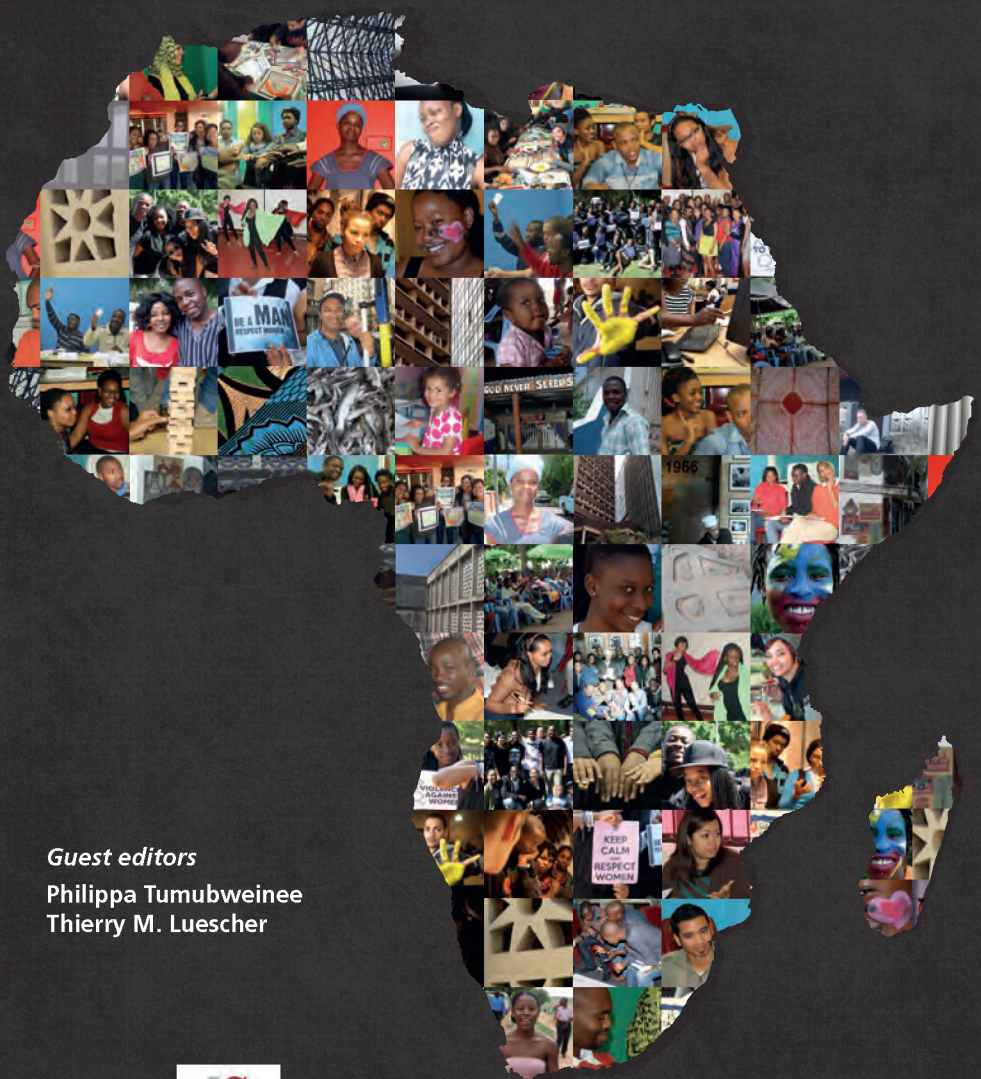
Journal of Student Affairs in Africa

Volume 7 Issue 1 2019

Space, language, identity and the student movement



Guest editors
Philippa Tumubweinee
Thierry M. Luescher

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Guest editorial

Space, Language and Identity Politics in Higher Education

Philippa Tumubweinee* & Thierry M. Luescher**

As a way of introducing the theme tackled by this guest-edited issue of the *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa* (*JSAA*), it is worthwhile to pose a question, albeit a rhetorical one: Why would a journal dedicated to theoretical, practical and reflective contributions on student affairs entertain a special issue on space, language and identity politics in higher education? An answer to this may be found in an exposition by Benedict Anderson (2006) in *Imagined Communities*. Anderson argues:

> Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. (Anderson, 2006, p. 7)

In Anderson's view, *style* has the potential of producing further assumptions about *space* and *time*. The notion of style in our case, it may be argued, refers to the *JSAA* which is the medium through which the student affairs discourse is presented; grounded in and in reference to the intellectual and technical resources that represent an "imagined community" of student affairs in higher education across Africa.

It is instructive that the representation under reference occurs primarily through the medium of a code: *language.* Notwithstanding the shared language and platform, in the imagined community created by *JSAA*, the multitude of actors participating in the professional and scholarly student affairs discourse are nonetheless bounded by space and time. We are connected by the same encircled, fixed landscape within which we simultaneously exist. In following this logic through, the simultaneities of space and time exemplified by *JSAA* are at the heart of the ways in which actors in the student affairs community across the continent consider themselves part of a community and build an *identity* informed in an imagined community. By design, the special issue will address itself to the post-colonial *time* and the *space* of higher education in *geographical regions with a colonial legacy*. The contributions in the guest-edited issue singularly and collectively grapple with the nuances attendant to the intersections between space, language and identity politics in higher education in *geographical regions with a colonial history*.

* Dr Philippa Tumubweinee is an architect and Head of the School of Architecture and Geomatics, University of Cape Town, South Africa. Email: philippa.tumubweinee@uct.ac.za

** Prof. Thierry M. Luescher is Research Director in the Human Sciences Research Council, Cape Town, and Associate Professor of Higher Education affiliated to the University of the Free State, Mangaung/Bloemfontein, South Africa. Email: tluescher@hsrc.ac.za

Overview of the Articles in This Issue

In the South African context, the politics of space, language and identity in higher education have been brought into sharp focus by the 2015/16 student movement. It is largely due to the student movement and campaigns like #RhodesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch, #AfrikaansMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #RUReferenceList, to name but a few,[1] that the debates of the mid and late 1990s on the Africanisation of higher education and curriculum reform, the transformation of institutional cultures, and the meanings and implications of advantage and disadvantage in higher education, are receiving renewed attention. All the articles in this guest-edited issue respond in various ways to matters raised in the course of the 2015/16 student movement or attribute the political salience of their analysis to concerns raised by various student campaigns since 2015.

The opening article by **Philippa Tumubweinee** and **Thierry M. Luescher** called 'Inserting Space into the Transformation of Higher Education' focuses specifically on the significance of space in the transformation of higher education. In this article, we argue that the concept of social space can provide the conceptual tools for reframing policy and designing new policy interventions in pursuit of higher education transformation goals. We start out by arguing against a notion of space merely as physical infrastructure or a void to be filled. Rather, in keeping with Lefebvre and others, we conceptualise a 'socio-political' notion of space as socially produced and as co-producer of the social. Using this understanding of space, we conduct an analysis of four national cornerstone policy documents on higher education transformation in South Africa (1997 to 2017). Our analysis shows that, since the original post-apartheid *White Paper on Higher Education* of 1997, it is only the most recent national policy document, the *Draft National Plan for Post-school Education and Training* of 2017, which blurs the lines between the social ills affecting the student experience of higher education (and indeed society at large), which we call 'the realities of the everyday' on campus, and different functions of space. Our article suggests new conceptual tools for a research agenda that explores the (social) organisation of space in higher education which will allow policymakers to insert space-related concerns into the policy debates on decolonised higher education that have been (re-)ignited by the student movement.

Dionne van Reenen's insightful article analyses the South African student protests from a language perspective. Her article traces detectable *languaging strategies* employed by the student movement and the conceptual structures informing these strategies. The article starts by reviewing some post-1994 changes and the related impact of democratisation

1 In this issue. we use the term 'the 2015/16 student movement' to refer to the sum of social processes that have rallied students from 2015 under the banner of a variety of campus-based and national campaigns (typically marked by a Twitter hashtag) as political actors to demand change in higher education policy and practice (and, in some cases, beyond), thereby creating a sense of common cause and identity amongst the involved students (albeit at various levels of intensity), and bringing them into conflict with authorities within the higher education sector and beyond. This definition of 'student movement' draws on social movement theory (especially Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 21) and the theory of student activism and student movements (Altbach, 1991; Badat, 1999). However, we have not imposed this on authors and thus various authors in this issue may use terms like 'student movement' differently.

on higher education; Van Reenen notes that the student protests show that these changes are not seen as satisfactory in the eyes of the young generation and that the 'logics' underpinning higher education and contemporary debates and approaches are seen as oppressive by student protesters.

Using Visagie's (2006) theoretical frame, Van Reenen's analysis shows that grand narratives are rejected in student movement discourse in favour of attributes such as complexity, infinity, individuality, contingency, discontinuity, flux and unknowability. Students focused on the 'lower attributes' through which they were able to articulate individual life-history narratives. As a result, this led to disagreements in communication between students and university leaders. In addition, the author uses the theoretical frame of Stewart et al. (2012), which posits that movements utilise persuasive tactics of affirmation. In particular, she analyses the student movement in terms of identification, polarisation, framing, storytelling, and power. In doing so, the article problematises the student movement narratives, considering the dominating and silenced voices.

In a highly unequal and divided society like South Africa, accessing higher education is one of the few and effective ways to ensure upward social mobility. This has positioned the university at the centre of transformation in South Africa and makes higher education a high-stakes endeavour, especially for poor, working class, and first-generation students. While Van Reenen acknowledges that valuing higher education for its social mobility potential is an understandable and legitimate position taken by students, her argument is that the way disagreements are communicated requires critical consideration because otherwise the student movement may not achieve its goals. To conclude the article, Van Reenen also affirms the conceptual propositions of Stewart et al. (2012) and Visagie (2006) as useful to analyse the communicative elements of the student movement.

