Internationalisation of higher education in South Africa: A historical review

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Abstract

Current debates on internationalisation are couched in relation to globalisation, and gives the impression that this phenomenon is new. There is also a tendency to discuss internationalisation in relation to various rationales, with economic rationales being dominant. This article challenges the assumption that internationalisation is something new and the notion that it is mainly driven by economic rationales. It argues that in colonial contexts, international education is as old as the advent of colonialism. In the context of South Africa international education is as old as the emergence of higher education in South Africa. Therefore current discussions on the role of international education as part of, or a response to globalisation, should also incorporate the role of international education in colonial conquest and perpetuation of segregation, failing which, discussions of internationalisation will be superficial and not do justice to the complex, divided and conflict-ridden nature of South African society.

Introduction

Since the election of the post-apartheid government in 1994, South African higher education has been undergoing changes to rid itself of its apartheid past. Its restructuring process became informed by what was coined as "international best practices", which have become a common practice amongst policy makers around the world. As Steiner-Khamsi (2004) puts it, for many experts in domestic and school reform studies, an international perspective is now considered indispensable. Their particular interest lies in borrowing or learning from "elsewhere" (Phillips, 2000). South Africa's adoption of this approach was informed by (among the others) the quest and pressure to become a "model" to be emulated by countries coming out of conflict and undergoing transition. This was also related to the fact that South Africa's transition to democracy was one among the first in the post-Cold War period.

The aim of this article is to analyse the unfolding of internationalisation of higher education in South Africa in historical perspective. It focuses on the nature, forms and historical evolution of international higher education practices in South Africa in historical perspective covering the following periods namely (a) pre-apartheid (mid 19th century to 1948), apartheid

(1948-1994) and (c) the post-apartheid (1994 to the present). It will argue that the phenomenon of internationalisation or international education in South Africa is not new, but is as old as the emergence of higher education in South Africa. Therefore current discussions on the role of international education as part of, or a response to globalisation, should also incorporate the role of international education in perpetuating segregation, failing which, discussions of internationalisation will be superficial and not do justice to the complex, divided and conflict-ridden nature of South African society.

Defining internationalisation

Internationalisation has become an important issue in the development of higher education. Sven Groenings (1987b) describes it as "one of the most powerful substantive developments in the history of American higher education" (2). It is perceived "as one of the laws of motion propelling institutions of higher learning" (Kerr, 1990, 5); "as a major theme of the next decade" (Davies, 1997, 83); and "as one of the most important trends of the last decade" (Tiechler, 1999, 6) if not of the past half century (Altbach, 2000c, 2).

De Wit (2002) uses three terms to highlight the complexity of defining internationalisation, namely *international dimension*, *international education* and *internationalisation of higher education*, each referring to a specific phase of the development. He uses three interrelated arguments in which (i) he sees the *international dimension* of higher education, prior to the 20th century as more incidental, than organised; (ii) states that this international dimension as an organised activity, referred to in general by the term "*international education*", is a product of the 20th century introduced first mainly in the United States for reasons of foreign policy and national security. The third argument is that around the end of the Cold War, this international dimension evolved into strategic processes, referred to as the "*internationalisation of higher education*" and became increasingly linked to globalisation and regionalisation of our societies and the impact of this on higher education.

He further argues that with the development of globalisation, the international dimension will evolve into an integrated element of higher education and move away from its present position as an isolated set of activities, strategies and processes. This is manifested in a shift in emphasis from more traditional forms of international education to strategies that are more directly related to the core functions of the university, and in a shift in emphasis from political to economic rationales. The implications of these shifts are the increasing importance of quality assessment of internationalisation strategies, the emergence of English as the common language of higher education, the increasing relevance of international networks and strategic alliance, and the gradual acceptance of the internationalisation of higher education as an area of research.

