon, "The black physician can never be sure how close he is to disgrace. I tell you, I was walled in: No exception was made for my refined manners, or my knowledge of literature, or my understanding of the quantum theory" (Fanon, 2008, p. 89).

According to the SIT, as described in Chapter 3, the newly adopted qualities should be acknowledged by the out-group for the in-group to build a new positive social identity. When the white counterpart does not acknowledge Dhlomo's achievement and success, this leads to a lowered self-concept and self-esteem hence a negative social identity. The main comparison feature here seems to be race, therefore, Dhlomo's achievements do not seem to tamper with the social identity of the out-group member. To boost her social identity, Dhlomo would have to compare her group to a different group or to the same out-group on a different dimension.

Black students in this study reported that they are inferior to white students who in the minds of the black students, are perceived to think of themselves superior. The inferiority of black students and superiority of white students was reported to be influenced by the history of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Black students' experiences of the social interactions with their white counterparts were 'awful' as their inferiority was exposed by their unwholesome black body and their economic standing.

Subtheme 4; Assimilation and double consciousness

In instances where there was no racial segregation, black students reported that they tried hard to assimilate into the culture in the social spaces. Black students reported that it was difficult for them to "fit in" with other students because of their low SES. Cama explained, "personally it was a constant battle of trying so hard to fit in, you know. Trying so hard to be the same as others, it didn't matter if it was the way I looked, the way I dressed, the way I talked, which was a big one, the way I talked, I wanted to talk like everyone else."

This finding is similar to Kessi and Cornell (2015) who found that black students "assimilate into the dominant culture by taking on certain cultural practices, such as modifying their language and changing their accents, making friends with and engaging in the activities of white students" (p. 11). Similar findings were also reported by Moodley (2013) and Kleintjes (1991). In Moodley's (2013) study, African languages were associated with stupidity while in

Kleintjes's (1991) study participants reported that they felt the pressure to 'talk white'. In Gibson's (2012) study, speaking in English was reported to give a sense of belonging.

Speaking one's own language or speaking plain English is therefore unacceptable as it separates one from the dominant outgroup. Cama finds the need to assimilate, get rid of her language to adopt the language of the other, Fanon describes it as riding oneself of their jungle nature (2008). The man who has come from the colonizer's land is said to be different from the rest of his people, he attempts to speak his colonizer's language, thereby coming closer to his colonizer, "he will practice not only rolling his R but embroidering it" (Fanon, 2008, p. 12). Assimilation here is not just about language but it involves appearances and dress code. This assimilation is described as a constant battle, implying that it is not easy.

Extract 35

> So, in that space I didn't want to appear who I was, for me, poverty was not cool [same definition as above], you know. So, for me it was trying so hard to fit in, to just assimilate into this whole culture that's going on here. Being black here is almost not acceptable if I should put it down like that. People pick on you if you sound black, and you are black. – Cama

Black students felt that they had to either silence or modify some parts of themselves to fit into the social spaces. Being black was reported to be unacceptable. Cama reported that being black is not acceptable in HWI. As already discussed in other themes, the black body has been viewed as 'bad' and inferior. Based on Cama's extract above, the black body is poor, unwholesome and unacceptable in the dominant spaces (which contain an acceptable white body). One, therefore, must change aspects of themselves to be acceptable in these spaces. As Cama reported, one cannot "sound black and be black" at the same time. Similar to Cama, Dhlomo also reported that she had to hide the less accepted parts of herself. She reported,

Extract 36

> I felt as if I had to hide aspects of myself, you know, and highlight the more accepted aspects of myself, to be more associated with certain groups. So that is the challenging part, I was sort of like turned down the volume on parts of who I am." - Dhlomo

Based on Extract 35 and 36, the dominant culture in HWI includes the 'good' white body that one must try hard to fit into. According to the extract above, Cama must have certain qualities to join "certain groups", this involves highlighting the acceptable parts while turning down the unacceptable parts. Fitting in meant that participants must dress, talk in a certain way and go to nightclubs as well. These activities often required money or access to a car. Black students would

feel incapacitated because they do not have a higher SES that would make the process of fitting into the social space much easier.

Extract 37

> Apparently, if you don't want to be a *weirdo* [someone who is socially awkward or does not fit into the dominant culture] you have to go out. I didn't have as many clothes as they did. For me, to keep up, I had to find ways to constantly get money for clothes, so that would mean lying to my father. - Cama
> I don't have money, I don't have a car, and I am black! - Dhlomo

Assimilation was described to be a means of survival in the social spaces. Black students would wish they were white students because then there would be no reasons to assimilate. Cama reported, "I think it is people trying to survive in this place. It's a survival tactic for most people, I don't think it is people choosing to assimilate (5) there are black people who wish they were white. This is me, I want to be a white". This is similar to Manganyi's views that this is a survival mode as "patterns of adaptation to an unfriendly, always threatening environment" (p. 11). He points out that "the best human potential, given the black existential experience, would in all probability develop similar adjustment maneuvers" (p. 11).

Though assimilation is a survival tactic and a response to the 'threatening environment' in HWI, it results in a double-consciousness problem. In trying to fit in, assimilate into the culture in the social spaces, black students then realized that they were losing their identity. They had now lost their values and principles, they had lost themselves in trying to be like everyone else. Cama reported, "it really doesn't make sense to be going to the club [night club] every weekend and dancing outside the club, wearing the shortest things (5) that is fine, a girl can do both, that's the thing. I couldn't be that person, and be who I really am."

Assimilating into the dominant culture resulted in two identities for black students. Fanon explained that "the black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question" (Fanon, 2008, p. 8). Du Bois's notion of double consciousness is that one must look at themselves through the eyes of the other (1903). Cama reported, "That is not honest, that is not me, you know, I like to keep to myself, I would rather be alone, that was always who I was, so I just felt like I needed to start to be honest with myself". Similar to Cama, Dhlomo reported that this difference in oneself is something that one has to negotiate when they get home "you will go back home and people who you grew up with will not recognize you". Cama also reported that "it was also very difficult navigating back

home, because now you are just used to waking up, go eat, go to class, go eat, go to class, go get drunk."

Assimilation has been reported as one of the reactions to intercultural contact (Beery, 2008). Similar to how it has been demonstrated in this study, Berry (2005) described assimilation as adopting a dominant culture and in the process losing ones' cultural identity. This study has presented evidence for assimilation in HWI. Black students struggled to assimilate to the existing dominant white culture in HWI. This subtheme demonstrates that even though assimilation into the dominant white culture is a survival tactic for black students, it also creates a double consciousness problem. Black students become aware of their adoption of a foreign identity, and in the process losing their own identities. This has been observed to cause some distress as it is not just a personal battle. Black students were anxious that their families will realize that they are not the people they used to be. This fear is justified especially with Barroso's (2015) findings that black students who had assimilated to white cultures were referred to as coconuts (derogatory term for someone who has lost their black identity) and struggled to adjust to their communities.