The third research article in this issue, authored by **Jacques Laubscher**, returns to the spatial concerns and raises important topics for change in the physical landscape of universities in South Africa. It aims to addresses the spatial implications at the heart of the #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and #CurriculumMustFall campaigns. The article tracks the development of the Freedom Park on Salvokop in Pretoria, using the language of restitution, and seeks ways to define a new and integrated South African culture by drawing from the multiple identities and experiences of its people. In response to #RhodesMustFall, the article calls for a physical response by universities to create a responsive identity. It shows a way in which physical transformation of universities can encourage dialogue in order help to resolve future problems of higher institutions of learning. The suggestion of a *kgotla* for the spatial transformation of universities has particular currency because it brings concepts of indigenous knowledge systems to the university.

Solomon Dlamini's article '#FeesMustFall: Lessons from a Post-colonial Global South' discusses the core issue raised by the #FeesMustFall campaign: the meaning and models of fee-free higher education. Dlamini's article describes the context within which demands by South African students for 'free, decolonial, quality higher education' arose towards the end of 2015. He recalls the freeze on student fee increases (in 2016) and President Zuma's announcement of free higher education for the poor and the so-called missing

middle students in 2017. Dlamini's starting point is that South Africa, being a late-comer to liberation, has the opportunity to learn from other post-colonial countries with respect to the funding of higher education. Yet, Dlamini finds that the trend in the global South has been to actually move *away* from fee-free higher education towards various kinds of cost-sharing models, such as the one operative in South Africa until recently. In his discussion, Dlamini then argues, however, that the South African context demands a funding regime that provides the potential for social mobility on a large scale, given the highly unequal and divided nature of South Africa's post-apartheid society.

Mlamuli Hlatshwayo and **George Kehdinga** take a social justice perspective in an attempt to theorise the #MustFall student movements of 2015/16. They start by arguing that a significant amount of literature on the student movement in South African higher education is characterised by two limitations: literature on the student movement is often found in non-academic and non-peer-reviewed outlets and it is typically lacking in theoretical grounding. Hlatshwayo and Kehdinga's article seeks to contribute to remedying these gaps. They briefly contextualise the emergence of the #MustFall campaigns historically within the higher education landscape and then outline Fraser's social justice framework as a lens through which to consider the economic framing, the cultural framing and the political framing of the #MustFall movement.

What form of culture arises from the #FeesMustFall protests? In his article, **George Mavunga** analyses a selection of newspaper articles published between October 2015 and March 2016 in the *Mail & Guardian*, *Sunday Times*, *City Press*, *Sunday Independent*, *The Star*, *Daily Sun*, *The Citizen*, *New Age* and *Sowetan*. His analysis is inspired by a critical realist framework. He specifically looks at the interplay between higher education (political and governance) structures and various forms of agency employed by key stakeholders – that is students, university management and government – in relation to the voicing of demands, protesting, and responding to protests. Mavunga argues that overall a culture of tension and distrust amongst the key stakeholders arose from the protests which could be attributed to the way these stakeholders perceived, and went on to exercise, their agency in an attempt to resolve the conflict arising from the protests.

To avert a recurrence of the negative consequences of student protests such as the destruction of property, violence on the side of protesters as well as security personnel, and thus the development of adversarial and toxic relationships amongst different stakeholders, Mavunga recommends collaborative approaches to conflict resolution in South African higher education. These approaches need to be framed differently from those in which some stakeholders seek to achieve outright victory over other stakeholders, which he argues was a recurring mode of engagement during the #FeesMustFall protests. Thus, what is needed is to return to a culture of seeking compromise; one which acknowledges that a sufficient consensus may not satisfy all stakeholders' demands fully, but provides enough common ground to move forward together.

A collaborative approach to addressing student needs is also central to the article by **Travis C. Smith** and **Emily E. Virtue**. Their concern is to profile the experiences of postgraduate students of colour in American universities, and they argue for more

intentional collaborations between academic and student affairs staff when it comes to support for postgraduate students of colour. Their survey of the literature shows that, so far, little has been explored empirically on the topic, but the available evidence is strong and compelling: postgraduate students feel 'lonely', 'isolated', operating in a 'chilly' climate – and this sense is multiplied for students of colour. According to Smith and Virtue, the barriers that are experienced by students of colour in graduate schools operate like 'systems of oppression'; the authors' purpose is to consider how they can be dismantled in collaboration between student affairs and academic affairs.

According to Smith and Virtue, some universities are incentivising collaborations between student affairs and academic affairs. By means of such collaborations, they are able to provide better experiences and more support for postgraduate students of colour. Such collaborations are vital to improve the student experience and academic success of postgraduate students, particularly postgraduate students of colour. A starting point in initiating collaborations is that both sides – student affairs and academics – understand and acknowledge the limits of their respective expertise and reach out to each other.

Stephen Steyn's article 'Presenting History: The Manipulation of Chronological Structures in the Development and Maintenance of Transformative Curricula' analyses different conceptions of timelines in the teaching of architectural theory and history. The article is in parts inspired by one of the decolonisation-related splinter campaigns of the 2015/16 student movement: #ScienceMustFall. Steyn reflects on the teaching of history and theory in architecture in the context of present challenges posed to the discipline's knowledge base. He explores an inclusive and representative way of identifying and selecting knowledge in order to profile and engage with it in a critical way. This is done to counter the canonical approach that has guided knowledge production and associated 'power' in architectural education. In the process, Steyn takes a critical stance that aims to question established ways of teaching history and theory in architecture and on its framing, in order to establish a more reflexive and representative approach to teaching.

The final article in this issue titled 'Grasping the Regimes of Language, Space and Identity in the Visual of Post-Apartheid Higher Education in South Africa' by **Giselle Baillie**, **Mary Duker** and **Zamansele Nsele** discusses what they have learnt – individually and collectively – from a research project that investigates the contribution of visual arts to social cohesion, specifically in relation to space, language and identity politics in higher education. Their research project was conceptualised just prior to the pivotal #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall student protests and grounded in the South African National Development Plan's (NDP) assumption that the arts have the power to re-imagine social relationships by facilitating opportunities for social cohesion. Given that the implementation of the project coincided with 2015/16 student mobilisation, it necessitated critical reassessments of the NDP's social cohesion assumptions and its Western narrative of 'the power of the arts'. In the process, the question of whether the arts have the power to re-imagine social relationships by facilitating opportunities for social cohesion became increasingly questionable; indeed, as one of the authors argues, the role of the arts in public spaces remains contentious, while the development of a more appropriate language

to address South Africa's history of racism remains elusive. Baillie, Duker and Nsele query whether the idea of social cohesion has become a taken-for-granted, common-place and unquestioned norm, because we have not imagined any other way of dealing with a past (and present) as divisive as South Africa's. Questioning the idea of 'social cohesion' is uncomfortable; yet, there is a great need to do so. The article ends with the suggestion that we need to "increase our collective appetite for discomfort", and it proposes that "arts-based methodologies" might assist us in doing so.

Book Review and Editorial Matters

In addition to the research and reflective articles discussed above, this issue of the *JSAA* also includes a review by Monica McLean of Talita Calitz's recent book, *Enhancing the Freedom to Flourish* (Routledge, 2019). At insights gained from the narratives of a diverse group of South African undergraduate students, Calitz explores the complex reasons why some students flourish at university while others are socially and academically marginalised. In doing so, she makes a welcome contribution to a growing literature on ways of enhancing the student experience (e.g. Ashwin & Case, 2018), narrative studies of students' pathways into, through and beyond higher education (e.g. Case, Marshall, McKenna & Mogashana, 2017), and life-history studies of particular students (such as those of former student leaders, cf. Luescher, Webbstock & Bhengu [*forthcoming*]). A unique contribution of Calitz's book is that she employs a capability approach (along with drawing on the work of others like Paolo Freire) and aims to "design capability praxis for higher education environments where students are vulnerable to unequal participation" (Calitz, 2019, p. 147). In the words of the book reviewer, Monica McLean:

> In my view, the outstanding achievement of her book is to replace the usual deficit view of students whose economic and social circumstances make it difficult for them to benefit from university education with a theory of participation which emphasises agency and inclusion. This achievement results from Calitz's combining a human development approach with insight from the life stories of eight students in a South African university who faced economic and academic barriers to equal participation.

Finally, on behalf of the Editorial Executive of the *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, we would like to express thanks to the reviewers of Volume 6. Their time and expertise in evaluating and helping to select and improve the submissions is hereby acknowledged and greatly appreciated. Conversely, as guest editors of this issue, we would also like to express our own gratitude to those that have assisted us in preparing this special issue, including the authors, peer reviewers and publishing team, and especially the *JSAA* Editorial Executive for their trust and support throughout.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the University of Cape Town and the Human Sciences Research Council for providing the space and time to conceptualise and produce this *JSAA* issue.

We would also like to acknowledge the funding support received by Dr Tumubweinee from the UCT Research Block Grant, and by Prof. Luescher from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (Grant no. G-1802-05403), to produce the issue.

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How to cite:

Tumubweinee, P. & Luescher, T.M. (2019). Space, Language and Identity Politics in Higher Education. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), v-xi. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3688

Research article

Inserting Space into the Transformation of Higher Education

Philippa Tumubweinee* & Thierry M. Luescher**

Abstract

In this article we argue for a socio-political conception of space in order to show how conceptualisations of space can provide conceptual tools in the reframing of policy and designing of policy interventions in pursuit of higher education transformation goals. In keeping with Lefebvre and others, we conceptualise space as a co-producer of social relations with agentic capability in the transformation of higher education. Using this understanding of space as a conceptual framework, we analyse four national cornerstone policy documents on higher education transformation in South Africa. We find that space is almost consistently conceived of only as an object *in transformation – be it with respect to macro policy on mergers to reconfigure the apartheid spatial landscape of higher education, or with respect to discriminatory institutional cultures and the need to create secure and safe campus environments. Since the landmark* White Paper on Higher Education *of 1997, it is only the most recent policy document we analyse, the* Draft National Plan for Post-school Education and Training *of 2017, which blurs the lines between the social ills affecting higher education, the student experience and student academic performance, and different functions of space. We conclude by introducing the conceptual tool of spatial types as an opening gambit for a research agenda that aims to explore the organisation of space in higher education institutions to identify the underlying rules that govern their social nature and promote conceptualisations of social space in the reframing and design of policy that respond to calls for the creation of transformed and 'decolonised' higher education, as heard in student movement campaigns in 2015/16.*

Keywords

decolonisation; higher education; higher education policy; #RhodesMustFall; social space; space; student experience; student movement; students; transformation

Space as Co-producer of the Everyday

How does space frame transformation in higher education? To what extent can a critical socio-political conception of space allow a deeper understanding of the reality of the

* Dr Philippa Tumubweinee is Head of the School of Architecture and Geomatics, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa. Email: philippa.tumubweinee@uct.ac.za

** Prof. Thierry M. Luescher is Research Director in the Human Sciences Research Council, Cape Town, and Associate Professor of Higher Education affiliated to the University of the Free State, Mangaung/Bloemfontein, South Africa. Email: tluescher@hsrc.ac.za

everyday of student life in higher education, and how can such an understanding shape policy on transformation in South African higher education? With this article we seek to challenge some long-held perspectives in policy discourse focused on the *how* and the *why*, the modalities and rationales, of transformation in higher education, arguing that this has failed to address a substantial conception of the *where* or locality of transformation, translated through the reality of the everyday in higher education.

