

'Race', ethnicity, cultural capital, and lived experience in international higher education

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Zoom webinar

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Intro

- explored the lived experiences of black African international students (BAIS) from sub-Saharan African in UKHE
- employed a qualitative research design to interview 21 BAIS, in 10 unis and 8 cities and explored their stories through the theoretical lenses of Bourdieu and critical race theory (CRT).
- the requirement to possess the cultural capital demanded by the new educational setting is enmeshed with BAIS's racialization as the unprepared and/or undeserving 'Other'
- Adds voice to the need to reimagine current depoliticized and unproblematized depiction of international education particularly in the West

Structure of Presentation

1. Background of the study
2. Review of the Literature
3. Theoretical Framework (CRT + Bourdieu)
4. Methodology (Qualitative + CRT)
5. Findings
6. Conclusions and Implications

Background

- **Inspired by personal experiences following my** relocation to the UK as a refugee in 2011 triggered my interest at minority students' experiences in UK HE
- Despite increases in access, ethnic minorities have a different higher education experience and outcomes.
- UK HE landscape is **raced, classed and gendered and underpinned** by middle class values; a white middle-class culture disguised as a 'neutral' and 'objective' academic culture is **alienating to home BME students**, let alone to international students.

(Crozier et al.)

Attainment

The objective of this analysis was to find out whether ethnicity, after controlling for other factors, still had predictive power in explaining degree attainment. The main result of this report is that, after controlling for gender, prior attainment (tariff score and type of level 3 qualifications), disability, deprivation, subject of study, type of HEI, term-time accommodation, and age, there is still an unexplained difference between students from minority ethnic communities and students from White (UK and Irish) communities when we look at a subset of qualifiers who entered with level 3 qualifications. The attainment gap remains the largest for Black Caribbean, Black African and Chinese students.

Brocke & Nicholls (2007:19)

Review of the Literature

Thought fascinating to explore the experiences of BAIS, who are quite distant from the dominant 'white middle class' UK higher education academic culture.

The proportion of BAIS s in the UK 2014/15 and 2017/18

Year	BAIS	UK Total	Percentage of UK total
2014/15	35,070	436,815	8%
2017/18	27,815	458,490	6.1%

Research literature on BAIS

- relatively **limited** on IS in general & **a dearth** of it on BAIS
- focus on the **academic challenges**: e.g. problems of language proficiency, academic literacy and, to some extent, on critical thinking skills.
- informed by **a deficit-view** and tends to place the responsibility for change or adaptation squarely on the students.
- does **not critically look at the societal and educational conditions** under which international students are placed upon arrival in a foreign country

UK Studies

- rarely consider the role of 'race' and ethnicity in shaping international students' lived experiences; treat IS as an undifferentiated mass- despite significant diversity
- As a result, they shun the role of 'race' and racism and frame their findings as adjustment/cultural problems (Keith, 1946); (Maundeni, 2001); (Pritchard and Skinner, 2002); (Brown, 2008; Brown & Holloway, 2008); (Osmond and Roed, 2009) ;(Hyams-Ssekasi et al., 2014).
- This is very surprising in view of the significant evidence of racial discrimination both in society and in education in the UK (Modood & Acland, 1998; Law et al., 2004 ; Gillborn, 2008; Gillborn, 2014; NUS, 2011; ECU, 2013; Elevation Network, 2012; BBC, 2010).

Race and HE in the UK

- Even a cursory glance at the extant literature reveals the racialized nature of the sector. For example,
- top university administrative positions, ‘remain a white enclave’ (Gulam, 2004) ,
- **only 15 black academics** are in senior management roles (Alexander & Arday, 2015).
- **Only 85** of the UK’s 18,500 **professors are black,**
- **only 17** of them are **women** (Black, 2014).
- Black women and men achieve the lowest percentage of first-class degrees (5.7% and 6.9% respectively, compared to 18.3% of white women and 19.4% of white men), and
- both black groups are over-represented in lower class degree categories (Shilliam, 2014).

Race and HE in the UK....

- UK research and scholarship compounds racial discrimination with class-based discrimination in.
- Studies use colour-blind ideology to evade and deny the role of racism in the educational experiences of minorities (especially of black students). (Gillborn, 2019 ; Sriprakash et al., 2019; Pilkington, 2014)
- researchers minimize racism in reporting their research findings, using 'assorted explanations' that argue 'anything but racism' (Harper,2012:16). Harper, (2012: 20) articulated:

Instead of calling them racist, researchers commonly used the following semantic substitutes to describe campus environments that minoritized students, faculty, and administrators often encountered: "alienating," "hostile," "marginalizing," "chilly," "harmful," "isolating," "unfriendly," "negative," "antagonistic," "unwelcoming," "prejudicial," "discriminatory," "exclusionary," and "unsupportive."