Subtheme 5; Integration versus artificial integration

Integration has been defined according to Berry (2005). According to Berry (2005), integration is a two-way process, it requires both groups to be interested in each other's cultures. It will be demonstrated in this subtheme that the downfall of integration, as defined by Berry (2005) in HWI is that it is one-sided (Biko, 1986). The integration is artificial in that only black students are expected to integrate with the dominant existing institutional culture.

Out of 6 participants interviewed, 2 participants seemed to have a genuine interest to make friends with diverse people. These participants were part of either multiracial or multicultural groups or both. One of the two participants reported that she wanted to join university societies to expand herself and learn about other cultures and races.

Extract 39

> Am going to go join things that are beyond me. Things that also further my connections with other people, people that I don't necessarily know, that I don't interact with. I try to take things that are not at my level simply because I want to learn, advance, and expand, get to know other people, because you can learn a lot by just getting out of your comfort zone. – Botho

Botho further explained that people can unite in their differences and learn from each other. She reported, "she is coming from West Africa, am coming from South Africa, she is coming from

Brazil, the three of us, we shared I guess all these different attributes that at the end of the day we become one." Similar to Botho, Entle explained I think one of my influences is that need to sort of have a very diverse circle of friends, I think there is a lot to learn from people of different backgrounds so that I would say it is my driving force. That it is important to me not only for my learning experience but just for personal growth thing.

When commenting on her experiences in the multicultural, multiracial and bilingual groups, this Entle reported, "my experience is that yes, we are bilingual, and we are aware of social issues. You are opening up to and you want to understand the other person and the other person maybe wants to understand you and therefore you start mixing." Entle also explained that the process of learning about other people's cultures has helped her to work on some stereotypes she had towards specific groups of people. She used her interactions as an opportunity to test out her opinions of certain groups of people as to whether they are true or not. She reported, "I had to put away my anger or frustration or stereotypes towards Afrikaans speaking people aside, not put away but work through experiences, socializing and talking like this and debates."

Other participants seemed to battle with integration. They felt that it was not fair that they had to go an extra mile in their relationship with white students. Amandla seemed unhappy that he had to learn and communicate in English while his white counterparts did not learn his languages. He reported, "I think my problem is that some of my peers, my white peers, is that, so few of them learn our languages." Other than learning the languages of black South African, Amandla also reported that his white counterparts should learn about the language and the history of the people in whose land (historically) they currently reside. He reported, "So I find it to be justice (3) something to appeal to your conscience to (3) learn these languages and learn about the histories of people." In her relationship with the white other, Dhlomo struggled to fit in. Her white counterparts were not meeting her halfway to understand each other, they were rather rejecting as evidenced by not inviting her to events and disrespecting her (as she reported).

It can be concluded that due to some of the challenges discussed, few black students manage to integrate according to Berry (2005). Due to the alienating institutional culture, most black students in this study were assimilating or 'separating' from the dominant culture. Those who tried integrating failed to do so due to their observations that integration was one-sided or artificial as Steve Biko describes it.

Subtheme 6; Black consciousness and positive social identity

Black students reported that they were most comfortable with people who share the same values, culture, and experiences. Botho reported that she is comfortable with interacting with black international students because she believes that they share the same experiences and views about the social space at Rhodes University. Even though she is not an international student, she shared the same experiences in that she had moved from abroad. Fikile also reported that she finds it easier to identify with people who have the same values and principles with. Dhlomo, on the other hand, found other black students to be accepting and respectful. She reported that she felt free and not undermined compared to being in other groups.

Extract 40

> Definitely, people that I share things with, or the similar principles, values, everything, they influence me more. I think it is natural to fall into an identity or an environment where you share a similar identity, cultural issues. - Entle
> And I guess we more or less live life in similar ways because we are kind of similar. So I think just sharing the same ideas, kind of, we also influence each other in a way. - Botho
> We are more accepting of others, regardless of background, regardless of whatever. Someone's skin color does not matter; it is more of your actions that matter. I would say that is the difference between the people I associate myself with and the other. There is acceptance and there is respect, I feel I can truly be myself and voice my opinion and I matter. - Dhlomo
> Because it is something that you can identify, contribute in and be free in because it is who you are and those people share similar principles than having to go the opposite direction where then you undermine yourself or you undermine the other because you are not getting each other, you don't get their way and they don't get your way. - Fikile

Group members are reported to have similar values and attributes. Participants in this study chose groups of people that they identify with and share similar values with. Entle has reported having a similar identity to her group and Botho reported that her group members live life in a similar manner. Dhlomo seems to be more satisfied with the new group, the opposite of how she felt in a group that does not share similar values, (in Extract 33) she now feels respected and accepted. Fikile's comment above is consistent with her comments on the previous sub-theme. In addition to her noticing that she does not fit into the out-group because of their different characteristics (Extract 32), she further reported that joining the out-group may undermine her values or others' values, resulting in conflict.

Being around people with the same values and principles was reported to be containing. In these groups, participants felt understood, and that they were free to express themselves. Group members who share the same values and backgrounds were reported to provide a holding space and to be more understanding when one needed a containing space to express themselves.

Extract 41

> I think meeting people of different backgrounds and cultures also helped me feel more comfortable. Just, I guess once you share your experience, your background, and what you have been through, you somehow realize that they have been through similar stuff. - Botho
> You are comfortable with people who share the same values and ideas. That is where you express yourself and that is where you identify more and that is where you are more likely to let go of things and you are more likely to share more even your personal issues, you are likely to find someone and talk to that person because you believe that person will be able to hold you. – Fikile

According to the SIT, a social group achieves its purpose if it acts as a safe base for members to explore. Participants felt comforted and contained in the groups they were in because they shared the same values and principles. In these groups, they felt respected and that their voices matter. Participants did not need to silence parts of themselves in these groups. They felt understood and that they could express their identity without fear of being rejected or misunderstood. In groups with other black students, black students were proud of their black identities which were the opposite in white groups where they felt they had to "turn down aspects of themselves". The process of knowing oneself, being proud of ones' blackness has been referred to as black consciousness (Biko, 1986).

In this study, it seemed black consciousness would lead to a positive social identity (as described by Tajfel and Turner (1979)). Being proud of one's blackness would be consistent with the term social creativity (according to the SIT), it involves giving positive connotations to attributes that were associated with negative attributes. Black consciousness involved the realization of ones' blackness, mutual knowledge about the suffering and a need to seek freedom which in this study involves being with people who share in the same suffering. Being with other black students is said to provide self-reflection and self-definition (Manganyi, 1973).