Our argument proceeds in a dialogue between a conceptual reading of space as a social product and a political reading of space in relevant transformation policy in South Africa. With respect to the former, we take as our starting point the well-established view of the university as social institution in South African and international literature (Badat 2010; Simatupang 2009; O'Connell 2003; Kerr 2001; Castells, 1993), which conceives the university as an institution that "maintains, reproduces, or adapts itself to implement values that have been widely held and firmly structured by the society" (Gumport, 2000, p. 73). In this respect, the higher education system and its institutions constitute "a subsystem of a larger social system" (Maoyuan, 2016, p. 36). This social system overall "arranges people in space" and "arranges itself [in] the physical milieu of that society" (Hillier & Hanson, 1984, p. 27) through social processes and relationships that are "bound up … with the ways in which social formations acquire and change" (Hillier & Hanson, 1984, p. 27). Correspondingly, social relations which Lefebvre would call "the actual content of life" (2003, p. 20), happen in space, and therefore the transformation of higher education should also consider the conception of space as social. To put it bluntly: Space is not the void between brick and mortar; neither is it an abstract thing that is independent of the substantial social relations within it. Rather, (social) space, in the original of Lefebvre and others building on him, is a (social) product, which co-produces the social nature of institutions such as universities. This reading of space as social also involves the political, because social space is where "the struggles and contradictions of 'living actuality' (Kipfer, 2009, p. xxi) happen".

Against this reading of space, the reality of everyday student life on campus, which we typically study under the rubric of the student experience (Bitzer, 2009; Kerr & Luescher, 2018), is therefore a co-construct between human actors and the space within which they act and relate. When conceiving of policy that looks at the transformation of higher education, space needs to be read as something that is both social and political. To reiterate: Space is not only the context in which the social happens; it is itself "a network of relations of co-existing things" (Goudeli, 2014, p. 124), which co-constructs the social relations in it. Therefore, space has agency; it is an actor of its own. Space is not an abstract *object*; rather, space is a *subject* whose agentic capability ought to be harnessed in the transformation of higher education. The policy on the transformation of higher education must therefore consider the spatial dimension of the lived reality of students (and staff) in higher education.

In this article, our interest is to analyse the place of space in national policy on higher education transformation to see if there is evidence of a socio-political understanding of space in these policy documents. Do we find any evidence of a socio-political conception of space in national policy on the transformation of higher education?

Engaging the Goals of Transformation

Higher education policy in post-apartheid South Africa has as its overarching goal "a transformed higher education system [that] would play a critical role in an emerging, non-racial, progressive democracy, in producing critical, independent citizens as well as skilled and socially-committed graduates who would be capable of contributing to social and economic development" (Webbstock, 2016, p. 22). Post-apartheid transformation in higher education is therefore not only about achieving demographic equity in the staff and student bodies of institutions ('equity'), and a qualitative and quantitative improvement of the outputs of higher education ('efficiency' and 'quality'); rather these and other transformative initiatives in higher education are intended to overall create a system that plays "a significant role in helping to build an open, democratic, post-apartheid society and an informed, critical, and socially aware citizenry" (Webbstock, 2016, p. 22).

Engaging the goals of transformation from the perspective of universities as social institutions, what is the place of space in policy statements on higher education transformation? Our foregoing conceptual discussion prompts a prominent place for space and space-related concerns in policies that can engage the legacy of apartheid – the ultimate, legislated, spatial divider – and the aspirational goals of the 1996 Constitution within higher education institutions and the sector as whole.

As a way of engaging the goals of transformation, student activists have harnessed the power of the socio-political meanings of space in protest demands in unprecedented ways in democratic South Africa. Starting in 2015, protest campaigns such as #RhodesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch, and #SteynMustFall, have challenged the established tradition of theorising about the process and understanding of transformation as referring to epistemological change, institutional culture, and social cohesion (DoE, 2008). While it is true that these tenets accommodate the fluidity of change that is necessary for multiple initiatives and knowledges for transformation (see Lange, 2014), they miss a substantial grounding in the *where* of transformation, and the reality of the everyday of students' experiences of higher education that is deployed in space. It is here that the student movement of 2015/16 has shown new directions for transformation policy in which the *where* can be important.

The Framing of Space in Higher Education Policy

For the purposes of this article, we selected four national 'cornerstone' policy documents on higher education transformation: the 1997 *Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education* (WPHE), the 2001 *National Plan for Higher Education* (NPHE), the 2013 *White Paper on Post-School Education and Training* (WPPSET), and finally the 2017 *Draft National Plan for Post-School Education and Training* (NPPSET). A couple of

points need to be made with respect to this selection. Firstly, the draft NPPSET was never actually released as a public document; it was, however, widely consulted on (and the release of a final plan is imminent). Secondly, the distinction must be noted between the white papers and the plans, as the latter are linked to and largely based on the ideas of the former. As has been pointed out in various policy analyses, there is typically some policy agility between white paper and plan. Thirdly, the two white papers also cover a different scope. While the WPHE only deals with the universities, the WPPSET covers the entire post-schooling system (including the universities, the colleges and the skills development system). Our selection is justified by our aim of seeking to cover a lot of policy terrain within the limitations of this article.

We analysed text segments in the selected policy document which we identified by relevant codes. The codes we used included the terms and derivatives of 'space', 'place', 'social', 'experience', 'everyday', 'culture', as well as 'geography', and the like. We applied the codes in text searches to tag the text segments and then analysed the dominant policy conception of space in South African higher education

Taking this methodology, focusing on the codes and documents noted above, and using our conception of space as co-produced by, and co-producer of, the everyday as conceptual lens, thus defines the scope and limitations of our enquiry. This methodology gives us the tools to show the tension between a socio-political conception of space in the everyday and conceptions of space implied in macro policy documents. On the one hand, our analysis is prompted by the need to provide new perspectives on policy on higher education transformation or, if you will, decolonisation. On the other hand, we are also inspired by Young and Kraak's early call to respond to "the continuing need for theoretically informed critiques of [education] policy that point to alternatives to what is often experienced as the given nature of the status quo" (2001, p. 16).

The White Paper on Higher Education

The *White Paper on Higher Education* (1997), which built on the recommendations of the National Commission for Higher Education (1996), starts out by referencing space primarily in terms of access to higher education in three distinct senses. Firstly, it considers space in terms of "spatial and geographic *barriers* to access" (DoE, 1997, Section 1.11 [our emphasis]). Secondly, it uses the term 'space' to refer to (funded) student places in various programmes and qualifications, and in terms of overall institutional and system enrolment plans.[1] Thirdly, space is alluded to in the White Paper's reference to the transformation of institutional cultures.

The idea of spatial barriers to access is problematised in the White Paper in terms of a geographic understanding of space(s) in higher education, whereby a university campus is conceived in infrastructural terms as a 'delivery site' of higher education programmes along with a political understanding of the historical, racialised iniquities embedded in

1 Even though this is a frequent and repeated use of the term 'space(s)' in subsequent policy documents, it is only marginally relevant for our present concerns and therefore not analysed further.

the landscape of higher education. It is in this respect that a socio-political reading of space is evident, which former Minister Kader Asmal famously called "the geo-political imagination of apartheid planners" (DoE, 2001, Preface).

At the macro-level, geo-political inequities in the post-apartheid South African higher education landscape prompted a policy-led reconfiguration of the institutional landscape by means of mergers and incorporations which consumes much of the high-level policy debate from the late 1990s (Jansen, 2003; Badat, 2015). As was predicted, university mergers tend to be difficult and longwinded (Hall, Symes & Luescher, 2003); perhaps surprisingly, the process succeeded in most cases even if one merger had to be undone (i.e. Sefako Magkatho Health Sciences University was demerged from the University of Limpopo), and several complex merged institutions are still experiencing instability (as in the cases of Tshwane University of Technology and Walter Sisulu University).

In contrast to the incisive national intervention with respect to the macro institutional landscape, no such equally far-reaching transformation policy initiatives were designed to impact on spatial barriers to access (and success) *within* campuses, which the White Paper and other documents conceived in terms of the concept of 'institutional culture'.[2] The relevant sections in the White Paper (DoE, 1997, Sections 3.41-3.44) are well worth quoting at length:

> 3.41 The Ministry is seriously concerned by evidence of institutionalised forms of racism and sexism as well as the incidence of violent behaviour on many campuses of higher education institutions. It is essential to promote the development of institutional cultures which will embody values and facilitate behaviour aimed at peaceful assembly, reconciliation, respect for difference and the promotion of the common good.
>
> 3.42 The Ministry proposes that all institutions of higher education should develop mechanisms which will:
>
> - create a secure and safe campus environment that discourages harassment or any other hostile behaviour directed towards persons or groups on any grounds whatsoever, but particularly on grounds of age, colour, creed, disability, gender, marital status, national origin, race, language, or sexual orientation.
> - set standards of expected behaviour for the entire campus community, including but not limited to administrators, faculty, staff, students, security personnel and contractors.