This characterisation of the evolution of internationalisation is helpful and makes an important contribution in terms of providing the historical dimension of this phenomenon. Therefore, rather than being viewed as something new which is a response to globalisation (De Wit *et al*., 2005), this particular perspective overcomes the limitations of some of the approaches that have been adopted which present it within the framework of neoliberalism with its bias towards the market. Little research has been done on the historical roots of the present wave of internationalisation of higher education. De Wit points out the need to relate the internationalisation of higher education in today's world to the general roots of the university, and to place the present developments in historical perspective. His work (2002) makes a useful contribution to the unfolding of this phenomenon in the European and American higher education systems. Another study (De Wit *et al*., 2005) examined the internationalisation of higher education in the Latin American context.

While the latter makes a contribution in terms of how this phenomenon finds expression at the institutional, national and regional levels in the former colonial contexts, its major

limitations are that issues discussed, i.e. mobility, curriculum, linkages, networks, new forms of delivery, new providers are couched with a bias towards trade and opportunities flowing from them. The use of these concepts is not neutral and is increasingly linked to the influence of neoliberalism in education associated with the General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS) which has constructed education as a service sector. An increase in cross-border education and its link to trade and the export industry could be linked to the emergence of a trade creep phenomenon which according to Knight refers to the quietly pervasive introduction of trade concepts, language and policy into the education sector. This finds expression through the unwitting tendency to frame education in terms of trade whereby education has become "an industry" and students are "consumers". As Knight (2004) points out, the nuance behind trade creep is an unconscious adoption of trade jargon and its underlying values (92). The use of trade terms in education and vice versa could lead to possible confusion and misunderstanding.

Linked to the trade bias in De Wit *et al.*'s (2005) study of Latin American countries, i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico, Cuba and Peru which have experienced colonialism, is the absence of a post-colonial analysis, which takes into account the legacy of colonialism, and the relationship between higher education and colonialism. This approach would have given these case studies their historical specificities and accorded internationalisation its historical character as currently encountered.

Africa is one of the regions that has experienced colonialism and whose education systems are increasingly affected by globalisation and internationalisation phenomena. While the previous studies that have been cited look at the phenomenon of internationalisation in European, American and Latin American contexts, there has been little or nothing done about the manifestation and impact of this phenomenon on an African continent. Studies of internationalisation in an African context will also need to take into consideration the colonial origins of higher education in this region and the impact of this colonial heritage in the present forms of internationalisation. This article does that by analysing the evolution and impact of internationalisation in higher education in South Africa. The definition adopted for the discussion of internationalisation of higher education is derived from the work of De Wit (2002) and Knight (2004) which emphasises the non-commercial aspects of internationalisation that have nothing to do with trade. Rather it adopts the perspective that emphasises the historical dimension of the evolution of internationalisation of higher education within the South African colonial and apartheid context.

Theoretical framework

In an increasingly globalising world in which we live post-colonial theoretical approaches are useful especially in the critique of how economic aspects of globalisation have been applied to the developing world. As Tikly (1999) shows, when that does not happen, the upshot is that many issues related to race, culture and diaspora and identity are either ignored or marginalised. What is required then is a post-colonial re-reading of globalisation theory in education. This would start from the perspective that the colonial legacy is central to the ongoing processes of globalisation in education rather than marginal to them. This implies that it is impossible to understand globalisation in education without recognising the role that colonial and post-colonial education systems have played in the spread of western cultural forms and languages. This includes development of global economy and political systems and the implications of these systems in the processes of cultural mixing and hybridisation. Tikly's critique of globalisation in education using post-colonial theory is relevant to and will be used in the critique of internationalisation in shaping the nature, role and purposes of higher education in South Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, rather

than adopting universalistic approaches that apply in non-colonial contexts which could blur the specificities of colonial societies, this article adopts post-colonial theory which sheds light on understanding the dialectical relationship between the colonisers and the colonised, the oppresors and the oppressed.