Theoretical Framework: CRT & Bourdieu

- –theoretical tools used to explore the issues that shape the overall lived experiences of BAIS-(‘race’, ethnicity, racism, culture, acceptance, capitals and attainment
- These include Bourdieu’s thinking tools: **Cultural capital, field, habitus, the hysteresis of habitus,**
- Conceptual tools from CRT: **the permanence of racism, the voice of people of colour, intersectionality**

Capitals, Habitus, Field

- Bourdieu (1977) : educational systems assume possession of the **cultural capital** and **habitus** of the dominant culture for students to be successful in the **field** of education.

By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly **of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture** which can **only** be produced by **family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.**

(Bourdieu, 1977:494)

Bourdieu.....

- cultural capital and habitus are functional and meaningful only in relation to a field.
- But the new educational environment is taken for granted as a level playing field as students share similar institutional resources (but utilize it differently)
- Any disparity in attainment and lived experience may be explained as differences in individual ability/capacity.
- I used the concept of capitals to explore what types of cultural capital BAIS come with, what capital is valued in UK higher education, and how this shapes their experiences.
- BAIS encountered a higher education system that does not value their cultural capital.

Habitus and the hysteresis of habitus

- **Habitus** can be used to understand **student adaptation in HE**; allows to think about who **enjoys a felicitous encounter** and who feels **estranged/an infelicitous encounter**
- fit between an individual's habitus and field (ontological complicity)
- BAIS moved to a new HE field : 'hysteresis' is an important theoretical tool to understand how sudden disruption of habitus and field affects the adaptation, experience and attainment of BAIS
- the hysteresis effect means that **habitus encounters'... an environment [that is] too different from the one to which they are objectively adjusted.'** Bourdieu (1990b: 62)

Habitus and the hysteresis effect of habitus

- the habitus of BAIS encounters the new UK culture that is different from the previous environment and social conditions that formed that habitus.
- This lag between the habitus formed by previous socialization and education experience and the one that their UK field of HE demands could help to understand aspects of BAIS's academic and social experiences.
- There isn't one global HE field- so transfer of capital for BAIS is difficult

Bourdieusian lens is inadequate

- Bourdieusian analysis based on possession or lack thereof of capitals and the hysteresis of habitus to explain ethnic differences in outcome and experience is seriously challenged as a deficit laden view
- the UK HE field, undervalues BAIS's capitals, the curriculum negates their experiences, and they are racialized and Othered as less capable beings and students,
- This blurs the line between what Bourdieu suggests is a class-based domination and what might actually be a racial domination.
- I therefore argue that Bourdieu's theoretical framework is insufficient to fully explore and understand the lived experiences of BAIS in UK higher education. **Hence CRT**

CRT

- CRT provides the framework to explore the social realities of racialized groups such as BAIS since it: recognizes **the permanence of racism**, **legitimizes the voices/experiences of people of color**, **rejects ahistoricism**, **insists on intersectional analysis**, and **is skeptical toward dominant claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness, and meritocracy**
- the **experiential knowledge** secured from BAIS's stories reveals 'what life is like for others'-within a system that may be thought just and fair for all.
Delgado & Stefancic (2001)

Methodology

- Considered quant but surveys tend to homogenize experience, target big numbers and try to come up with a grand narrative; making a deeper and nuanced understanding difficult.
- But I am interested in counter narrative hence, Qual + CRT
- traditional qualitative research in education has been criticized for 'epiphenomenizing or de-emphasizing race' (Parker & Lynn, 2002) and resort to class/gender-based explanations for issues related to poor and/or negative lived experiences of blacks and minorities in education.
- CRT solves that problem by foregrounding 'race' and ethnicity

Research Design

- audio recording of in-depth interviews,
- a 'contextual information sheet' to secure some demographic
- Fieldwork: Pilot FGD & interviews and widening the scope of the research questions ('Race' is implicated in how they were assessed, perceived as students, treated in social interactions, in government policy)
- Main study involved 21 BAIS from 10 unis, located in eight cities in England

Recruitment

- Being a national of a SSA English-speaking country
- Identifying oneself as black or black African
- Enrolled as an international undergraduate student at a UK university
- (be on Tier 4 student visa)
- Have had his/her secondary school education in his/her home country
- Is in his/her 2nd or 3rd year of study in an undergraduate programme

Recruitment.....