2 As John Higgins (2007) has shown, in much of the policy discourse following the White Paper, the notion of 'institutional culture' comes to act as a code word for whiteness, especially with respect to the experiences of black staff and students in historically white institutions. There are, however, instances where 'institutional culture' is used quite differently in policy discourse. For instance, in the highly acclaimed volume *Transformation in Higher Education: Global Pressures and Local Realities in South Africa,* edited by Nico Cloete and others (2002), the term 'institutional culture' is used as organisational culture (as it would be in American business management literature). Moreover, Rebecca Schendel (2018) shows how the conceptualisation of the relationship between institutional culture and pedagogy in South African higher education scholarship changes over the last ten years (2007-2017) along with changing conceptions of institutional culture.

- promote a campus environment that is sensitive to racial and cultural diversity, through extracurricular activities that expose students to cultures and traditions other than their own, and scholarly activities that work towards this goal.
- assign competent personnel to monitor progress in the abovementioned areas.

3.43 The Ministry is committed to an institutional culture in which there is gender equity. Institutions have a responsibility for creating an equitable and supportive climate for women students and staff. […].

3.44 The Ministry deplores the many incidents of rape and sexual harassment on higher education campuses. Institutions are enjoined to develop and disseminate institutional policies prohibiting sexual harassment of students and employees, together with the establishment of reporting and grievance procedures incorporating victim support and counselling, confidentiality, protection of complainants from retaliation, as well as mechanisms for ensuring due process and protection for respondents.

The White Paper clearly commits to a transformation of the everyday – the lived experience of students (and staff) – from one characterised by "institutionalised forms of racism and sexism as well as the incidence of violent behaviour", "harassment or any other hostile behaviour", including "many incidents of rape and sexual harassment" to institutional cultures which "embody values and facilitate behaviour aimed at peaceful assembly, reconciliation, respect for difference and the promotion of the common good" along with "gender equity". The White Paper also starts to propose how and where to transform institutional cultures: in the creation of "a secure and safe campus environment" and by setting new "standards of expected behaviour" (DoE, 1997, Sections 3.41-3.44). Although the White Paper therefore considers the campus environment in socio-political terms, it does not really understand it to be a social space where people learn, live, fall in and out of love, grow, find and lose and refine themselves, as social beings.

Unlike the transformation of the socio-political macro-level landscape, when it comes to the transformation of the campus environment and along with it institutional cultures, there is no large-scale funded national policy intervention, even though problems continue to flare up (see, for example, the 2008 report of the so-called Soudien Commission). It may be assumed that the White Paper expects institutional-level plans to carry the load of policy initiatives, e.g. with reference to the institution's mission, programmes, enrolment, race and gender-equity goals, infrastructural development and so forth (DoE, 1997, Section 2.15). And, perhaps, institutional cultures are meant to spontaneously transform in the course of addressing demographic representation in the staff and student bodies. Whatever the case may be, the lack of effectiveness of this policy strategy is clearly evident from the findings of the Soudien Commission (DoE, 2008), in the demands of the various 'decolonisation campaigns' on the campuses of historically white universities in 2015/16 (such as #RhodesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch, #SteynMustFall, #RUReferencelist, etc.), and in scholarly research on the student experience (as synthesised in Kerr & Luescher, 2018). Campuses and institutions – as if they were not spaces where people learn – live, fall in and out of love, grow, find and lose and refine themselves, as social beings.

The National Plan for Higher Education

The *National Plan for Higher Education* (2001) presented itself as the implementation framework for realising the goals of the 1997 White Paper. As may be expected, the dominant policy conception of space and space-related concerns did not change between the White Paper and the National Plan, even if there is clearer focus and emphasis evident in the latter. For instance, the National Plan of 2001 continues to emphasise a commitment to develop a higher education system that contributes to social justice, democracy, and citizenship; one that will

> […] support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights through educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order.
>
> (DoE, 2001, Section 1.2)

However, as with the White Paper, the problem is that this is not 'located' in any substantial terms. This argument can be illustrated with reference to some of the NPHE's defined outcomes. For example, Outcome 5 in Section 2.6 looks at curriculum change (and changing the enrolments by fields). Part of the argument is that there needs to be a 'cultural' transformation in higher education. In today's terms, the relevant passage in the NPHE could perhaps be headed as 'decolonisation'. It notes that:

> […] important fields of study which impact on the development of a common sense of nationhood and that could play an important role in contributing to the development of the African Renaissance continue to be marginalised in higher education institutions. These include, in particular, fields of study such as African languages and culture, African literature (and not only in its English form), indigenous knowledge systems and more generally, the transformation of curricula to reflect the location of knowledge and curricula in the context of the African continent. The Ministry would like to encourage institutions to develop and enhance these fields and will monitor developments closely.
>
> (DoE, 2001, Section 2.6)

The NPHE thus urges an epistemological 'rootedness' in Africa – likely inspired by the contemporaneous African Renaissance discourse. This, however, is not taken further.

At the same time, we may want to make reference to the point made already in Section 1.1 of the NPHE under challenges, namely, that higher education especially in historically white universities continues to be marred by "institutional cultures that have not transcended the racial divides of the past" (Section 1.1). Outcome 8 argues that staff equity and the institutional cultures of historically white institutions remains problematic whereby the latter is responsible for alienating black staff, which also impacts on black students' academic performance and success (DoE, 2001, Section 3.3). While the NPHE thus continues to conceive of (untransformed) institutional cultures as '*barriers* to access, performance and success', they have curiously moved from being a problem affecting

all higher education institutions to one specific to historically white institutions only.[3] Moreover, while the *where* appears clearly in the macro-level policy perspective and takes the mergers and incorporations as intervention to redress the legacy of the geo-politics of apartheid (DoE, 2001, Section 6), such policy intervention is neither spelled out for an epistemological Africanisation nor a transformation of the campus environment to reflect the values and aspirations of the Constitution.

The White Paper on Post-School Education and Training

Over a decade and a half after the 1997 WPHE and as the policy programme for a new dedicated Ministry of Higher Education and Training, the *White Paper on Post-School Education and Training* (WPPSET), is published in 2013 (DHET, 2013). In the meantime, the higher education system had changed quite substantially. Student enrolments had nearly doubled from a half million in 1994 to almost a million. Alongside this expansion, student demographics (and less dramatically so staff demographics) had changed to increasingly reflect national demographics (CHE, 2009).

The post-merger institutional landscape of the mid-2000s was in the process of settling down, and in few cases, being revised, and the first entirely new institutions were being established. In the assessment of the CHE (2009, p. 8), "challenges faced by merging institutions included establishing identities for the new institutions, accommodating different institutional cultures and traditions and aligning policies and procedures". Nonetheless, the overall picture was that

> […] the institutional mergers have succeeded in creating a new landscape in which the [former apartheid-based] identities of institutions based on race and language are blurred.
>
> (Mabokela, 2007, in CHE, 2009, p. 9)

The same could not be said for the transformation of institutional cultures sought in 1997. In the WPPSET the argument was still being made that higher education continued to be characterised by discrimination, including racism and sexism (DHET, 2013, Section 4.1). This assessment was based primarily on the findings of the Ministerial Committee on Progress Towards Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, or Soudien Committee, which had been established in 2008 in the wake of the notorious 'Reitz incident' at the University of the Free State (DoE, 2008).

Unlike any previous policy document in higher education, the WPPSET puts emphasis on experience(s). Such experience(s) are functionally differentiated: learning experience, educational experience, workplace experience, practical experience, industry experience,

3 While there is less research available from historically black universities, all indications are that they are equally marred by various forms of discrimination, harassment and other hostile behaviour, and so forth (for a synthesis of the literature, see Kerr Luescher, 2018; also see 'Kwenza Madlala' in Luescher, Webbstock & Bhengu [forthcoming]). Moreover, the Soudien report notes that "transformation is clearly a challenge facing *all* South African higher education institutions" (DoE, 2008, in CHE, 2009, p. 85).

and so forth. This conception of *positive,* functional, place-based experiences, while helpful in an instrumental sense, is also limited in two ways: Firstly, nowhere in the document is the function of 'citizenship development' practically considered as to *where* and *how* this should happen. What types of experiences should facilitate such development? In what spaces? And through which initiatives and interventions? Secondly, there remains no indication *where* the *negative*, dysfunctional experiences of discrimination happen (in the classroom? in residences? in workplaces? at the taxi rank?), in *what* social interactions, and *how* one could counter them. Considering the 1997 White Paper's treatment of the socio-political dimension of space, it appears that national policy had regressed.[4]

The Draft National Plan for Post-School Education and Training

To conclude our brief analysis, we consulted the *Draft National Plan for Post-School Education and Training* (2017). Our search finds that although the Draft NPPSET talks of space in more detail than the NPHE and the WPPSET, its conceptualisations of space are grounded in and primarily refer to infrastructure. The White Paper's conception of functional experiences is reinforced in the National Plan's emphasis on functional places for experiences. In the descriptions of these functional places, space is conceived as a physical thing. It is worth noting though, that the Draft NPPSET includes for the first time a consideration of the *social use* of campus space, for example, as recreational facilities or accommodation. Thus, Section 2.5 of the draft plan argues that "appropriate infrastructure is essential to the achievement of the White Paper policy goals". In particular, it notes:

> Larger multi-purpose lecture theatres, more student learning spaces, office and work spaces for additional academic and support staff, more libraries, e-learning centres, workshops, work simulation rooms, laboratories, research facilities and equipment, IT workstations and networks, student accommodation and recreational facilities will be required.
>
> (DHET, 2017, Section 2.5)

Specific reference is also made to (the inadequacy of) student accommodation in the system and the need to build new campuses (DHET, 2017, Section 2.5).

However, the Draft NPPSET still fails to make the link between *physical* space and *social* space, that is, to understand and problematise the question of space in socio-political terms. Despite being the most 'space-conscious' document, there is still little acknowledgement of social space (other than in terms of specific 'official' functions of a place). Yet, perhaps the closest to any conception of social space in any of the four cornerstone policy documents analysed here is the following passage in the Draft NPPSET of 2017:

> The multiple and complex academic and non-academic factors contributing to poor student success in South African universities have been well documented over a long period of time. At undergraduate level, poor success can be attributed among many factors

4 An expectation was that the establishment of a permanent Transformation Oversight Committee in 2013 would address transformation failure in the area of institutional culture (see Lange & Luescher-Mamashela, 2016, p. 124).