The roots of international education in the European context

In his review of literature on the history of international education, De Wit (2002) shows some of the features thereof – one of these being the fact that in Europe during the medieval ages, international education was characterised by itinerant scholars who moved from one country to another in the pursuit of knowledge. Latin was the common language used and there was one uniform programme of study and system of examinations. Some of these resembled the present features of internationalisation that are characterised by mobile students and the dominance of English as a common academic language. With the emergence of nation-states, the universities de-Europeanised and nationalised. The second half of the 19th century saw the emergence of political and cultural nationalism. According to Hammerstein (1996, 624) this entailed among the others the prohibition of study abroad in many countries, and the displacement of Latin as the universal language by vernacular (or national) languages. Universities became institutions that served the professional needs and ideological demands of the new nations in Europe. Scott (1998) observed that "paradoxically perhaps, before it became an international institution, the university first became a national institution – just as internationalisation presupposes the existence of nation states" (123). In that period three international aspects of higher education can be identified: export of higher education systems, dissemination of research, and individual mobility of scholars and students. It is in the practice of exporting of systems of higher education to colonies, and later independent states that international education found its way to colonies. South African higher education owes its roots to this European history of international education.

International dimensions in the making of South Africa

This section discusses the unfolding of the phenomenon of internationalisation and demonstrates three points: (1) that the inadequacy of the use of the notion of national rationales in analysing the unfolding of internationalisation in a colonial context such as South Africa which has been ravaged by racial segregation and conflict, (2) like in other colonial contexts, colonial languages characterise higher education in South Africa (3) that contrary to views that the present inequalities in higher education have their origins in apartheid, the exclusion of Blacks from access to higher education predates apartheid and lies in colonialism and international education whose aim was to preserve white supremacy in the colonies.

The origins of formal western education in South Africa can be traced to the occupation of South Africa by the Dutch and the English empires in middle 17th century and the early 18th century respectively. The first formal western school that was established in 1658 in South Africa was intended for the instruction of slaves that had been imported from West Africa, and was based on the Dutch system where students were forced to learn the Dutch language and elements of the Christian religion. According to Malherbe (1925) the education system at the Cape (South Africa) was the direct transplanting of institutions from the Netherlands. Thus, as early as that period, education in South Africa was international in terms of model, curriculum and student composition. In 1795 the British occupied the Cape as a strategic base against the French, controlling the sea route to the East. During the English rule in the Cape, the governors conceived it as their duty to anglicise the colonists. This took the form of reserving the civil service posts for people who could speak English; all proceedings in courts of law had to be in English; English and Latin were the only languages that might be taught in schools, and teachers were imported from Scotland to teach in government schools

(Malherbe, 1925, 57-58). The exchange of regimes between the English and the Dutch in the control of South Africa left enduring marks of these empires in the socio-political, economic, and educational system of South Africa that still continue today.

The international roots of higher education in South Africa

This colonial history of South Africa that was shaped by the English and Dutch also finds expression in the origins and development of higher education in South Africa. These institutions were modelled after European institutions and their purposes geared to meet the needs of Europeans in colonies as well as the exploits of the colonial economies in the colonies. Thus there was a transnational and international dimension in the origins and growth of higher education in South Africa. Furthermore impact of colonialism can also be found in the evolution of the concept of nation in South Africa. This article argues the limitations of Knights's (2003) views on the national rational for internationalisation of higher education in post-colonial and conflict-ridden societies such as South Africa.

Rationales for internationalisation

Knight (2003) suggests that internationalisation at the national, sectoral and institutional levels is "the process of integrating an international, cultural or global dimension into the purpose, function or delivery of post secondary education" (2). Of importance is the role of values and rationales in the discussion of internationalisation. Rationales are regarded as the driving force pushing a country, sector or institution to address and invest in internationalisation. They are reflected in the policies and programs that are developed and eventually implemented.