- No mention of 'race' or experience of racism was made in the 'call for research participants' to avoid the tendency of recruiting only participants who have experienced racism.
- The ad simply asked 'What it is like for them to study at a UK university'.
- contacted students from over 20 unis through their national student society Facebook pages, and emailed over sixty students individually.
- interviewed 21 BAIS (12 males and 9 females) who met the criteria for inclusion
- 12 from Russell Group and 9 from non-Russell Group

Data Analysis

- In a highly iterative process, I did the coding in two parts.
- First with a priori codes followed by a more explicit theory-led indexing of the data as exemplified in the table above.
- Second, I did a more data-driven coding, which involved my deep engagement with the stories of BAIS that allowed specific themes to emerge.

Positionality

- I also understand that **realities can be plural**, and no claim is made that my participants' experiences represent the only truth. There can be multiple versions of lived experiences of BAIS depending on context and individual differences.
- I also acknowledge that **I was more interested in how my participants' stories affected their lives and shaped** their lived experiences than in the **veracity of what they** had to say.
- **My analysis and interpretation of the story was aided and/or constrained primarily by my theoretical framework, by my insider status, and by my capacity as a researcher** to represent the voices of my research participants

Findings

- BAIS face **extra adjustment challenges due to an infelicitous encounter with the UK HE field**, the need to adapt to a new societal culture, and the loss of their social capital, which is at times exacerbated by poor institutional support.
- ..they are **overwhelmed, and experience greater levels of stress and difficulties in their transition** than home students' experience
- some BAIS's capitals are much more easily recognised (Institutionalised cultural capital e.g entry qualifications); other forms of capital, such as linguistic/educational, economic and social capital, are much more unequally distributed among students.
- mobility across a national border removes them from their social capital

- (1) loneliness and isolation; (2) difficulty adapting to a new culture; and (3) adequacy of institutional support available. Being foreign and being removed from their social capital, coupled with the lack of adequate support and guidance to help them overcome the intense struggle for resources in a highly competitive field, have made their adjustment more challenging.
- In comparison with home students, who largely maintain their social connections, this might have put **BAIS at a disadvantageous position, thereby reproducing inequalities in lived experiences.**

Quotes: overwhelmed

As a home student, you don't battle the amount of things that an international student does; you don't battle the immigration things, you don't battle visa things, you don't battle the high fees, and you don't battle all these different stereotypes. (Astu, female, 21, Castle)

Fitting-in is difficult

....so the difference about them [home students] is also then the lecturers can identify with them; I have never seen a black lecturer all these four years in my class LLB Law; I didn't see anyone that is black that took me through any module.

(Domu, male, 29, Chapel)

Loneliness/Isolation

Another change is how you spend most of your life in a house or in a room; this is something different and new to me; In my country, you can always go out and meet with friends; but here it's not like that; to meet someone you must arrange; it's something good, but it's really harsh sometimes when you feel bored but you have to remain in your room; I don't have any local friends; I don't have any friend apart from some people from my country who I sometimes meet at uni but they are not my close friends; And I never had and I don't have any white friend.

(Mufti, male, 24, Canal-Great)

- frequent contact with home students supports the adjustment of international students (Trice 2004; Andrade 2006).

Difficulty adapting to a new culture

so, personally for me the cultural shift has been huge; you have a very laid back society here as opposed to, for example, Kenya where it's more rigid, and it's more **family value-based system** ... but over here **everyone is for themselves**, so as an international, you having to adjust to that has been one of the biggest challenges.

(Jaka, male, 21, Castle)

Out of habitus?

Everyone came with that attitude of ‘I am here to succeed, it’s just me, and I don’t care about everybody else.’ **But I was used to the idea that succeeding means succeeding together, not just yourself. This was something I really struggled with. To be honest, it was very hard in my first year, so much so that I had moments when I said ‘Oh my gosh, did I make the right decision coming here?’** That was one of the things where you have to either swim or sink. It was tough, and I now realize that is the culture here, but I am not going to conform to it. When I tried to be like everybody else, I almost ended up making myself feel depressed. (Astu, female, 21, Castle)

- Resonates with Community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) & Ubuntu

Institutional support provided

Mixed feelings; example, despite the newness and/or unfamiliarity of its methods and delivery, teaching was in general praised as positive and supportive, although there was some ambivalence:

‘The teaching generally is **really engaging**’ (Yomi, female, 19, Port);

‘The education I have got here has been **second to none; it’s brilliant!**’ (Arno, male, 26, Canal-Great);

I feel like for most of the lecturers they did try to explain more’ (Katu, female, 22, Canal-Great).