> collectively grouped into life and logistic factors, teaching and learning factors and psycho-social factors. […]
>
> Large classes, poor early warning systems, limited access to student support services (both academic and psycho-social), curriculum design and pedagogical challenges, language issues, inadequate or inappropriate teaching and learning facilities, alienating institutional cultures, the use of ICT infrastructure, and many other factors impact overall on the ability of institutions to facilitate improvements in student success.
>
> (DHET, 2017, Section 5.3, p. 85)

Thus, it is here where the distinction between physical space(s) that have functionality for student living and learning, for teaching and as work spaces, starts to get blurry in light of the dysfunctionalities of higher education and failure to transform. However, it only does so with reference to students' academic performance and success; it does not yet consider the wider transformation goals and how they ought to be experienced in the realities of the everyday.[5]

In Conclusion: Towards a Research Agenda on Space and Higher Education

At the most general level, our analysis of transformation policy in South African higher education has found that space is almost consistently conceived only as an *object* in transformation; it is 'a thing' devoid of agency. This kind of understanding of space in higher education policy – whether as physical space or as abstract 'place' to be filled – is problematic against an understanding of the role of social space in social relations, and thus of space as socio-political actor in transformation. Transformation happens in space, in the subjective environment of the everyday, which for students (and staff alike), is more than a 'passive' infrastructure or an abstract void; space is defined by and defines everyday lived experiences. We interact in this space and our interactions are limited or encouraged by this space. The way space is perceived, conceived and eventually experienced has a profound impact on students' experience of higher education and by extension, of the experience of everybody interacting in and with the sector. It follows that space and space-related concerns should have a prominent place in policy on higher education transformation.

Inserting space into a theorising of the relationship between the national agenda for transformation in higher education and differentiated campuses can be used to translate national policy imperatives, at different institutions, into the realities of the everyday. As we have shown, space in higher education transformation policy to date has been conceived in terms of abstract macro-level systems, institutions, programmes, and enrolment places on the one hand; on the other hand, it has also come to be conceived as brick-and-mortar infrastructure more recently. Problematisations of the social, in turn, have been analysed and addressed in policy mainly in terms of gender, class, and race (and other social categories),

5 For an important recent contribution to the literature on students' experiences of getting into, through and out of higher education beyond the confines of current policy discourse, see Case et al's (2017) book *Going to University*, based on narrative interviews with 73 young people who entered university studies in the early 2010s.

often with reference to institutional culture. Neither of these two approaches adequately take into account a conceptual reading of space as a social product and co-producer of the social that plays an active, dynamic, political role. In other words, the two policy approaches fail to deliver a socio-political understanding of the role of space in the realities of the everyday in higher education. Hence also student campaigns like #RhodesMustFall, which centred on the reality of the student experience in the everyday, were able to highlight the dysfunction of higher education policy for transformation from a cultural, socio-political and economic perspective.

Our argument is that conceptualisations of space in higher education, particularly those that look at space as a social product and co-producer of the social, allow for understandings of the lived reality of the everyday, which are grounded in the empirical.[6] Empirical understandings of the lived reality of the everyday in higher education can shift policy to allow for a shared and collective project of transformation involving multi-voiced narratives that are socially, economically and politically relevant. Policy that engages with space as social and political can, in its construction, consider "the 'right things' through the 'right lenses', and [do so] ethically" (Hentschel & Press, 2009, p. 6; in Tumubweinee, 2019, p. 230).

Our concluding proposition is that socio-spatial types can provide such lenses. Socio-spatial types allow us to analyse the organisation of space at a higher education institution and the factors that influence this. In this respect, they allow us to look simultaneously at *what* happens, *why* it happens, *how* it happens and *where* it happens. Thus, they provide a conceptual and methodological point of entry into the operationalisation of social space in higher education policy writing. Such spatial types can include: living, learning, working, recreation, movement, architecture, and consumption, to name a few. As has recently been shown,

> […] spatial types, in revealing space use and the everyday practices at a higher education institution, can be utilised to explain the linkages between spatial organisation and differentiated understandings and experiences of transformation in higher education.
> (Tumubweinee, 2019, p. 76)

In this way, they allow us to look at the underlying rules that govern the social nature of higher education institutions and provide insights into the way the social nature of these institutions extends into wider society.

6 The ways that #RhodesMustFall and other #MustFall campaigns have shifted the understandings of transformation linked to different conceptions of 'space' will need to be shown empirically in a different paper.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Thandi Lewin as well as the anonymous peer reviewers of *JSAA* for their insightful comments on an earlier version of the article. Dr Tumubweinee would like to acknowledge funding received from the University of Cape Town (URC Block Grant) and Prof. Luescher would like to acknowledge funding received from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (Grant no. G-1802-05403) to produce this article.

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How to cite:

Tumubweinee, P. & Luescher, T.M. (2019). Inserting Space into the Transformation of Higher Education. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 1-13. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3689

Research article

What Are We Witnessing? Student Protests and the Politics of the Unknowable

Dionne van Reenen*

Abstract

South African public higher education has been dogged by student protests since 2015. Many of these disruptions raise pertinent issues for the sector, as well as bring about valued awareness and change. Critical scholars have remarked that in every social or political movement, something of pronounced importance is being said – usually emerging from representatives of groups that have been marginalised, subordinated or even muted. In this article, a "logosemantic" theoretical perspective (Visagie, 2006), which is also referred to as "key theory" (Visagie, 2006; Van Reenen, 2013) is utilised to determine some driving conceptualisations emerging in the "languaging strategies" (Stewart, Smith & Denton, 2012) of contemporary student movement culture in South Africa. Not discounting significant research that investigates the impact of the digital age on the communication, mobilisation and sustaining of social movements, this article takes a critical look at grounding concepts that may be identified in the discursive formations of the movements. These are taken to be neither new nor unique, either in essence or manifestation. However, the divisions and polarisations they expose, signal an urgent need for some communicative reform in the "imagined community" (Anderson, 2016) of the academy.

Keywords

language strategy; legitimacy; logosemantics; postmodern; student protests; social movement culture

Introduction

Wherever one's sympathies may lie within the diverse racial, political and class histories of South African public universities,[1] it is a truism that since 2015, South African higher education (and broader society) has seen some rallying against inherited structures of power, establishment and privilege in the form of widespread student protests (Luescher &

1 Given my involvement at the University of the Free State (UFS) specifically, I make no assumption that this materiality is reflected elsewhere, although it may be. Readers are welcome to make such determinations and offer alternative assessments against dissimilar institutional involvements and circumstances.

* Ms Dionne van Reenen is a researcher at the Unit for Institutional Change and Social Justice at the University of the Free State (UFS), South Africa. Email: vanreenend@ufs.ac.za

Klemenčič, 2016; Van der Merwe & Van Reenen, 2016; Jansen, 2017).[2] In the academy, there have been persistent calls for 'new' ways in which to speak about, make sense of, and resolve problems in South African public higher education, which have arguably reached crisis stages as full-blown university shutdowns became spatial representations of communicative breakdowns in recent years (Manjra, 2016). These disruptions remain a powerful tool for both consciousness raising and coercion. However, it is not clear what is meant by requests for a 'new' language or even *if* there is some yet-to-appear vocabulary that one could access in order to understand or address such impasses. From Stewart et al. (2012), to whom I refer below in more detail, I would argue that a good deal of this rhetoric is not new; in fact, it is rather typical of 'languaging strategies' in movement culture generally. Likewise, underlying those strategies, one may find quite conventional examples of postmodern "conceptual structures" (Visagie, 1994, p. 12). What remains troubling in the post-#Movement era is that, those attempting to respond to problematic institutional politics seem to be struggling to find some consensus that could bring about either long-term solutions or workable interim resolutions in order that educational projects can continue unimpeded by polarising politics.

The fragmentations that have emerged between and amongst students, staffs, managements and government have not done much to yield wider agreements required to make decisions or plans and implement them effectively (Shaku, 2016).[3] Further, when an apparent consensus has been reached, it appears to be a false one, in that it is only a matter of time before settlements are rejected and met with ever more dissatisfaction, followed by another round of protests and, indeed, more uncertainty about how to proceed or if the growing lists of demands and the institution's inability to meet them will end. This article is a philosophical critique of "logosemantic kernels" (Visagie, 1994; 2006) and "languaging strategies" (Stewart et al, 2012) detectable in student politics discourse. The analysis accepts the premise that as long as there are large-scale social inequalities and resistance thereto, critical voices from the academy are important in exercising caution towards persistent, pervasive flirtations with "one-dimensional modes of thought" based on a "functionalised, abridged and unified language" (Marcuse, 2013, p. 98, 134), from which scholarly spaces are certainly not immune.

Managing the Fallout of Segregationist Thought

Benedict Anderson (2016, p. 4) claims that to understand nationalisms properly, "we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such powerful emotional legitimacy". It would seem reasonable to assert that one thing South Africa has been doing

2 This includes various expressions of dissatisfaction with ongoing practices of inequality or discrimination primarily against people of colour in the academy. Similar resistance has occurred in the broader South African society, against a backdrop of international and global resonance. Jonathan Jansen, cited in this article, was the rector and vice-chancellor of the UFS at the time of the protests. The current rector and vice-chancellor is Francis Petersen, under whom protest action has continued.

3 Shaku was a student activist who worked at the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice at the time of the 2015 protests.

over the last two decades or so, is attempting to manage the fallout after the unbridled, nationalistic project of apartheid, with fluctuating levels of commitment and success.[4] This effort has utilised various interventions involving reconciliation, reconstruction and redress as markers for policy and implementation under the overarching principle of social cohesion contained in the National Development Plan 2030 (2012). However, a new generation has come of age in South African society and is making its presence felt in higher education. This generation is far more focused on economic redress and advancement than its predecessors and frames this discourse in a social justice narrative which, in essence, is highly egalitarian.[5] On one hand, students are fighting exclusions resulting from the "historical legacy of apartheid" and colonialism; on the other hand, they are challenging a current political administration that is perceived to be "a craven and corrupt political class" (Manjra, 2016). The public university structure is seen as connected to both.