Conclusion

Black students were noted to be reserved and quiet at Rhodes University. Participants gave different reasons for being reserved, mainly stemming from an unfriendly institutional culture. It has been demonstrated in this study that black students wanted to assimilate into the dominant culture. Participants wanted to deny their identity, which was deemed unacceptable in social spaces in a HWU. Being white and acting white was therefore considered the ideal. According to the SIT, one would, therefore, assume that being in white groups and 'acting white' would mean one has the positive connotations that are linked to being white hence have a positive social identity.

Contrary to this, black students had a positive social identity in the inferior groups, with other black students. Association with the dominant group did not enhance their self-concept but rather led to discomfort as already discussed. Black students, therefore, did not join the 'high status' or dominant group to boost their self-concept or social identity. Social change instead of social mobility led to a positive social identity. It is important to note that there are different social behaviors that would lead to a positive social identity and social change is one of them.

Based on Berry's (2005) views on multiculturalism, it would mean that black students start off trying to integrate, when integration fails, they assimilate into the dominant culture. Assimilation has been demonstrated to lead to double consciousness. Due to the stressful nature of double consciousness, a black student then separates from other races to preserve their own culture. Instead of separation, integration is the ideal response towards intercultural contact. The problem with integration in social spaces has been demonstrated by bringing in Steve Biko's artificial integration.

5.5 Theme 4; The well-being of black students in a HWU

Previous chapters have reported the struggles of black students in a historically white university. The following subthemes that relate to well-being were elicited from the participants; pressure to perform, psychological distress, lack of self-help tools, adjusting back home.

Subtheme 1; Pressure to perform

Due to their disadvantaged background, black students felt the pressure to perform well academically in a HWU.

Extract 42

> There is also a thing about poverty that keeps you, you know, if your father is poor, chances of his kids doing better than him, are very limited because it breeds itself, and it keeps you there. I can't afford to fail or to repeat another year. I need to do better, better than my dad and mostly than me, I need some personal growth at some point. – Cama

There seemed to be a fear that one would not succeed academically and end up poor like their parents. Performing well academically was reported to be the hope of escaping poverty and helping family members who are also disadvantaged. This is similar to a finding by (Dass-Brailsford, 2005), who studied participants from poverty-stricken communities. Based on their participants' responses, Dass-Brailsford (2005) reported that "education was a viewed as vital for upward

mobility and a form of protection against the deleterious effects of poverty" (p. 581). Similar to this finding, Entle explained,

Extract 43

> You are going to school, not only for yourself but mostly for your family, to take care of your parents, to take care of your unfortunate siblings. - Entle

Black identities have already been linked to collectivism. It is therefore not surprising that a need to support one's family contributed to participants' pressure to perform. In Magubane's (2017) study, participants reported that they needed to provide for their families once they started working. Cama felt pressurized to perform because she knew that her parents already had challenges paying her university fees. Cama reported, "Girl, your dad is a barrister, that's the only thing he is good at.". Cama also reported that pressure to perform, among other things, lead to poor academic performance.

Other participants felt the pressure to work hard to meet the standard of education in HWI. Entle explained, "that I had to prove myself but that I had to work hard in order to meet that standard (3) so *yah*, given my background and all of that and my upbringing." It is important to note that Entle had reported that she grew up in a rural area and she identified as poor. The background here, therefore, refers to growing up poor in a rural area and only leaving the village to go to university.

Participants in this study reported that they have pressure to perform well academically. Some participants needed to pass because their families cannot afford their school fees while others wanted to pass to provide for their families. In Dass-Brailsford's (2005) study, this need to escape poverty was viewed as contributing to the resilience of black students from disadvantaged communities. Some participants reported that the pressure to perform was due to their 'low-quality education' when compared to their white counterparts. Black students felt that they needed to work extra hard to meet the educational standard in HWI. Education quality and what it may entail has already been discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Subtheme 2; Psychological distress

Navigating the social spaces in HWI was reported to cause a lot of anxiety. Cama reported that the psychological distress of black students can even be observed on social media. She attributed this distress to navigating ones' way around the institutional culture in HWI. This is how Cama

explained it, "you go through the confession page [the name of a Facebook page where students can anonymously express their grievances] and just see a lot of people going through depression and anxiety. It could stem from who they are, it could stem from the very fact that they need to navigate this place, find themselves here." Bizumic et al. (2009) reported that in their study, there was an association between the school climate and well-being. Assimilating to the culture in the social spaces was reported to cause a lot of anxiety for black students. The extracts below show how a black student would feel anxious in the social spaces.

Extract 44

> It's a shock, it is so difficult, if you are not, if you are poor here, it is very difficult because it is like, oh, what am I wearing? That causes anxiety for some people, it causes a lot of anxiety. People who are not what the world accepts as beautiful - Cama
> I felt as if I had to hide aspects of myself, you know, and highlight the more accepted aspects of myself, to be more associated with certain groups. So that is the challenging part, I was sort of like turned down the volume on parts of who I am – Dhlomo

In situations where interactions with other students went sour, participants reported that they felt 'awful'. Dhlomo reported, "I felt undermined, degraded, devalued (3) it took tears, just feeling you don't belong" She further added, "So it was awful, I was not respected as a person, you know".

Participants reported that they withdrew socially when they had bad experiences in their relationship with other students. This social withdrawal sometimes left them feeling lonely with no social support. Bulhan (1979) reported that the black intelligentsia will struggle with intense loneliness and hopelessness since they are separated from their culture, roots and support system. Dhlomo reported, "So with that particular group I just withdrew. I just pulled back and refrained from having any kind of encounter, *yeah*, that's only superficial, very superficial"

Other students are reported to withdraw socially to a point of not attending classes. Since Rhodes University is a small university, participants reported that one would still meet students they are trying to avoid in classes and tutorials. Cama added, "I mean if you want to pass [not partake in whatever is suggested by others], then you have to go to class and to go to TUT [tutorial]. And you have to interact with these people one way or the other. And it might not necessarily be what you want, you know. A lot of people I know prefer not to go to class, and not to talk to people." Missing tutorials or not attending to classes may explain the low graduation rate of black students (NPC, 2011).

Psychological distress reported by black students in a HWU included anxiety, depression, social withdrawal as well as other emotions such as sadness, hopelessness. The psychological

distress especially social withdrawal experienced by black students in HWI is lethal as it hinders them from having genuine supportive relationships. It also affects their academic performance in that they don't only withdraw socially but they also withdraw academically to the point of not attending tutorials and classes. This psychological distress could, therefore, lead to poor academic performance.

> This subtheme will be summarized by this quote from Young and Campbell (2014, p. 367). "Within the South African student sample, black students, on average, reported higher levels of psychological distress than white students. It is argued here that historical disadvantages and the current socioeconomic context combine to hinder the psychological well-being of many black students in comparison to their white counterparts. The implications of this are profound. First, this suggests that, while the struggle for equality is far from complete, inequality has psychological consequences. Second, it suggests that this, and probably other, historically white universities need to do more to support black students and to create institutional cultures that are more inclusive of racial and cultural diversity".