‘I don’t think I was quite ready for that [the teaching]; it was very fastpaced, so it was a very intimidating; and I began feeling left behind every single lecture even if it is the first lecture.’ (Beku, male, 21, Castle)

- **Poor support for issues that are not deemed academic (health issues)**

Race, Ethnicity and Attainment

- Research on the attainment gap **routinely pinpoints the racialized nature of the white/black attainment gap in higher education**, but fails even to consider if racism contributes to the gap (Harper, 2012; Gusa, 2010).

People of colour and those Whites who have concluded that White academics are racially biased are correct [...] the ways of the dominant group become universalized as measures of merit, hiring criteria, grading standards, predictors of success, correct grammar, appropriate behaviour, and so forth, all of which are said to be distributed as differences in individual effort, ability, or intelligence.

(Scheurich, 1993:7)

- Cousin (2016) pondered, 'When teachers behold BME, do they behold 2:2 students?'

Perceived racism and discrimination

when we started, we the international students were really very committed, and we work so hard while most of them were partying, and we have had to assist them most of the time. I do not know how the gear changed at the final stage; I feel it is most of the home students who finish with higher class degrees. The problem is there is no evidence that can really point to that, to say this happened because of racism. So, you know this [racism] happens and it really deprive you of something, but at the same time if you don't have evidence, you can't make a claim. But I will say this, if I was a white student, looking at how hard-working I am, I think I will have gotten a fantastic first. That is what I believe.

(Domu, male, 29, Chapel)

- Consistent with lit- international ss are more academically engaged than home students in first year of study (Andrade 2006)

Marked down because of my 'race'

- BAIS's accounts identified racism and discrimination as one factor shaping their assessment and feedback experiences and influencing how their work is judged and graded.

One Ghanaian guy who studies with us together here had problem with one of the tutors; she is a white English woman. Basically, she doesn't like people from Pakistan, or black people, or if you have accent. But for this Ghanaian international student, he was marked as failed and then it was marked by someone else and they said, no, it's good enough he will pass. He was very broken and he was in tears; it was really bad for him.

(Wanja, male, 31, Parkside)

Two cases where remarking changed the grades awarded....

Marked down.....

I wanted to ask for some personal feedback because I didn't understand why somebody who had written a very similar essay, as we worked on it together, got a higher mark than me. I literally had to chase her for maybe two or three weeks just to get an appointment to go and see her. I sent her back all the materials and my transcript, and she sent a two-sentence explanation, which was not satisfactory to me. It was only when I chased her up again a lot that I got the chance to get that actual feedback. It turned out that she had to move up my grade. If I didn't persist and chased her up, my grades would have stayed the same 333`qq``Q`11`QQ````AQ. That incident really made me question a lot of things. I wasn't given any reason why my marks changed and my grades moved up. It happened just because I chased her up, and my personal tutor, who was not also convinced by the marking, helped chase her up.

Marked down

It's embedded, it's not clear. They pretend as if it [racism] is not there, but for you to get a first class, I think that one is discretionary on the part of lecturers, for example, if you get 69 or 68 [marks], so you can see that to give you first class is discretionary. So there, I think if they do [want to discriminate], there it comes. But, like, it's embedded, it's hidden, it is not conspicuous, you can't spot it, like, that easy, but you can see, like, their own kids easily get first class – the white British citizens and those who are born and bred here.

(Pala, male, 36, Canal-Great)

Experiences of racism

- both **overt and covert forms of racism** pervades all aspects of BAIS's lived experiences in various social and physical spaces, both inside and outside the university.
- they use various coping strategies but racism exacerbates their disadvantage for achieving educational success, and it cannot be explained by **Bourdieu's cultural capital theory**.
- Overt Racism
 1. being called a racial slur,
 2. being told to go back to Africa,
 3. racist missile attacks
 4. and denigration

Quotes

I was walking up the stairs and one of the guys at the school was **like ‘hello slave!’ He is a student in my same year;** and I said [long pause and very disturbed], and he came out and apologized, ‘oh, no, no, I am sorry, I didn’t mean it, I meant servant for your show’, and I just said don’t explain, that for me is just deep-rooted; the fact that I was a black individual walking in the school, the first thing that comes to his mind is ‘hello, slave’ tells me that’s racist, that’s core racism.