In the preamble to the digital age, around the time that the ethics and concepts contained in postmodern thought were being engaged with more seriously as alternatives to classical ideals, South Africa formally entered the era of apartheid (in 1948), which was characterised by a diametrically opposed set of ethics, serving a rigidly segregated, conservative, oppressive system. I would suggest that, following various social and political destabilisations in the earlier twentieth century, the emergence of the postmodern era in the latter part of the twentieth century ushered in a set of "critical, strategic and rhetorical practices" that significantly changed the academy (Aylesworth, 2015). These have found expression in various social movements and their politics globally, but were incompatible with South African public higher education and society at the time.

After 1994, however, the push towards democratisation continues to grow. One might acknowledge an unprecedented, widespread visibility of this democratisation in the twenty-first century, presumably due to the massive expansion of mass media industries and their highly effective vessels of ever-evolving technology (Earl & Rohlinger, 2012, p. ix). The long-held faith in a conventionally authoritative, reasonably stable knowledge tradition has been shaken and so have its spaces for, and modes of, delivery. Exposed to the dynamism and speed with which information gets disseminated in the public sphere, the current generation seems to be very sceptical of all tradition; they seem genuinely interested in a politics of fragmentation and difference; they are very taken with a sense of crisis, disruption and apocalypse (cf. Kellner in Marcuse, 2013, p. xxxii). The latter framings

4 The UFS is a historically Afrikaans university (HAU) that served the nationalist vision with pride, promoting a strong 'Afrikaans' and 'Christian' institutional culture amongst an exclusively white staff and student body. A comprehensive history of the university is documented in *From Grey to Gold* (2006). This changed in the early 1990s, when people of colour were finally admitted to undergraduate programmes and could be resident on campus. A parallel language policy, incorporating English-medium instruction, was implemented in 1993 to make these inclusions possible (Van der Merwe & Van Reenen, 2016, p. 7). The policy changed again in 2016 with white students, many of whom did not select Afrikaans-medium instruction, now forming about 20% of the student body (UFS Commission for Gender Equality presentation, 2017). The university continues to struggle with transformation against this history (Van der Merwe & Van Reenen, 2016).

5 Some refer to this generation as the 'born free generation' (Cooper, 2017, p. viii), i.e. born after the end of apartheid.

have gained some significant currency amongst many observers in South African higher education (cf. Ray, 2016; Manjra, 2016; Jansen, 2017). Correspondingly, affective language containing appropriate measures of anxiety and dread, permeates commentary regarding the future of the sector, often described as being "in crisis", "under pressure" and "on a precipice" (CHE, 2016, p. 5).

The disruption of the knowledge space, the core concept of which is deeply rooted in notions of fixity and endurance, seems to have left South African higher education embroiled in perpetual (individual and collective) existential crises of Nietzschean proportions. At the University of the Free State (UFS) these disruptions, coupled with an academic staff that is resistant to change, largely white and therefore reflecting the opposite demographics of the student body (UFS, Commission for Gender Equality presentation, 2017), has made transformation at the UFS difficult. Institutional responses remain polarised as evidenced in formal investigations into, and reports on, the protests, during which communications between groups routinely broke down (UFS, 2016; 2018).

Conflating Subjects and Systems

Following a relatively unified, countrywide protest under various student leadership groups in 2015, some new groups entered the fray, with many rejecting recognised or established leadership (cf. Jansen, 2017, Chapter 5). One of the most interesting developments in the recent waves of protests has been a palpable aggression towards legitimately placed[6] governing structures and the recognition of a number of alternatively established splinter groups and movements. This has been evidenced in a side-lining of conventional leadership structures such as students' representative councils, recognised staff associations (with the possible exception of workers' unions), as well as management, national structures and government departments. These actions have been accompanied by some anger and mistrust. Even though governing bodies have attempted to remain in negotiation with protest groups, many have been unable to reach agreements, and sometimes, even after agreements have been reached, they have soon been abandoned, with campuses shutting down, then attempting to re-open, only to shut down again within hours or days. Pathologies of instability and change are fundamental to movement culture (Johnston & Klandermans, 1995) as are pathologies of confrontation (Cathcart, 1978; 1980). While many institutions have claimed during shutdowns that the majority of students and staff want to return to lectures, protesting groups seem to have gained the upper hand and the academic calendar for 2016 was at risk of not concluding.

I would suggest that student movement groups have exhibited a distinctly 'postmodern' grammar in their approach but I make no assumption that this is deliberate; it may simply be aligned with global attitudinal trends. There are participants who explicitly identify themselves as 'postmodernists', which is somewhat ironic given that people espousing postmodern tendencies rarely want to be identified as such or be identified with any kind

6 By 'legitimately placed', I mean either by institutional election processes or by government and institutional appointment.

of nominal category for that matter. In this time of complicated identity politics, never have people been so weary of being identified. Accepting the shift, though, if 'postmodernism' is largely indefinable and Lyotard is to be taken in earnest, then it seems we might have entered such a space in the politics of the contemporary *knowledge industry*. I do not select that particular terminology arbitrarily.

While I acknowledge that many actors in a university system do *not* accept the term "knowledge industry" or "learning industry" (Jarvis 2001), I would agree with Jarvis (2001, p. 140) that as a result of rapid globalisation university systems often function in this way regardless of individual efforts against what has become known as the "commodification" of knowledge (Lyotard, 1984). Late capitalist societies have become "knowledge-based societies" in which knowledge is produced, packaged, authorised, marketed, sold, consumed, contracted and exchanged as part of the broader "knowledge industry" which feeds a job market that requires qualifications (Jarvis, 2001, p. 6). In the contemporary higher education landscape, then, the "use-value" of knowledge gives way to knowledge as commodity for exchange (Lyotard, 1984, pp. 3-5). Lyotard, whose name must be synonymous with the term following his publication *The Postmodern Condition* (1984), characterises the state of knowledge as not being "original" or even "true". He states that his premises "should not be accorded predictive value in relation to reality, but strategic value in relation to the questions raised" and, further, makes a sharp distinction between the language of science and the language of ethics and morality (Lyotard, 1984, p. 7).

However, even when applied, such category labels neither exist in isolation nor are they neutral. Most often, they are multiple and, very often, they are partial. Because we are dealing with people, one simply cannot reason without inbuilt slides. If we could accept that, we could accept that categorisations are not absolute determinations; they merely represent a preference for, or comfortability in, one kind of "philosophical neighbourhood" rather than another. In this instance, what I mean by a "philosophical neighbourhood" is a theoretical schema or type that rests on a "propositional interlogic" entailing a conceptualisation structure and accompanying semantic field complete with associated aesthetic or value attachments, which, although sometimes loosely applied, are determinable, nevertheless (Visagie, 2006, p. 31; Van Reenen, 2013, p. 76).

As stated above, the South African knowledge industry, like many others, was established against an era that lauded ideals of scientific objectivity and politico-economic rationality. It placed great emphasis on a foundational approach to knowledge and human activity with what Visagie (2006, p. 89) terms "upper attributes" of *simplicity*, *finitude*, *universality*, *necessity*, *continuity*, *constancy* and *knowability*. These attributes, as one might expect, relate to a history that enjoyed a giddy romance with lineages lauding Ancient Greek and Christian ideals that were resurrected during various periods in history and, of course, in the Enlightenment. This kind of fixed grammar is both attractive and useful for those pursuing scientific and theoretical ends of explanation and prediction. Rapid advances in science, technology and industry have demonstrated the practical success of these pursuits but that grammar is not adequate for the human sciences which negotiate a more peripatetic subject. Historically, university knowledge systems were extremely elitist and access was reserved for a

privileged few. In the contemporary era, this has given way to mass education systems which house a larger, diverse membership to produce an effective workforce (Jarvis, 2001, p. 6). Habermas, a strong critic of postmodernism, concedes that human nature and interaction have proven to be notoriously unpredictable features of any social praxis debate and, consequently, far less suited to structural schematics; yet he does not argue for a rampant self-transformation but an intersubjective consensus which is rather more focused on the other as opposed to self-interest (Habermas, 1987, pp. 161-163).

Following a logosemantic model, the postmodern dialect can be characterised as implicitly directed towards an anti-foundational approach which rejects any so-called "grand narrative" and privileges; instead, "lower attributes" of *complexity*, *infinity*, *individuality*, *contingency*, *discontinuity*, *flux* and *unknowability* (Visagie, 2006, p. 30). Inevitably, though, these attitudinal adjustments become ideological and form grand narratives of their own (cf. Aylesworth, 2015; Visagie, 2006; Habermas, 1987). Students seem to have become far more accustomed to the particularistic zone of the lower attributes in their conduct and reasoning. Functioning with the lower attributes entirely, naturally connects to individual life-historical and own-group narratives but becomes problematic for institutions and diversified, large clusters. The rhetoric emerging from this grounding is not new, as Visagie's theory would argue, but it highlights a large, divisive communication gap between students (in movements) and those who govern them. No doubt, perhaps in concert with Habermas, Visagie argues effectively for a balance between the two attributive poles.

The Language of Social Movements

In their work on theorising social movements as communication, Stewart et al. (2012, pp. 2-13) offer a useful working definition: "Movements are organized collectives (possibly minimally or loosely arranged) that purposefully function outside of established structures and institutional systems, often with flat leadership, around a common goal." In this case, the goal is free, decolonised, quality education. Movements are typically large in scope, often intended to extend beyond their immediate situationality and they promote or oppose changes in societal norms and values in an "agonistic ritual" most notably expressed in confrontation (Cathcart, 1978). #RhodesMustFall began at the University of Cape Town and extended quickly into a national movement: #FeesMustFall. Movements often encounter opposition in a 'moral struggle' as is demonstrated in #FeesMustFall's widely voiced attempt to show the moral bankruptcy of managements, staffs and government (clearly evidenced in Shaku, 2016). Stewart et al. (2012, p. 49) propose that movements utilise persuasive tactics of "affirmation", images that strongly promote group identity and "subversion", and images that undermine the ethos of the opposition. Furthermore, movements make use of five "languaging strategies" that Stewart et al. (2012, pp. 143) discern which are of particular interest here and should be recognisable.