The concept of national rationales presupposes a particular meaning attached to the concept of nation which is static and homogenous. However, in colonial and post-colonial societies the concept of nation has assumed different meanings at different historical moments. For example in the South African context, the concept of nation evolved from references to the English and the Dutch as constituting two different races and nations (Malherbe, 1925) to become one nation with the declaration of the Union of South Africa in 1910. According to Malherbe (1977) the Act of the Union was the principle of cooperation in the welding together into one South African nation of all the different European peoples who had made South Africa their permanent home. Uniting the two elements of European "race" became a formidable task for General Botha, the first Prime Minister of the Union. However the definition of nation under the Act of Union excluded the indigenous people who were regarded as "tribes". The idea of a nation was fiercely contested within the colonial society. These competing discourses were often replicated and often exacerbated as it will be shown.

The English and Afrikaans-speaking South African whites shared whiteness – a belief in white hegemony in South Africa. However, the form and content of the notion was always up for grabs and a matter of political and ideological struggle. Progressively through the 20th century, white folks understood their identity as South African – albeit with some curious racist twists like "European South African".

Malherbe (1977) argues that the national aims and ambitions of a country are often better expressed in their education systems than in any other institution. In the different versions of defining a "nation", the three concepts, nationalism, language and education have always been linked. Their interrelationship arises from the fact that, as Ernest Barker put it:

> Language is not mere words. Each word is charged with associations that touch feelings and evoke thoughts … You cannot enter the heart and know the mind of a nation unless you know its speech. Conversely, once you have learnt that speech, you find that with it and by it you imbibe a deep pervasive spiritual force (Quoted in Malherbe, 1977, 1).

This particular conception and understanding was at the centre of the construction of South African nation which as it will be shown, excluded the Black majority in South Africa. For the Afrikaner the Afrikaans language became a symbol of the struggle for national identity and in the course of time the State school was seized upon as the means to foster that consciousness of 'a nation with a God-given destiny'.

In contrast Malherbe (1977) states that the consciousness of identity among the English-speaking South Africans was fused with sentiments of loyalty to Britain. This impeded the growth of a purely local English nationalism. This was mainly because English was a world language and shared a world culture. This conception of the link between language and a nation, led to the conferring by the National Party government of separate nationhood to Afrikanerdom and, during apartheid, to some African ethnic groups.

Under apartheid the concept of nation was expanded to include indigenous people when the different African ethnic group identities were elevated and given national status. They were confined to different "homelands" and were to pursue self-determination in those territories as part of the divide and rule strategy or the apartheid's policy of separate development. They were called "nations" by virtue of their linguistically "tribal" groupings. Under apartheid South Africa then became a country that was inhabited by different "nations".

Within this political landscape of white minority rule in South Africa, was the establishment of higher education institutions, which in their missions and visions mirrored the divisions and contestations that took place on political level. These institutions also established international links, but as it was the case at a political level, these links were not in pursuit of a common national project. As a result, when the new post-apartheid government came to power in 1994, it inherited a highly desegregated and inefficient higher education system consisting of 21 universities and 15 technikons, each with its own mission and "internationalisation" policies.

Parallel to these developments was the unfolding of the resistance movement led by the African National Congress (ANC) from 1912 and later to include the Pan Africanist Congress (1959) that challenged the exclusion of Black people from the Constitution of the white-only Union of South Africa and thereby from the national question in South Africa. In the Freedom Charter White (ANC, 1985, 1), which was drawn up by the Congress of the People led by the ANC in 1956, South Africa is defined as belonging to all who live in it, Black and White. This gave a particular meaning of the concept of nation which was inclusive of all South Africans irrespective of race and ethnicity. The two organisations and others that were opposed to apartheid were outlawed in the early 1960s. They were thus driven into exile and started operating from underground in the fight against the unjust apartheid system. The operation of the liberation movement in exile laid the basis for the anti-apartheid movement. This broadened the international links which the anti-apartheid movement had beyond the South African borders and African continent. In this context, South Africa's internationalisation could not assume a national character. It was fragmented, driven by self-interest, and pursued to achieve different goals. Therefore a discussion of internationalisation in colonial and post-colonial contexts, needs to document the different forms this phenomenon took, including the history of the evolution of "a nation" and it various forms.