(Arno, male, 26, Canal-Great)

One of my friends was telling me a story that **she was stoned with egg. she had the hijab on and was walking on the road when a couple of white guys from a car stoned her, and they are like ‘go back to your country’.** She just stopped wearing the hijab, That disturbed us all. (Rosa, female, 19, Hillside)

Overt racism

I got this Christmas job, and I was meant to pitch the sales to people, like ‘oh do you have internet at home?’, ‘we are selling internet’, ‘get surprises’, stuff like that, and I kept approaching people. So I was about to approach this white guy, and he just **raised his hand and dismissed me saying that I ‘should go back to where they brought me from’, I ‘should go back to Africa where I came from’, and that I am not needed here.** (Poni, female, 19, Canal)

Some of my friends here that are girls have actually experienced racist attacks. They were going back **to their hostel at night and apparently a car actually drove by and white guys threw eggs at them.** I will probably say that was the only time that I probably thought people might look at me differently because I am black; They felt really bad about it. (Demba, male, 20, Woods)

Experiences of Covert Racism

- Assumptions of poor/inferior previous education in Africa,
- ignoring/undervaluing contributions in seminar classes,
- being made invisible, and
- being seen as a criminal.

I started attending my seminars in my first year [and] the seminar groups I was in where I was the only black person, I really felt left out. You could see the conscious out-casting. It's just like, 'oh yeah she is there' ... and it was not just one seminar, it was almost all my seminars. (Ruth, female, 19, Hillside)

Seminar groups

...giving your opinion in group work, people **won't take you as serious or they just consider your point** only if brought up by someone else, especially a white home student; and they accept that point more readily. (Jaka, male, 20, Castle)

You also still get students that do not think **you are good enough or suiting for the task, even though they do claim to listen to your opinion, but there is always an oppression into the side, so that feels very condescending and annoying**. In a lot of cases when you have done your research and things like that, [and] when **they press your opinion aside, you will find out that, they don't think it is wrong, but they just feel high and mighty**. And I am like, but you don't know what you are talking about dude (lol). (Wasa, male, 22, Port)

- DiAngelo (2006) sense of entitlement in classroom interaction

Seminar class exclusions

There was this one girl I worked with in lab practicals. We were working together on something; she just assumed that I was going to mess the practical or something, so she just kept doing everything herself telling me, don't worry, don't worry, and then she did the whole practical herself and that makes me feel weird, actually. She was a white home student. (Yomi, female, 19, Port)

Being seen as Criminal

Whenever I go for shopping, I realize that they feel suspicious. They put all eyes on me, or something like that. So I don't understand why they are doing that. I realize that they do this to blacks unlike the whites, so I was asking myself 'why are they doing this to black people?' This is part of the experience that I have from this country;— that if a black person went for shopping they put eyes on him! I feel disrespected because I realize that they are not doing this to the white people, so I keep asking myself, why are they doing this to black people? And I had a lot of conversation with my black friends, and they all say they have the same problems. (Mufti, male, 24, Canal-Great)

Coping Mechanisms

- joining co-national spaces; ignoring racism; resilience ;‘it’s not my struggle’.

When you come here as an African, the struggles you take here aren’t really yours. You have second generation African students that are born and grown up here who are British. They will have issues that they have experienced that you won’t have experienced, so you come here, you are not able to, like, fight those issues the way they are able to fight them. You may experience them, but they are not inherently yours. You have a home and you have your own identities, so it’s very separated. So you come here, you are a bit angry about the slavery in America and some of the institutions of slavery that happened here, or some of the discrimination, for example, there was a big conversation about universities not accepting black people, and you will be a bit upset by that, but then it’s not your struggle, because that racism is targeted at indigenous black people so you are not very intimate about the problem. (Beku, male, 20, Castle

Experiences of Othering

BAIS positioned and constructed as 'Others' through processes of Othering that ignores the complexity and subjectivity of the individual

1. homogenization of BAIS's experiences and identities;
2. being stereotyped based on the perceived backwardness of Africa;
3. being exoticized and fetishized;
4. being excluded from, and avoided in, social spaces;
5. Othering based on immigration status;
6. Othering and discrimination in the labour market;
7. the expression of surprise at their