Subtheme 3; Lack of self-help tools

One participant reported that she realized that she did not have important self-help tools that would have helped her to adjust better to the university's way of life. Cama reported, "imagine if I had a level of self-esteem I have now, I probably wouldn't have had to be a wild [similar to rowdy] girl, because I would know who I am and what I want, that is very important to me now." Cama attributes her resulting psychological turmoil to having a low self-esteem and not knowing who she is and what she wants in life. She further added that she lacked self-introspection tools, and this led to her being unable to work out some of her difficulties. She reported, "that thing that you have to introspect at times, just interact with yourself. That is also something I know if I experienced when I was young, it (4) maybe, even better." Interestingly, Cama reported that this self-esteem, self-introspection was not cultivated when she was growing up. She reported,

Extract 45

> I think I never had to deal with me, in my whole entire life, I went through every day, I never had to put my own feet down. Think about things, like how do you feel, why did you do that? That sort of thing, I just went through life like that, and I think that is where I have made a lot of bad decisions. I was so naïve about my own life, until last year. - Cama

She reported that the culture of talking to people about ones' problems is also foreign to her and that she never experienced when she was young. Even during painful events such as losing a parent, Cama reported that she was not able to talk about how she felt and to emotionally process it. "It was 'oh, my mum died, ok'. That is painful, but life is painful, my dad always taught us that life goes on, that was his word." Cama reported that attending her own therapeutic process allowed her to acquire all these important self-help tools. In Moodley's (2013) study, it was noted that black students sometimes cannot afford psychological care.

Self-help tools were discussed in this subtheme as important to assisting one to navigate their experiences in HWI. Though it cannot be generalized to all black students, it was interesting to find out that one of the participants noted that her upbringing did not prepare her for challenges faced in HWI. She noticed that she had not been socialized to acquire and use some of the most important self-help tools that later assisted her to navigate around the social spaces in HWI.

Subtheme 4; Adjusting back home

Participants reported concerns that they will be unable to adjust when they go back home if their identities change due to efforts to assimilate into the university culture. Dhlomo reported, "you will go back home and people who you grew up with will not recognize you." One participant reported that adjusting home required one to take responsibilities around the house. She found this challenging because none of that was required of her while she was still a student living on campus. Cama explained, "*yah*, now you are going home and suddenly you have responsibilities (5) it was also very difficult navigating back home, because now you are just used to waking up, go eat, go to class, go eat, go to class, go get drunk."

Double consciousness has been reported to alienate black students from their communities where they are unable to connect with their families and communities (Barroso, 2015; Fanon, 2008; Bulhan, 1979). After assimilating to the culture in HWI, black students find it difficult to adjust to their homes. Due to double consciousness, black students would feel alienated from their own cultures.

5.6 Conclusion

The theme of the wellbeing of black students in a historically white university opens our eyes to the psychological challenges faced by black students in a HWU. Participants felt the pressure to

academically perform well, as well as to assimilate into the alienating social spaces in a HWU. This would result in a lot of anxiety and other negative feelings, often leading to social withdrawal. Students also noticed that they did not have the necessary tools to help them deal with the challenges they were facing. Adjusting back home was also reported as a challenge since it would require a change of identity, especially if one had already assimilated into the culture in a HWU.

CHAPTER SIX; CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This research investigated the social identities of black students in a historically white university. The aim was to find out the shape and the form the social identities of black students assume when they get to a HWU. The concluding chapter will give an overview of the paper, give a summary of the research findings, as well as recommendations for future research.

6.2 Overview of the research

Using available literature, Chapter Two demonstrated how the legacy of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa affected relationships between different races as segregation was legalized. It was noted that racial segregation is still observable in the greater South Africa and historically white institutions are well. Racial segregation in historically white universities were linked to unwelcoming institutional cultures. Institutional cultures in historically white universities were also reported to have challenges in implementing transformation policies in these universities. South African research on black students in historically white universities indicated that black students had identity challenges in historically white institutions.

Chapter Three explored the SIT, discussing the main tenants and how they help us to answer the research question. The SIT helps us to understand intergroup and interpersonal behavior in relation to groups that black students would be part of. Social change and social mobility are beliefs about one's social group that would determine social behavior. Social categories allow one to structure their environment and determine the groups they would like to be part of. Social comparison allows an opportunity to boost a group's social identity. The acculturation model was employed to understand different responses a black student can take in a

multicultural space like HWI. Different responses to intercultural contact include; assimilation, marginalization, separation, and integration.

Chapter Four was the research methodology. Interview questions were based on the SIT and the acculturation model. Interview questions were designed firstly, to understand what black students consider to be their identity, secondly, to understand their experience of the institutional culture, thirdly, to get an idea of their social identity in a historically white university and lastly, to understand how these experiences affect their well-being. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the Braun and Clarke's (2006) model.

Chapter Five was the discussions and analysis. The main themes that were identified were the formation of black identities, institutional culture of a HWI on 'black' students' identities, the black social experience of being in a historically white university, and well-being of black students in a historically white university. Using the SIT and acculturation model as well as Steve Biko's artificial integration, this research demonstrated identity challenges.

6.3 Summary of research findings

The aim and the main research question of this research were to understand the social identities of black students in a HWU. In this summary, the researcher sought to answer the research questions by reflecting on; the choice of social groups students are in, the experiences of black students in the social groups they are part of, whether the institutional culture in historically white universities influence the social identity of black students, and whether the institutional culture of the university foster a different identity from their groups' identity.

Black students in this study identified themselves as black. They also reported that cultural beliefs and religion form part of their identities. Participants also identified as poor and coming from disadvantaged backgrounds. The impact of colonization and apartheid on black identity formation was also demonstrated as forming part of black identities. The institutional culture of a historically white university was shown to lead to identity change of black students as they often must deny their identities to speak a foreign language to assimilate into a different culture.

Participants reported that HWI are colonial spaces and they are not accessible to black students. Even though some participants reported that the institution is aware of social issues, they mentioned that there is still a long way to go for decoloniality and transformation to be effective. This was consistent with current research and writings as demonstrated earlier.

Black students were noted to be shy and reserved in social spaces in a historically white university. The reasons for this shyness or reservation was noted to be mostly from the alienating social spaces and institutional culture of the university. Racial segregation was reported to be observed in residences and dining halls. Black students reported that they felt inferior in a historically white university compared to their white counterparts. The culture of the university was experienced as alienating, rejecting of black identities and different from participant's cultures. Interracial contact in most cases was reported to be uncomfortable and black students reported that they felt disrespected or disempowered. Black students' experiences were characterized by a need to assimilate into the existing superior, dominant, culture in the university. This assimilation was discussed as leading to an identity challenge for black students, labeled, double consciousness.