Higher education in South Africa: The early years

The foundations of university education were laid in the second and third quarters of the 19th century in the Cape Colony as a result of a number of state-aided propriety colleges which offered secondary as well as post-secondary education. The first of these institutions was the South African College which opened in Cape Town in 1829. In 1837 it was incorporated as a public institution and students were prepared for the matriculation and higher education

examinations of the University of London. Colleges that followed were Diocesan College, Rondebosch (1848), St Andrews College, Grahamstown (1855), Victoria College, Stellenbosch (1866). Even though these institutions experienced difficulties mainly with finance and fluctuating numbers, they however succeeded in preparing their students for admission to European universities (Behr, 1988, 183). Thus, the early higher education institutions had elements of international education in terms of models and cross-border provision of students who were prepared for European institutions.

The University of Cape of Good Hope was established in 1873 and was modelled after the University of London. The University did no teaching but laid down the syllabuses, conducted examinations and awarded degrees for courses taught by the colleges. It was not until 1916 that university education was put on a proper footing with the enactments of the Acts 12, 13, 14 of that year. The South African College became the University of Cape Town in 1918 and the Victoria College the University of Stellenbosch in terms of Act 12 and 13 respectively in 1916.

The emergence of some of the universities was linked to economic developments and the industrialisation of the South African economy. In the latter part of the 19th century the South African economy changed from reliance primarily on agriculture and stock breeding to an economy in which mining and industry became dominant. The discovery of diamonds in the 1860s and gold in the 1880s led to large-scale industrialisation and the need for increasing numbers of artisans and technicians. The bourgeoning mining industry with the discovery of the diamonds in 1867 in the Kimberley district and gold in 1886 on the Witwatersrand led to the influx of people from all over Europe to South Africa. The immigrants came from cities as diverse as London, Berlin, Warsaw and Kiev. However, the majority came from Britain (Behr, 1988). To combat the practice of reliance on foreign skills, in 1894 the first training of mining engineers started at the South African College (now University of Cape Town). The University of the Witwatersrand which came into being in 1922, had its origins in the Transvaal Technical Institute (TTI) which was established in 1903 following the transfer of School of Mines and Technology from Kimberley to Johannesburg that year. It is important to note that the establishment of these institutions was after the English system and that they adopted both Dutch and English as official languages of instruction. In 1914 the Dutch language was replaced by Afrikaans (South African dialect drawing from the Dutch, German and Flemish language). South African higher education then came to be characterised in terms of Afrikaans and English medium languages, which all had their origins in Europe.

Admission policies and internationalisastion

Racial segregation became an integral part of higher education practice in South Africa in those early years. As a result of lack of access to higher education, Blacks were forced to acquire higher education from overseas institutions. This section shows that when higher education was established in South Africa, it was intended for European students (children of immigrants) and not for indigenous children. Thus white students had an unfair advantage over Black students in that they could access higher education both in South Africa and abroad, whereas in the absence of those opportunities in South Africa, Black students were forced to study abroad. For instance, John Tengo Jabavu (1859-1921) was one of the first African matriculants in 1883, who could not further his education because the system did not make provision for Black South Africans. Many Black matriculants had to travel to the USA or Britain to seek higher education. It was once estimated by the Cape Department of Education that between ninety and a hundred Black young matriculants had gone to America from the Cape Colony alone for education during the period 1898-1908 (Jabavu, 1922). Thus by the turn of the century, South African education did not only have elements of internationalisation

in terms of inward mobility of international students from Europe, but also in terms of outward mobility of Blacks in search for study opportunities overseas. The push factor for outward mobility in this case was racial segregation that persisted until it was outlawed in 1994.