Identification

Identification relies on a firm establishment of an 'us' group based on common histories and goals that index common realities in order to form some solidarity in the movement

as a base for mobilisation. When movements are establishing identities, they commonly use shared race, gender, ethnicity, background, class, and so on. #FeesMustFall is no exception and has relied particularly on identities of race and class to unite protesting students. This may be read from representations in the media landscape as students being victims suffering from the trauma of institutionalised racism, racialised poverty, financial exclusion, and broader social injustice (Schlebusch, 2015). Tensions concerning student access and success, deregistration, proxy politics, the curriculum, gender discrimination, patriarchal and paternalistic management, have also been present in the movements' demands but remain secondary to race and class (Pather, 2016; Pilane, 2016; Mbongwa, 2016). This might be one reason that students have aligned with workers in the associated #EndOutsourcing struggle, which is largely seen as a positive development of the movement. However, the reluctance of the movement to connect with the struggle in basic and secondary education as well as the everyday struggles (particularly gender issues) of the majority of South Africans has been broadly criticised (Shuaib, 2016). At the end of 2016, there was a real possibility that the academic year could not conclude. One consequence would have been that thousands of potential health workers could not graduate and therefore would not be able to be placed in the public health sector (Harvey, 2016). Students and their sympathisers argued that they were regretful of this problem but quickly pointed to the dysfunction in the public health sector as also needing exposing and addressing, in their justifications.

Polarisation

Once a movement has united an 'us' group for the cause, it will inevitably position itself against a 'them' group, the purpose of which is separation and division in a good-versus-bad dichotomy. In the case of #FeesMustFall, there are several levels of polarisation. Amongst students themselves, one pro-group seems to have been established as those who share a common experience of 'black pain' and the con-group is seen as those benefiting from 'white privilege'. Again, this terminology is not unique to South African contexts. An almost blanket perception in an unequal society like South Africa is that the black masses suffer because of a retention of economic capital by whites which was bequeathed to them by colonialism and apartheid. Amongst others, Cooper (2017, p. 2) has noted, that under a post-1994 ANC-led government, despite "some admirable legislative and service delivery developments, material transformation has been frustratingly slow". Many younger students in the movement rage against the ANC government now and reject the legacy of Mandela, often framing those in his administration as 'sell-outs' who left black poverty and white privilege untouched (Jansen cited in Bond, 2016). In spite of possible exceptions in social reality and many who might not want to be identified with either of these two designations, both terms remain racially qualified and seem to have become normative in the vernacular. Other than an expressed irritation with the ruling class, students seem reluctant to take on big issues such as private interests of power elites, a possible state capture, problematic multinational interests, widespread corruption and mismanagement, and so on. They mostly focus on privilege maintenance in the form of 'white economic capital' (also called 'white monopoly capital'), and, more specifically, the lack of redistribution of wealth (Spies, 2016).

Other divisions exist between managements and students; security/police and students; managements and government; students and government; university and society; students and media; academics and students, and so on. Within these, there are also visible antagonisms fuelled by proxy politics and generation gaps. The result is an impatience, intolerance and mistrust, both between and within groupings, which does not allow for lengthy, co-operative communication that might be the only way to move forward. Amidst persistent conflict, a different way of speaking or being is not readily tolerated in campus discussions (Malala, 2016). The student movement members predominantly see themselves polarised against white South Africans, the university managements and staffs, the government, and the various systems that maintain the status quo who are seen to be unsympathetic to their struggles or unable or unwilling to resolve grievances (Fisher, 2016; Chabalala, 2016). Justice Malala opines on the persistent silencing of vice-chancellors and dissenting others: "The truth is that a small, radical, violent elite is intimidating everyone else into silence … is holding our children, our future, hostage" (Malala, 2016).

Framing

Framing involves establishing a central, organising idea around which events, issues and related concepts are arranged. "Facts are neutral until framed" (Malesh in Stewart et al., 2012, p. 150). Just as in any prominent social movement, people rally around relatively simple, but politically powerful slogans that typically use the rhetorical tactic of a few short terms to accomplish a larger strategy. Slogans are pervasive in public movements and they have significant persuasive power in realising the goal of "agitating and threatening the powers that be" (Malesh in Stewart et al., 2012, p. 154). #FeesMustFall has associated slogans such as 'End outsourcing now', 'Students must rise', 'Aluta continua', 'Free, decolonied, quality education now', and so on. The term 'Fallist' has become associated with protesters as many slogans and banners call for a falling of something or someone associated with campus symbols and prominent leaders in the higher education sector. The sentiment driving the student protests, then, is not one of revision and reconstruction; it is revolutionary in character which implies a complete break with tradition and authority and, sometimes, violence or destruction (Manjra, 2016).

This language manifests in a decidedly *anti*-framing: It is anti-establishment, anti-authority, anti-structure and anti-procedure. At times, this discourse emerges in a seemingly irrational manner. Take the example of the (by now, well-known) 'Science must fall' debacle at UCT in which a student proposed the decolonisation of science as follows:

> Science, as a whole, is a product of Western modernity and the whole thing should be scratched off. Especially now … if you want practical solutions as to how to decolonise science, we have to restart science from … an African perspective … from our perspective of how we have experienced science … for instance … there's a place in KZN … and they believe that, through black magic … you are able to send lightning to strike someone, so can you explain that scientifically because it's something that happens?
>
> (*Science must fall?*, 2016)

A member of the audience, who disagrees with the speaker, is chastised for "… disrespecting the sacredness of this space …" and asked to apologise by a person who appears to be the discussion leader. Of course, the higher education sector has seen this before: demands for an (individual or particular) cultural consideration in a (universalisable) scientific space – a scrapping of science and replacing it with (African) science, which implies that science conducted from an African perspective or by Africans, would result in something other than science in its current form. The nature of science does not seem suited to cultural/racial/ethnic categorisation of those who conduct it, yet it could be argued that those who conduct it determine the kind of knowledge emerging from it and I think this extremely important issue might be lurking at the crux of a badly stated premise. Successful science should win out against competing hypotheses because it is able to withstand testing, not because of the racial/ethnic (or any other power-determining) identity markers of researchers, subjects and learners. Decentralising Western conceptualisations or decentralising the white subject is not simply a matter of eradicating a European work product or Europeans themselves. Here is where one would hope for robust, yet productive and reasonable scholarly work, which falls beyond the scope of this article and would hopefully be taken seriously by disciplinary experts.

Storytelling

One of the distinguishing marks of postmodernity is its preoccupation with narrative (Schrag, 1992, p. 90). Movements in their on-going mistrust of 'upper' attribution framing have become particularly enamoured with the power of narrative and individual storytelling (Isaac in Earl and Rohlinger, 2012, p. 20). Storytelling involves personalised, biographical accounts and explanations that people in movements use to "digest experience and dramatize processes of becoming" and pivotal moments for change (Malesh in Stewart et al., 2012, p. 151). Added to this, students in movements do not seem organised or united enough to work together in formulating documentation and drive that through given procedures and structures, notwithstanding the submissions of memoranda. The problem with personalised narratives is that a single experience, if reiterated sufficiently, transmutes quite rapidly into an assumed, broader ontological reality. While the importance of the (singular) lived experience is not to be underplayed, it is equally important to integrate it into a network of interdependent and competing experiences and narratives in order to yield a full panoply of student experience. Inevitably though, in movements, the majority of those differing voices is excluded and often referred to in student movement discourse as 'the silenced majority' (Nicolson, 2016).

Power

"Virtually all political and protest communication is about power, domination or control" (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 151). I would assume that protesting students would inevitably have a problem with this statement as they see their cause as primarily one of social justice and redress. They have gone to great lengths to highlight injustices committed by the established structures and at the same time, highlight trauma and pain inflicted upon them and their

families. However, there is more to a power matrix than polarising victims and villains. There are issues of coercion and threat, violence and victimisation, damage and deceit on *all* sides of the political divisions. Protesting students, and their detractors alike, are not above reproach when it comes to these concerns. We have seen members of movements and protests operate in ways that are as bad as, and worse than, those they class as their oppressors. Protesting students have threatened and intimidated those who do not wish to take part in protests, those who wish to continue with classes or university activities, and those who do not agree with their cause or tactics, in spite of either side supposedly having rights to exercise their choices. They have become violent towards people and damaged property both on campuses and surrounding areas and they have negotiated in bad faith.

In the recent documentary, *Fees in Crisis* (eNCA, 2016), when students' transgressions are exposed and questioned, they tend to justify their behaviour by contextualising it as a response to police and security brutality, racialised exclusions or simply a consequence of youth. They have been dismissive of property damage, stating that universities are insured, so this is not important. De Vos (2016) affirms that the Constitution of South Africa (1996) preserves "the right to assemble and to protest in order to advance a particular cause", but cautions that this should be done "unarmed and peacefully". Ideological thought translates swiftly to problematic actions, excluding groups, restricting movement, public disruption, and dismissing alternative voices within students' much-desired safe spaces. Movements have demonstrated time and again that their members are not always able to practise the democratic and constitutional values they are assumed to want to realise. The intellectual acceptance of principles does not necessarily imply a practical application of them. Closer to the truth, perhaps, is that when protestors believe so vehemently in their cause, they not only judge theirs to be the single most important issue amongst an array of other social ills; they seem to be able to abandon commonly accepted patterns of reasonability, conduct and engagement with some facility. This is not because of a lack of rationality, but partly because a politics of fragmentation and opposition implies that excluded or misrecognised groups are demanding access to different resources or rewards, and because they have been excluded from these, they are prepared to go beyond norms of acceptable conduct to get them. As Habermas argues: "In the revolt of a dissident will, there all too often also come to expression, as we know, the voice of the other who is excluded by rigid moral principles, the violated integrity of human dignity, recognition refused, interests neglected, and differences denied" (Habermas, 1993, p. 14).

Conclusion

I regard the student movement culture as a rejection of the remnants of the imagined community of a united Rainbow Nation in the sense that the myth of a "deep, horizontal comradeship" has given way to the reality of "the actual inequality and exploitation" of the current dispensation (Anderson, 2016, p. 7). Within that post-1994 imaginary, education is frequently billed as an antidote to social suffering. In other words, education is offered to members of societies more as a means to better oneself, to rise above one's circumstances, to end cycles of poverty, and less as some sort of civic responsibility. Higher education, no longer high school, has often been framed as a "ticket to the middle class" (Carnevale, 2012).