It was demonstrated that integration according to Berry (2005) required members from both cultures to be interested in learning about the other which was rarely the case. Most participants in this study reported that they needed to go the extra mile to understand the other, often assimilating into their culture. The integration was rather artificial or one-sided as described by Steve Biko. Comparisons in the social spaces were mostly based on class and race. In those situations, the in-group of black students was viewed as inferior to the out-group of white students whose characteristics, including a 'white body' are associated with positive connotations. Biko's black consciousness was used as one way of achieving a positive social identity through social change.

Lastly, the wellbeing of black students was discussed. It was noted that black students have various psychological challenges in historically white universities. These included; pressure to perform well academically, psychological distress (anxiety, depression and social withdrawal) as well as lack of self-help tools. These challenges were reported to possibly stem from the unfriendly institutional culture as well as a lack of social and emotional support in these universities and ultimately poor academic performance.

6.4 Recommendations, suggestions for further studies and limitations of the study

The social identities of black students have been discussed in this paper. Available research on black South African university students has highlighted social identity challenges, especially in HWI. The social context of SA that suggests racial segregation especially in rural areas (where

some black students come from) as well as the institutional culture in HWI have been proved to harbor issues that affect the social identity of black students. HWI have been described to be unwelcoming and alienating of black students' social identities, contributing to the challenge of social identity negotiation. Several studies have linked social identity to academic performance. These studies highlight that students have to identify socially, with the identity of 'university students' for them to perform well academically. Adjustment problems have been highlighted to affect the psychological well-being of students.

Given the effect of social identity issues on both the academic performance and psychological well-being of black students, it will be important for HWI to be sensitive to such. Based on Vincent's (2015) definition of institutional culture as both the material and discourses in a university, it is imperative that universities are sensitive to the issues surrounding the identity of black students and how they approach learning. It is hoped that, as universities formulate policies towards decoloniality and transformation of higher education, they also consider the lived experiences of black students. It was noted earlier that the transformation policies do not always reflect the lived experiences of those attending these universities.

HWI should also assist in breaking discourses around an inferior black and the ideal white. Such discourses have a heavy historical component that situates black students as the stranger in HWI. Open conversations around such issues should facilitate assistance regarding what black students require to make spaces welcoming in HWI. Cultural awareness is the beginning step of conscientizing humans about individual differences and working towards inclusivity premised on respect and celebration of differences. Vilella (2011) suggested implementing cultural awareness programs that allow students to learn about each other's cultures and practices. This involves creating less-threatening spaces where students can interact and learn from each other. This is said to hopefully assist in disconfirming some of the assumptions about other races that contribute to racial segregation (Vilella, 2011). That also requires (especially in SA) the reorganization of economic resources to improve the economic conditions of the 'under-classes'.

Existing transformation policies should also be revisited and evaluated in terms of their feasibility and how they can be presented in a way that is sensitive to issues around identity and the continuation of discourses of an inferior black student. In Moodley's (2013) study, racial admissions, as part of transformation policies in Cape Town contributed to black students feeling "othered" by white students and "othering" white students as a result. Black students are reported

to have further felt they have only been admitted based on their race and therefore not deserving to be in the university (Moodley, 2013). This study highlighted possible challenges with available transformation policies that will need to be evaluated.

Universities, especially HWI, which are discussed in this paper should 'stop and question' available policies, programs, and course structure, reviewing whether they are inclusive or exclusive of black student's identity challenges. Policies that continue to alienate black students' identities should be questioned and revised. Upon revision of available policies, there should also be the implementation of programs designed to help black students adjust to a different environment in HWI (Bliuc et al., 2011). Such programs should be designed to help students who may experience culture shock and adjustment problems upon enrolling into HWI.

Other than evaluation of discourses, materials within HWI will also need to be assessed as well. Another task by HWI would be to identify specific materials within the institutional culture that contribute to the alienation of black students. Factors such as the use of fork and knives hint to possibilities of creating certain spaces within the university to be welcoming and inviting for students from different backgrounds and cultures. Perceptions of how distant the host culture is different from one's culture have been reported as a factor that disrupts adjustment into a new environment (Moghaddam et al., 1993). Support from the host culture has also been associated with better adjustment (Moghaddam et al., 1993). HWI should ask questions such as: where in this university, can a black student from a rural area be comfortable to sit and feel at home?

Further research on the identity of black students is recommended specifically for what makes the black student thrive in HWI. Research that compares the identity of black students who perform well to those who perform poorly will help identify protective factors etc. that will inform programs that help integrate black students into HWI. Research also helps to direct policy and program development (Fearon, 2012).

More research on the identity of black students is also recommended. Since this research was only focused on the social identities of black students, other important factors outside this scope could not be explored. Research in this field, not only on black students but other races as well, could contribute greatly to the formulation and evaluation of transformation policies.

REFERENCES

Barroso, A. K. M. (2015). A Critical Fanonian Understanding of Black Student Identities at Rhodes University, South Africa. Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Berg, A. (2012). *Connecting with South Africa: cultural communication and understanding* (1st ed). College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*(6), 697–712. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013

Bhabha, H., 1994, *The location of culture*, Routledge, London.

Biko, S. (1978). *I write what I like*. London: Penguin.

Biko, S. (1986). *I Write What I Like.* San Francisco*:* Harper & Row.

Biko, S. (1987). *I Write What I Like: A Selection of His Writings*. Heinemann.

Billig, M. (1987). *Arguing and thinking: a rhetorical approach to social psychology*. Cambridge; New York: Paris: Cambridge University Press; Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.

Bizumic, B., Reynolds, K. J., Turner, J. C., Bromhead, D., & Subasic, E. (2009). The Role of the Group in Individual Functioning: School Identification and the Psychological Well-Being of Staff and Students. *Applied Psychology*, *58*(1), 171–192. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00387.x

Bliuc, A. M., Ellis, R. A., Goodyear, P., & Hendres, D. M. (2011). The role of social identification as a university student in learning: relationships between students' social identity, approaches to learning, and academic achievement. *Educational Psychology*, *31*(5), 559–574. http://doi.org/10.1080/01443410.2011.585948

Bloom, W. (1990). *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations*. [Online]. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. (No. 9). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available from: Cambridge Books Online. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511558955 [Accessed 16 August 2016].

Bojuwoye, O. (2002). Stressful experiences of first-year students of selected universities in South Africa. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, *15*(3), 277–290. http://doi.org/10.1080/09515070210143480

Booysen, L. (2013). Societal power shifts and changing social identities in South Africa: workplace implications. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, *10*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.4102/sajems.v10i1.533

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brink, H. I. L. (1993). Validity and reliability in qualitative research. *Curations*, *16*(2), 35–38.

Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: past achievements, current problems, and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *30*(6), 745–778. https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-0992(200011/12)30:6<745::AID-EJSP24>3.0.CO;2-O

Bulhan, H. A., (1979). Black Psyches in Captivity and Crises. Race and Class. 20.10.1177/030639687902000302.

Butler, J. (1988). Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal*, *40*(4), 519. https://doi.org/10.2307/3207893

Carrim, N. (2013). Approaches to education quality in South Africa. In Y. Sayed, A. Kanjee, & M. Nkomo (Eds.), *The search for quality education in post-apartheid South Africa: interventions to improve learning and teaching*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Cerulo, K. A. (1997). Identity construction: New issues, new directions. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *23*(1), 385–409.

Collins, K., & Millard, M. (2013). Transforming education in South Africa: comparative perceptions of a South African social work learning experience. *Educational Review*, *65*(1), 70–84. http://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2011.648168

Cornelissen, S., & Horstmeier, S. (2002). The social and political construction of identities in the new South Africa: an analysis of the Western Cape Province. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *40*(1), 55–82. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X01003810

Crais, C, C. (1992). White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-industrial South Africa; The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, *39*(3), 124–130. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2

Cutten, M. (1987). *Natal University and the question of autonomy, 1959-1962*. Durban: Natal University.

Dass-Brailsford, P. (2005). Exploring resiliency: Academic achievement among disadvantaged black youth in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *35*(3), 574–591.

Deng, F, M. (1995). War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in Sudan. Washington, DC: Brookings.

Department of Education. (2008). Report of the ministerial committee on transformation and social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions, Final Report. Department of Education: Pretoria.

Descartes, C. (2012). The social construction of demographic variables and parenting styles in Trinidad. *Journal of the Department of Behavioural Sciences*, *1*(1), 51–70.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folk.* Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co.; [Cambridge]: University Press John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, U.S.A.

du Plessis, J. (2014). *Ethnic identity development in black African adolescents*. The University of Free State. Retrieved from http://scholar.ufs.ac.za:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11660/3156/DuPlessisJ.pdf?sequence=1

Easthope, A. (1998). Bhabha, hybridity, and identity. *Textual Practice*, *12*(2), 341–348. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502369808582312

Eaton, L., & Louw, J. (2000). Culture and Self in South Africa: Individualism-Collectivism Predictions. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *140*(2), 210–217. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540009600461

Evans, J. (2016, September 25). What is decolonised education? Retrieved August 22, 2017, from http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/what-is-decolonised-education-20160925

Fanon, F. (2008). *Black skin, white masks*. (R. Philcox, Trans.). New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1963) *The wretched of the earth* /New York: Grove Press

Fearon, D. D. (2012). *Identity correlates of academic achievement: how influential are self, academic and ethnic identity statuses among college students?* Retrieved from https://baylor-ir.tdl.org/baylor-ir/handle/2104/8541

Finchilescu, G., Tredoux, C., Mynhardt, J., Pillay, J., & Muianga, L. (2007). Accounting for lack of interracial mixing amongst South African university students. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *37*(4), 720–737.

Fiske, E., & Ladd, H. (2006). Racial equity in education: How far has South Africa come. *Perspectives in Education*, *24*(2), 95–108.

Fordham, S. & Ogbu, J.U. Urban Rev (1986) 18: 176. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01112192

Foster, D. (1991). "Race" and racism in South African psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *21*(4), 203–209.

Franchi, V. (2003). Across or beyond the racialized divide? Current perspectives on 'race', racism and 'intercultural' relations in 'post-apartheid' South Africa. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *27*(2), 125–133. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00090-1

Franchi, V., & Swart, T. M. (2003). From apartheid to affirmative action: The use of 'racial' markers in past, present and future articulations of identity among South African students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *27*(2), 209-236.doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00093-7

Gibson, N., C. 2012. "What Happened to the "Promised Land"? A Fanonian Perspective on Post-Apartheid South Africa". *Antipode.* Vol. 44(1) pp. 51-73.

Goldschmidt, M. M. (2003). Identifying Labels among University Students in the New South Africa: A Retrospective Study. *Journal of Black Studies*, *34*(2), 204–221. http://doi.org/10.1177/0021934703255314

Goldsmith, P. (2003). Race relations and racial patterns in schools' sports participation. Sociology of Sports Journal, 20, 147-171.

Guion, L. A., Diehl, D. C., & McDonald, D. (2011). Triangulation: establishing the validity of qualitative studies. University of Florida: IFAS Extension. Retrieved June 20, 2014, from http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/fy394

Habib, A. (1997). South Africa-the rainbow nation and prospects for consolidating democracy. *African Journal of Political Science/Revue Africaine de Science Politique*, *2*(2), 15–37.

Hannaway, D.A.M. 2012. The influence of ecosystemic factors on Black student teachers' perceptions and experiences of Early Childhood Education. MEd. Dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Havenga, A.J. (1993). Beyond affirmative action there is diversity. *PRO Technida*, 10:9-17.

Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education, 1*(1), 8 pages. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/the.v1i1.9

Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (2001). *Intergroup Relations: Essential Readings*. Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A., Abrams, D., Otten, S., & Hinkle, S. (2004). The Social Identity Perspective: Intergroup Relations, Self-Conception, and Small Groups. *Small Group Research*, *35*(3), 246–276. https://doi.org/10.1177/1046496404263424

Hook, D. (Ed.) (2004). Critical psychology. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press

Hook, D. (2004). Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, 'psychopolitics' and critical psychology [online]. London: LSE Research Online. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Derek_Hook2/publication/30521167_Frantz_Fanon_Steve_Biko_'psychopolitics'_and_critical_psychology/links/5517fedd0cf2d70ee279775a.pdf

Integrated | Define Integrated at Dictionary.com. (n.d.). Retrieved October 17, 2016, from http://www.dictionary.com/browse/integrated

Islam, G. (2014). Social identity theory. In *Encyclopedia of critical psychology* (pp. 1781–1783). Springer.

Jenkins, R. (1996). Social Identity. London: Routledge

Kessi, S., & Cornell, J. (2015). Coming to UCT: Black students, transformation and discourses of race. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, *3*(2), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.14426/jsaa.v3i2.132

Keizan S. (2009). Constructions and explanations of patterns of racialised social interactions among post-apartheid adolescents. MA research report, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Khunou, S. F. (2009). Traditional leadership and independent Bantustans of South Africa: some milestones of transformative constitutionalism beyond Apartheid. PER: Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad, 12(4), 81-122. Retrieved October 12, 2017, from http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1727-37812009000400005&lng=en&tlng=en

Kleintjes, S. R. (1991). *Black clinical psychology interns at a 'white' university: their experience of colour during training*. The University of Cape Town. Retrieved from https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/13536

Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York, NY: Crown.