The first opportunities for higher education training of Blacks in South Africa appeared in 1916 with the establishment of the South African Native College by missionaries. The college became the University of Fort Hare in 1951. This college boasts high profile alumni of former leaders in Southern African region such as Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Robert Mugabe, and Sir Seretse Kgama who all trained there. The context of the establishment of this college is important to understand the role of racial segregation in its establishment. In 1901 JT Jabavu, one of the pioneers and a key figure in the shaping of African educational thought in South Africa, applied to get his son (Davidson) admitted as a student at Dale College. The application was turned down by the Dale College Committee for racist reasons as demonstrated in the following press reports attributed to the school: 'Our social system does not at present admit innovations like that which Mr Jabavu's request involved'; 'other requests from natives for similar privilege would follow, 'we scarcely think that the life of the handful of native youths among a crowd of European boys in a colonial school would be a happy one (quoted in Cross, 1992, 50). This led to the agitation for the establishment of an institution for higher education to cater for black matriculants. Meanwhile, Davidson Jabavu was forced to study overseas at the University of London as a result of lack of opportunities at home. He completed his degree in 1912 and became the first lecturer at the South African Native College in 1916.

According to Behr (1988) the idea of separate universities for racial groups had its precedents in the history of education internationally. In the United States of America, institutions of higher education for Blacks were created in the second half of the 19th century with the establishment of Wilberforce University in 1856, Atlanta University in 1865, Lincoln University in 1866. However, the Second Morrill Act of 1890 outlawed racial segregation in the admission of students (Elliot & Chambers, 1942).

Mostly but with some exceptions – and in some fields, the newly established universities in South Africa in the early 20th century continued to practise racial segregation in the admission of students, despite there being no laws that prohibited them from admitting Black students. According to Murray, admission to the medical faculty at the University of Cape Town became a touchy matter. In 1921 an Indian student who sought admission was persuaded to go elsewhere. In fact with one exception, all Black doctors who practiced in South Africa prior to World War II had obtained training overseas (Murray, 1982, 301). The University of the Witwatersrand never officially adopted a policy of excluding students on the grounds of race or colour. However, in 1925 the question of admission of Blacks arose when a Coloured student sought admission to the medical school. The dilemma caused by this was that at that time and until recently, Black students were not allowed to treat white patients, and because medical training at the time was geared towards meeting the needs of whites, the University could not face the social consequences of having to allow Blacks to treat white patients. In summarising these developments, Murray concludes that "a study of admissions policies indicates that at its inception Wits very much reflected the prejudices of the society to which it belonged. Only very slowly and hesitantly was it accepted that Blacks ... should be admitted in substantial numbers" (Murray, 1986, 94).

Similar incidents and practices of racial exclusion of Blacks were experienced at the University of Natal (now the University of Kwazulu-Natal since the merger). In 1916 an Indian resident of Pinetown made tentative enquiries regarding admission to university classes, but was told by the Council that it was "not prepared to entertain the proposal' (Brookes, 1966, 43). In 1921 another Indian sought admission, but he, too, was refused. This student subsequently went to Edinburgh University and returned to South Africa as the first South

African-born Indian medical practitioner (Kuppusami & Pillay, 1978, 73)

Rhodes University also faced similar challenges with regard to the admission of Black students. In 1933 an Indian student who was a graduate of the University of Fort Hare applied for admission as a non-resident student to study for a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in English, which was not offered at the University of Fort Hare. He was refused admission by Senate on the grounds that the time was not ripe for such a change in the policy of the College (Currey, 1970, 76). These were the same reasons that were also given by the Dale College Committee in 1901 for refusing to admit DT Jabavu.

The above accounts show the extent of racial segregation in the admission of Black students in South Africa's liberal English universities in the first half of the 20th century. As was shown, the denial of admission for many of these students made them seek study opportunities abroad. While English-speaking universities did these in a covert way, Afrikaans universities were not apologetic about this as the enrolment patterns in universities in 1954 shows. Thus, long before apartheid was adopted as official policy in 1948, racial segregation had long been practised in South African public life and institutions.

Table 1 shows the impact of the policy of racial segregation in higher education which denied Black people access which led to the situation whereby Blacks constituted less than 10% of all enrolments in universities after more than a century of higher education provision in South Africa. On the other hand, over 22 956 white students were enrolled in the system.