Homogenization

Then the worst thing is white British people's remark '... your country Africa ...' I hate it! Africa is a continent with 54 or 57 countries – the largest continent, with the most countries and so many different cultures, so many languages. How can you go and mistake the whole thing as one country? It's just weird; it's just very ignorant. (Olu, female, 20, Woods)

Stereotyped

Sometime on my way to see my aunt in Canal, my Uber driver asked me 'oh, you are Nigerian, do you see animals?' and I am like, 'yeah, in the zoo!', because I only see animals in the zoo. We don't have animals running up and down, you obviously know. (Olu, female, 20, Woods)

There still is some sort of stigma. you would still get the vibe that you are different – the vibe that you are not fully accepted yet. You would still get the vibe that people look at you differently. when you meet students for the first time, they give you this feeling that you are from a less civilized place; I may come from a developing country but then they kind of overplay that in their head, so **they feel like you shouldn't know as much, you shouldn't speak as well as they do.** (Wasa, male, 22, Port)

Labor market

when it comes to work, they treat you differently. You find out if you are a white, you get certain types of jobs; if you are a black, you get certain jobs. For example, in cleaning jobs, most of the time you find lots of blacks than whites; to serve people in the restaurant, you will see a lot of white Europeans; so there you can see the discrimination and racism; If you are black and you go and register with an agency, what is easier for you to get is to become a cleaner or a kitchen porter, but if you are white, they will send you to the bar, to serve; Yeah, it's clear. Well, they would pretend as if they are doing it fairly , but it's not like that. (Pala, male, 36, Canal-Great)

Recognition of white privilege and BAIS disadvantage

Being white, you are born into a certain privilege, a certain class where you know you are able to achieve and you are mingling where you put yourself ... you are given a head start to start within our industry [acting]. It's like that, and the majority of the industry is white, so there is that unspoken easiness. They just get along with each other a lot more. I don't know how to explain it; I believe, it would be easier if I were a white middle class home student from here [UK]. I wouldn't be worried so much, I just wouldn't! I wouldn't have to worry about so many things that I worry about now on a day-today basis. (Arno, male, 26, Canal-Great)

Conclusions & Implications

- BAIS's lived experience is a function of the possession of capitals demanded by UK higher education, lower expectations and multiple racialized domination.
- Their **overall experience is fraught with lack of acceptance, and they are positioned as lacking outsiders** who are admitted to the institutions but not truly included.
- They experience racism and/or Othering from home white (and also black), other non-white international students, and members of the community in various social settings, both inside and outside the university.
- Universities institutional structures and practices (seminar groups, predominantly white teachers, a Eurocentric curriculum and newer assessment methods. were unfortunately found to be sites of further disadvantages or racialized discriminatory treatment, reproducing existing inequalities and also unequal power dynamics!

The intersection of capital and 'race'/ethnicity

- Bourdieu has helped me to explore and work out how, in comparative terms, white/home students possession of the capitals demanded, along with their 'race' and their previous UK education, serves them as embodied symbolic capital that 'resides in the mastery of symbolic resources based on knowledge and recognition' (Bourdieu, 2005: 195).
- CRT has helped me to explore and unearth how this embodiment of symbolic capital, and the recognition afforded to it by the universities, is enmeshed with racialized discrimination through low expectations, prejudicial treatment, and overt and covert racism and Othering.
- I conclude that research and scholarship on the lived experiences of BAIS living and studying in the West must of necessity use analytical lenses that foreground race and racism for a just and complete analysis

Implications

1. calls for a rethink of curricula, teaching staff recruitment strategies, pedagogy, task design and the recognition of the salience of 'race' in lived experiences (include mandatory not elective modules, have a policy that demands from all backgrounds share high attainment)
2. universities need to acknowledge 'race' and racism affect BAIS's adjustment and shape all aspects of their lived experiences. they need to place race consciousness at the centre of institutional policy and practice ensuring that considerations of 'race' and racism are central and not marginal in universities' planning, design and implementation of internationalization policies, (e.g. **all racisms went unchallenged and unreported**)

Implications

3. institute a system to regularly assess the racial climate for students within their campuses and take actions. It is impossible to fight racism by avoiding talking about it.
4. have policies that require that departments design academic tasks that inherently require the students from diverse backgrounds to work together to achieve an educational objective that counts to their final grades
5. allocate more resources and spaces for the formation of student societies, as these seem to be the spaces that provide much-needed protection for BAIS from loneliness and discrimination, for the preservation of their dignity, culture and identity.