Leary, M. R., & Tangney, J. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Handbook of self and identity* (2nd ed). New York; London: Guilford Press.

Lefko-Everett, K., Lekalake, R., Penfold, E., & Rais, S. (2010). *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey Report 2010* (an annual publication of the Institute for justice and reconciliation). African Minds. Retrieved from http://www.ijr.org.za/uploads/SA_Reconciliation_Barometer_10th_Round_Report_web_FINAL.pdf

Nieto, S. (1996). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education,* 2nd ed. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Macupe, B. (2016). Make blacks feel at home [Sowetan Live]. Retrieved from http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2016/03/06/make-blacks-feel-at-home

Mda, Z. (1994). The Role of Culture in the Process of Reconciliation in South Africa. Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Seminar No. 9, 30 November.

Magubane, N. N. (2017, March 30). *Black tax: the emerging middle-class reality* (Mini Dissertation). University of Pretoria. Retrieved from http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/59861

Matthews, S. (2015). White privilege and institutional culture at South Africa higher education institutions. In P. Tabensky & S. Matthews (Eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South Africa higher education institutions* (pp. 72–95). Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.

Manganyi, N. C. (1973). *Being-black-in-the-world*. Johannesburg: SPRO-CAS/Ravan.

Mbembe, A. (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, *15*(1), 29–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022215618513

McKinney, C., & Soudien, C. (2010). 2010 IALEI Country Report: Multicultural education in South Africa. Retrieved from http://website.education.wisc.edu/inei/wp-content/uploads/Documents/NP-SA.pdf

Meier, C., & Hartell, C. (2009). Handling cultural diversity in education in South Africa. *South African Journal of Education*, *6*(2), 180–192.

Mnguni, L. (2016). White privilege at the heart of battle [Sowetan Live]. Retrieved from http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2016/03/02/white-privilege-at-heart-of-battle

Moghaddam, F. M., Taylor, D. M., & Wright, S. C. (1993). Social psychology in cross-cultural perspective. New York, NY, US: W H Freeman/Times Books/ Henry Holt & Co.

Mokopakgosi, B. T. (2008). Self-reliance and the History of Higher Education: The Botswana University Campus Appeal (BUCA)*. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *34*(2), 293–304. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070802037977

Moletsane, R., Hemson, C., Muthukrishna, A. (2004), "Educating South African Teachers for the Challenge of School Integration: towards a teaching and research agenda. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Press.

Mnguni, M, M. (2000). The Role of Black Consciousness in the Experience of Being Black in South Africa: The Shaping of the Identity of Two Members of AZAPO. Unpublished Master's thesis. Rhodes University: Grahamstown

Moodley, J. (2013). *She broke my identity into invisible pieces: transformation and black students in higher education.* University of Cape Town. Retrieved from http://www.careers.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/117/Joy.Moodley.pdf

Moore, T. O. (2005). A Fanonian Perspective on Double Consciousness. *Journal of Black Studies*, *35*(6), 751–762. http://doi.org/10.1177/0021934704263839

National Planning Commission (NPC) 2011. Diagnostic Overview. Pretoria: The Presidency, Republic of South Africa

Norris, B.D. (2001). Transformation, diversity and organizational change within institutions of higher education. South African Journal of Education, 21(4):219-222.

Parker, I. (1992). Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology. London: Routledge.

Pattman, R. (2007). Student identities, and researching these, in a newly "racially" merged university in South Africa. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *10*(4), 473–492. http://doi.org/10.1080/13613320701658480

Peltzer, K. (2002). Personality and Person Perception in Africa. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, *30*(1), 83.

Petersen, I. (2006). *Psychosocial factors and academic performance among first-year financial aid students: testing adjustment as a mediator variable*. University of Cape Town.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1958). Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: A Cross-National Comparison. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *2*(1), 29–42.

Phoenix, A. (2009). De-colonising practices: negotiating narratives from racialised and gendered experiences of education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *12*(1), 101–114.

Pilane, P. (2014, August 11). Does a lecturer's race matter to university students? Retrieved from http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/does-a-lecturers-race-matter-to-university-students/

Prah, K. K. (2006). Challenges to the promotion of indigenous languages in South Africa. *Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society. Online. Http://To. Ly/TTN c (Accessed 4 August 2015)*.

Rabbie, J. M., Schot, J. C., & Visser, L. (1989). Social identity theory: A conceptual and empirical critique from the perspective of a behavioural interaction model. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *19*(3), 171–202. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420190302

Rafaely, D. (2014). Transforming psychology: English language in practice. *New Voices in Psychology*, *10*(2), 28–42.

Ratele, K. (2015). Is university transformation the assimilation of black into an already established set of white patriarchal capitalist traditions? Paper presented at the University of Pretoria's Critical Conversation on Transformation", Pretoria, 13 August 2015

Republic of Botswana - Government portal. (n.d.). Retrieved March 18, 2018, from http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/Ministry-of-Education-and-Skills-Development/Scholarships/SPONSORSHIP-APPLICATION-PROCEDURES-FOR/

Rhodes University. (2014). *Rhodes University Language Policy*. Retrieved from https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/institutionalplanning/documents/Language%20Policy.pdf

Righi, R. A. (2012). *The impact of laptop computers on student learning behaviors as perceived by classroom teachers*. University of Toledo. Retrieved from http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=toledo1333741245

Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Schrieff, L. E., Tredoux, C. G., Finchilescu, G., & Dixon, J. A. (2010). Understanding the seating patterns in a residence-dining hall: A longitudinal study of intergroup contact. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *40*(1), 5–17.

Segalo, P. (2015). 'Gender, social cohesion and everyday struggles', in Psychology in Society, 49, 70–82. http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2309-8708/2015/n49a6

Soudien, C. 2007. Youth identity in contemporary South Africa: Race, culture and schooling, Cape Town: New Africa Books

South African Human Rights Commission. (2016). Transformation at public universities in South Africa. SAHRC Report. Cape Town: South African Human Rights Commission.

Statistics South Africa. (2015). *Mid-year population report* (Statistical release). Retrieved from https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022015.pdf

Steyn, M. G., Harris, T., & Hartell, C. G. (2014). Institutional factors that affect black South African students' perceptions of Early Childhood Teacher Education. *South African Journal of Education*, *34*(3), 1–7.

Tabensky P. & Matthews S. (Eds.) (2015). *White privilege and institutional culture at South Africa higher education institutions* (pp. 72–95). Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: studies in social psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Annual Review of Psychology, 33, 1-39. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245

Tajfel, H., & Fraser, C. (Eds.). (1978). *Introducing social psychology*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Tajfel H, Turner J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In WG Austin, S Worchel, (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33–48). Monterey, CA: Brooks-Col

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J.C. (1986). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior: Psychology of Intergroup Relations, 5, 7-24.