Table 1: Student Enrolment in South African Universities: 1954

	English universities	Afrikaans universities	Fort Hare	Subtotal	% of Subtotal	UNISA Correspondence	Total	% of Total
White	10736	8915	0	19 651	94.2	3 305	22 956	91.4
Coloured	221	0	36	257	1.3	131	388	1.6
Indian	414	0	19	433	2.0	282	715	3.0
African	200	0	314	514	2.5	555	1069	4.0

Source: Marcum (1982).

The international character of higher education with its practice of having whites of European descent in the system, is also responsible for the marginalisation of Blacks in higher education in South Africa. The fact that in post-apartheid South Africa the majority of the skilled labour force, holders of degrees, and that senior management positions are held by white people in this country, is not something that happened by accident. It is a result of systematic marginalisation of Black people from higher education and production sections of the economy. The pattern of enrolments in 1980 (Table 2) shows the domination of Whites in higher education.

Table 2: Student Enrolment in South African Universities: 1980

	English universities	Afrikaans universities	Black universities	Subtotal	% of Subtotal	UNISA Correspondence	Total	% of Total
White	31 479	51258	151	82 886	80.7	37 404	120 290	75.7
Coloured	1 247	129	4 005	5 381	5.2	2 822	8 203	5.7.
Indian	1858	47	4 908	6 813	6.6	5 261	12 074	7.6
Africa	734	54	6 954	7 742	7.5	10 687	18 429	11.6

Source: Marcum, (1982)

When compared with the figures in Table 1, those in Table 2 show that over a period of 26 years from 1954, the enrolment of Blacks in higher education increased by only 7.6%. This increase should also be seen in the light of the creation of universities to cater for Black people since the passing of the Extension of Higher Education Act of 1959. During this period until 1980 about seven universities were created for Black students. In the same period, the number of white enrolments increased by 700% from 22 956 in 1954 to 120 290 in 1980. This vast increase of white students in universities should also be understood in the light of affirmative action policies of the apartheid government that were in line with the promotion of the ideology of white supremacy and with the evolving political economy after World War II and especially after the 1960s economic boom. This is more evident in the dramatic increase of Afrikaans students who increased six times from 8 915 to 51 258. The figures further show that the dominance of a particular language group in higher education is in line with who was in control in government. The Afrikaners increased their majority in higher education after 1954, compared with the period before then when the English had an influence in the South African government and therefore constituted the majority in universities. When the Black majority government took over in 1994, whites constituted a majority of 60% enrolments in higher education. By 2002 the white enrolments had dropped to 47%.

Towards a national project: Internationalisation in a post-apartheid era

The post-apartheid context has experienced some continuities and discontinuities of internationalisation activities albeit in different forms. The context is different from the apartheid one in the following ways: After 1994 South Africa reintegrated rapidly into the world community, as it was welcomed back as a member of the United Nations (UN), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now reconstituted into a new structure African Union (AU), the Commonwealth and a host of other international organisations. South Africa further assumed a leading role in African renewal and associated initiatives such as the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IORARC) (CHE, 2004, 212-3). A context was created for internationalisation activities to be embarked upon in pursuit of national development goals. Unlike in the past, a national project for internationalisation could now be pursued.

The patterns of international trade relations, which are mirrored by the institutional linkages and schemes of collaborations South African academics have, are also reflected in the patterns of student mobility in higher education in the country. The data provided by the Higher Education Management Information System (HEMIS) illustrate developments in the last five years. A noticeable trend is that the increase in the number of international students (observed in the 1999 study) has continued and has accelerated: rising from 14 124 in 1995 to 46 687 in 2002 and 52 579 in 2004. In 2002 international students represented 7% of the total enrolments.

In 2004 there were 52 579 foreign students in higher education in South Africa of whom 35 962 (68.4%) students were from SADC countries and 7214 (13.7%) were from the rest of the African continent.