The South Africa Reconciliation Barometer Survey (2010). Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. https://sabarometerblog.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/sa-reconciliation-barometer-10th-round-report-web-final.pdf

Trommsdorff, G. (2012). Cultural Perspectives on Values and Religion in Adolescent Development. In G. Trommsdorff & X. Chen (Eds.), *Values, religion, and culture in adolescent development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

United Nations. (1967). Apartheid its effects on education, science, culture and information. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*.

Vice, S. (2015). 'Feeling at home': Institutional culture and the idea of a university. In P. Tabensky & S. Matthews (Eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South Africa higher education institutions* (pp. 45–71). Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.

Vice Chancellor's circular. (2016, September 12). The Spirit of Bantu Stephen Biko lives on! Retrieved October 15, 2017, from http://www.ru.ac.za/

Vilella, A. (2011). The Relationship between Ethnicity and Academic Achievement October 19th, 2011. Retrieved from http://www.ccsj.edu/news/ncate/Standard4/4exhibits/diversityreflec.pdf

Vincent, L. (2015). Tell us a new story: A proposal for the transformatory potential of collective memory projects. In P. Tabensky & S. Matthews (Eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South Africa higher education institutions* (pp. 21–71). Pietermaritzburg.

Williams, C.W. (1974). The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race Between 4500 B.C. and 2000 A.D Chicago: Third World Press

Wingfield, B. (2017). What "decolonised education" should and shouldn't mean. Retrieved August 22, 2017, from http://theconversation.com/what-decolonised-education-should-and-shouldnt-mean-72597

Withnall, A. (2016). Black South Africans hit out at suggestion rise in white poverty means "now there is equality." *The Independent*. Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/south-africa-white-poverty-rising-inequality-black-townships-apartheid-a7347116.html

Young, C., & Campbell, M. (2014). Student wellbeing at a university in post-apartheid South Africa: a comparison with a British university sample using the GP-CORE measure. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, *42*(4), 359–371. http://doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2013.779638

Appendix 1: Interview Guideline

My name is Opelo Petunia Mogotsi, I am interested in understanding the experiences of black students of negotiating their social identity in a historically white university. I am going to ask you a few questions, some of them may be may be of a personal nature, but you can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of your life which you are not willing to disclose. As already mentioned in the consent form, you may also withdraw from participating at any time. Your anonymity is assured; the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible to be identified by the general reader. I will also be audio recording the interview for transcription and analysis purposes. As stated in the permission release form, all audio records will be deleted after the report is completed. Until then, they will be kept safe in password-protected computers. Do you have any questions or concerns?
If there are no questions we may begin.
We form part of different groups in the university, some academic, recreational or social groups. Which groups are you part of at the University?
I am interested in understanding how you negotiate your social identity in the groups you are part of.

1. What influences your decision to be in a social group?

2. What are your experiences in the group you are in?

3. Do you ever compare your group to other groups?
   -If so, what characteristics do you compare your group to?
   - What specific groups of students do you usually compare your group to?
   - What influences the choice of your comparison group?

4. Do you consider your group to be dominant or inferior in comparison to the mentioned group?
   - If so, state the reasons why you feel that way

5. What do you do when you feel your group is as stated above (inferior or dominant)?
   - Is there a reason why you choose to react that way?

6. Is there anything unique or special about your social group?

7. How would you describe your identity?
   - What attributes/aspects form part of your identity?

8. Do you feel interacting with certain groups of students influence your identity?
   - If so, how?
   - What are the groups of students that influence your identity?

9. Does the institutional culture influence your identity?
   - If so, how?

10. How do you feel when your identity is challenged?
11. How do you manage such feelings?

Appendix 2: Transcriptions conversions (adapted)

Transcription Conventions (Parkers, 1992)	
Symbol	**Meaning**
Round Brackets (like this)	Where doubts arise regarding the accuracy of the material
Square Brackets e.g., [ ]	To clarify something to the reader
Round brackets with a number inserted e.g., (2)	Pauses in speech with the number of seconds in round brackets
Round brackets with a full stop e.g., (.)	Pauses in speech lasting less that one second
Underlining e.g., _____	Indicates emphasis in speech content
Italics	Indicates use of a *colloquial* or *slang* phrase

Appendix 3: RPERC Approval letter

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

Psychology Department
1 University Road, Grahamstown, 6139, South Africa PO Box 94, Grahamstown, 6140, South Africa
T: +27 (0) 46 603 8500
T: +27 (0) 46 603 7614
E: psychology@ ru.ac.za

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

11 July 2016

Opelo Petunia Mogotsi

Department of Psychology

RHODES UNIVERSITY

6140

Dear Petunia

ETHICAL CLEARANCE OF PROJECT PSY2016/51

This letter confirms your research proposal with tracking number PSY2016/51 and title, 'Black University students' experiences of negotiating their social identity in a historically white University', served at the Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC) of the Psychology Department of Rhodes University on 22 June 2016. The project has been given ethics clearance.

Please ensure that the RPERC is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators.

Yours sincerely

Dr Jacqui Marx

CHAIRPERSON OF THE RPERC

Appendix 4: Permission to conduct research

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Grahamstown • 6140 • South Africa

THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR • Tel: (046) 603 8101 • Fax: (046) 603 8127 • e-mail: S.Fourie@ru.ac.za

Ms OP Mogotsi

Department of Psychology

RHODES UNIVERSITY

16 September 2016

APPROVAL: PROJECT PSY2016/51

This serves to confirm that you have approval to conduct research at Rhodes University in connection with your research project PSY2016/51, with the title: 'Black University students' experiences of negotiating their social identity in a historically white University'.

Dr S Fourie

REGISTRAR

Appendix 5: Participant consent form

RHODES UNIVERSITY - DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

AGREEMENT BETWEEN STUDENT RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I _____ (participant's name) agree to participate in the research project of Opelo Petunia Mogotsi on black students' social experiences in historically white institutions.

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting the research as part of the requirements for a Master's degree at Rhodes University. The researcher may be contacted on 072 820 2029 (cellphone) or mogotsipetunia@gmail.com. The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committee(s) and is under the supervision of Sandiso Bazana at the Psychology Department at Rhodes University, who may be contacted on _____ (office number) or sbazana@ru.ac.za.

2. The researcher is interested in how black university students interact socially and the problems they might encounter doing so as well as how they tackle such problems.
3. My participation will involve a face to face individual interview at the Psychology Department for an estimated time of 30 minutes.
4. I may be asked to answer questions of a personal nature, but I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study, or consequences I may experience because of my participation, and to have these addressed to my satisfaction. The Counselling Center may be contacted for further support on 046 603 7070.
6. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time – however, I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.

7. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes, and behaviors, but that the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible to be identified by the general reader.

Signed on (Date):
Participant: _____
Researcher: _____