In 1999 a study conducted of international student and staff mobility in South Africa and academic linkages between local institutions and their counterparts in Africa, shows that 'while policy is implicitly oriented towards playing a constructive role in Africa, practice mainly focuses on partnership with non-African countries'. This state of affairs was as much a matter of choice as it was a matter of practical limitations. The neglect of regional and

intellectual practice and academic traditions is in many ways an effect of the deliberate cultivation of ties with higher education institutions in Europe and the United States (EPU, 1999). For example the University of Pretoria had as at June 2005, 72 institutional agreements which show that these have been entered into mainly with European Institutions. The major regions with which agreements were signed were: Europe (26), Africa and the SADC Region (18), The Americas (including US, Mexico, Canada and Caribbean) (17), Scandinavia (5), Asia and the Far East (6). Another study conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand shows that the majority of staff members collaborate with colleagues in Europe (52%) followed by South African universities (44%) and North American universities (42%) and universities in SADC countries (29%). (Cross *et al.*, 2004). This seems to be in line with general trends in developing countries where they predominantly look to the North for partnerships, jobs and study opportunities. Thus, despite political and rhetorical commitment to Africanism and Third World Development, the practices in higher education reflect some persistence of neo-colonialism.

The patterns of international cooperation and collaboration reveal two general trends. First, the historical ties South Africa had with countries of the North, mainly Europe and the US; second, the changes that have been taking place since 1994 with Africa being the focus of international trade. These schemes of cooperation also follow the patterns of trade relations South Africa has with the rest of the world. For example Europe is the largest source of investment for South Africa and accounts for almost half of South Africa's foreign trade. Seven of South Africa's top 10 trading partners are European countries. The UK with its historic link to South Africa, is South Africa's third-largest trading partner and the largest foreign investor in South Africa. In addition there is the Netherlands, which has South Africa as its main trading partner in Africa.

The patterns of international trade relations, which are mirrored by the institutional linkages and schemes of collaborations South African academics have, are also reflected in the patterns of student mobility in higher education in the country.

Table 3: Student enrolment by race

	1993	%	2002	%	2004	%
White	223 000	47%	182 000	27%	188687	25%
Indian	30 000	5%	49 000	5%	54315	6.2%
Coloured	28 000	7%	39 000	5%	46190	7.3%
African	191 000	40%	404 000	60%	453639	61%

Source: CHE (2002) and DOE (2005).

Apart from an increase in the number of international students in post-apartheid South Africa, there has also been a change in the racial composition in post-apartheid South Africa.

When linked to the profile of students in Tables 1 and 2, a relationship could be drawn between those in power and the racial profile of higher education enrolments. The period between 1910 and 1948 had an influence on the English in the governance of South Africa, thus, in 1954, the English-speaking students constituted the majority. After the National Party government took over and started promoting Afrikaner courses, there was a dramatic increase in the Afrikaner students in higher education, as Table 2 shows. With a predominantly Black government in post-apartheid South Africa, there has been a three-fold increase in the number of African students from 40% to 61% in eleven universities.

Conclusion

This article has analysed the patterns of internationalisation in higher education in South Africa and has shown that:

1. internationalisation is not new, but is as old as the establishment of formal education in South Africa by the Dutch and the English colonists;
2. the higher education system in South Africa mirrored that of the English system and thus had an international influence;
3. official languages used in higher education in South Africa are colonial languages that have their roots in Europe;
4. from the early years, racial segregation was practised in the admission policies of South African universities. The denial of access to Black people led to their seeking access to higher education internationally;
5. this practice of racial exclusion of higher education, and limited access provided to Black people accounts for the current skills shortage in South Africa, and
6. Knight's proposition of national rationales of internationalisation is not applicable in colonial context such as South Africa, since it was not possible in colonial and apartheid eras to pursue a national project as a result of artificial racial and ethnic divisions that characterised this society.

As such, post-colonial theoretical frameworks are necessary in the study of internationalisation in colonial and post-colonial societies in order to account for the historical specificities of this phenomenon in this context.

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