This promise carries with it the very real expectation that with a degree, one can access better levels of employment, improve one's living spaces and head for circumstances enhancing personal advancement. This translates to an individual means for transcending undesirable and systemic social realities; it is not really a means for undoing these realities.

Unequal social structures, for all intents and purposes, then, remain intact. While university students seem to be well aware of the economy that a degree holds as a personal good, less so is the focus as a public good. Hull (2015, para. 9) has argued that, "To the extent that higher education is an individual good, the individuals who benefit from it should pay for it; to the extent that it is a public good, it should be paid for from the public purse … full public provision is not always the route to social justice." That said, protesting students are not against higher education. They are against the higher education system as it stands and they want it transformed. However noble that intent may be, when protest reconstitutes itself from being a legitimate form of resistance to being the sole form of communication in the academy, the transformation is a shaky one that "hypercontextualises" (Visagie, 1994) individually premised narratives and morphs them into systematic platitudes, regardless of the presence of valid, competing discourses. If this imbalance between attributes (Visagie, 2006) continues unabated, the entire discourse will be permeated with what Habermas (1993), a vehement critic of postmodernism because of its contradictory self-reference, cautioned against: arbitrarily validated norms, unchecked self-interest, and an unrestricted relativism – a perfectly postmodern moment, indeed.

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How to cite:

Van Reenen, D. (2019). What Are We Witnessing? Student Protests and the Politics of the Unknowable. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 15-27. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3690

Research article

The *Kgotla* as a Spatial Mediator on South African University Campuses

Jacques Laubscher*

Abstract

Higher education in South Africa is experiencing a time of accelerated change, increasing complexity, contested knowledge claims and inevitable uncertainty. Academia, and by proxy the place which accommodates the academic function, stand central to this debate. The need for a decolonised curriculum on the African continent dates back to the inauguration of the Association of African Universities (AAU) in 1967. The AAU called for the adherence to world academic standards in the service of Africa and its people. The #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement placed renewed prominence on the necessity of a curriculum that includes Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). In spatial terms, the Kgotla *forms part of the IKS. The* Kgotla *represents both a meaningful place and a system of communication. The spatial construct surrounding the #FMF movement lacks interrogation and debate. This article highlights the requirement of a meaningful place on South African university campuses where different voices can be heard. The importance of place is analysed at the hand of two #FMF events. Firstly, the Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) sitting down to meet with disgruntled students. Secondly, the President of South Africa leaving protestors in wait on the southern terrace of the Union Buildings. This article concludes by stating the need for a place on South African university campuses to address the complex issues facing not only students but society at large.*

Keywords

campus design; #FMF; higher education; Kgotla*; meaningful place*

Space and Place

The seminal publication by Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), *Space and place – the perspective of experience* explores how individuals feel and think about place and space. Tuan (1977) suggests that place is security and space is freedom, and that humankind is attached to the one (place) while longing for the other (freedom). Similarly, Heidegger (1971) distinguishes between building and dwelling, where 'building' serves as a means to support humankind's 'dwelling'.

Temple (2018, p. 133) emphasises the intimate relationship between "the physical form of a higher education institution and its effectiveness as a site for teaching, learning, scholarship and research". Temple states that the connection needs to be interrogated using the concepts of space and place.

* Prof. Jacques Laubscher is a Professor and Head of theDepartment of Architecture,Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa. Email: laubscherj@tut.ac.za

Developing the term a "placeful" university, Nørgård and Bengtsen (2016, p. 5) argue that "universities must offer spaces where citizenship can develop and let academics dwell". Nørgård and Bengtsen (2016, p. 6) state that a university only becomes meaningful once it is more than a space where access to knowledge and education is provided.

According to Nørgård and Bengtsen (2016, p. 6), "campus areas and buildings, are central sites that can or cannot invite dwelling within education. As such, architects and designers of academic space, as well as stakeholders, decision-makers and front runners of that space, must safeguard that the university as spatial layout promotes academic virtues, place-making and dwelling." In the context of South African higher education, this responsibility is largely ignored by designers and decision makers.

Pertinent Historical Aspects of Education in Africa

A former President of South Africa, the Hon. Thabo Mbeki, expressed the vision of a developmental university for Africa embracing of African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) (Mbeki, 2006). This idea needs to be put in context by referring to pertinent historical events.

The Freedom Charter of the Congress of the People was adopted at Kliptown, Johannesburg on 25 and 26 June 1955. Under the heading, 'The Doors of Learning and of Culture shall be Opened!', the Freedom Charter states:

> … Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;
>
> Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit … (Congress of the People, 1955)

The Freedom Charter should be regarded within contextual developments on the African continent. On 3 February 1960, Harold Macmillian (then the U.K. Prime Minister) addressed the South African Parliament, repeating an earlier address made in Accra, Ghana, on 10 January 1960 (Salazar & Syndercombe, 2011). Macmillian had spent approximately a month in Africa touring the then British Colonies and Protectorates. This historically significant address signalled the U.K. Government's position on African independence. Macmillan said:

> The wind of change is blowing through this continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact.
>
> (Salazar & Syndercombe, 2011, p. 39)

Macmillian also made an apparent reference to Apartheid policy, stating:

> As a fellow member of the Commonwealth it is our earnest desire to give South Africa our support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our own deep convictions about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect. (Salazar & Syndercombe, 2011, p. 34)

Various other European states shared the British approach to the independence of African countries. During this time, independence from colonial powers made a significant contribution to the emerging 'development' discourse. According to Cloete and Maassen (2015, p. 7), 1960 was "heralded as the 'Year of Africa' and the beginning of the so-called 'development decade'" for the African continent. 1960 became an important milestone in African higher education. Within the African political arena,

> […] 17 African countries gained independence, and 13 others were to become independent states a few years later. The sudden collapse of the edifice of colonialism and emergence of the Political Kingdom triggered even greater expectations and demands, not only for the total elimination of the vestiges of foreign rule from the rest of the continent but also for the liberation of the masses of people from disease, poverty and ignorance.
>
> (Banya & Elu, 2001, p. 2)

Following the departure of the erstwhile colonial powers, it was expected that Africa's new national universities would produce a new generation of human resources addressing the actual needs of the country. The requirements of the professions and the bureaucracy were significant. "This was to redress the acute shortages in these areas as a result of the gross underdevelopment of universities during colonialism and the departure of colonial administrators following independence" (Cloete et al., 2015, p. 18).

The 'Development of Higher Education in Africa' was the theme of a UNESCO conference held during September 1962 (Cloete & Maassen, 2015, p. 7). Following this conference, and various meetings and consultations, the Association of African Universities (AAU) was formally inaugurated in Rabat in 1967 (Yesufu, 1973). Figure 1 presents the preamble to the Constitution of the AAU, stating the adherence to world academic standards in the service of Africa and its people.

We the Heads of Universities and University Institutions of Higher Education throughout the African Continent; Aware that many of the problems encountered can be solved by developing a system under which there is effective co-operation and consultation among the institutions concerned;

Conscious of the role of African Universities to maintain an adherence and loyalty to world academic standards, and to evolve over the years a pattern of higher education in the service of Africa and its peoples, yet promoting a bond of kinship to the larger human society:

Have resolved to establish a corporate body to achieve our aims and objectives in harmony with the spirit of the Organization of African Unity.

Figure 1: The preamble to the Constitution of the AAU
(Source: Yesufu, 1973, p. 81)

> It is in the light of these simple but challenging words that the Association has proceeded to identify and formulate a new philosophy of higher, particularly university, education for Africa, in the hope of evolving institutions that are not only built, owned and sited in Africa, but are of Africa, drawing their inspiration from Africa, and intelligently dedicated to her ideals and aspirations. (Yesufu, 1973, p. 82)

In July 1972, the AAU held a workshop in Accra, Ghana, focusing on the role of the African university (Cloete & Maassen, 2015, p. 7). The Accra workshop was attended by academics and various other leaders to define the African University. Yesufu (1973, p. 81) provides the following summary: "At every stage, the Workshop made constant calls and appeals to the Association of African Universities to provide effective leadership in the cause of transforming universities in Africa into truly indigenous institutions." According to Mtembu (2004, p. 284), the Accra workshop emphasised relevance, engagement, and service to Africa's environment and socioeconomic conditions and needs. Mtembu (2004, p. 284) further argues that this should be the cornerstone of African Universities.

The university on the African continent, as developed by the AAU and described during the Accra workshop, strongly aligns with Mbeki's (2006) notion of universities on the continent embracing African IKS. IKS extends to the making of a meaningful place. The importance of place-making and dwelling on university campuses is acknowledged in the works of Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), Heidegger (1971), Temple (2018) and Nørgård and Bengtsen (2016).

The spatial construct forms part of IKS, specifically in the form of the *Kgotla* that is still used in modern-day Botswana. The *Kgotla* represents both a meaningful place and a system of communication. The following section explores the *Kgotla* in more detail with the aim of juxtaposing it to recent student unrest in South Africa.

The Kgotla

In Botswana, the *Kgotla* is the traditional village meeting place, a place where one can listen and where your voice can also be heard. It serves as a space for a customary court, public meeting or community council. In essence, all issues concerning a community are brought to the *Kgotla*, where individuals are encouraged to speak openly and freely.

The central notion to the *Kgotla* is *mmualebe o a bo a bua la gagwe*, translated from Setswana as "everyone has the right to voice their opinion" (Ashworth & Ashworth, 2019). Tolerance and freedom of expression are encouraged between people with different views. The system advocates the idea that *ntwa kgolo ke ya molomo*, or "no fight should become physical; the fiercest of fights is verbal". (Ashworth & Ashworth, 2019)

The *Kgotla* consists of two distinctive components. Firstly, the democratic process and secondly, the physical place or destination.

a. Discourse in the *Kgotla*

Conflict is inevitable amongst communities. The way conflict is dealt with and subsequent reactions contribute to how the events unfold. The result could be the prevention or escalation of further conflict. Efforts to reduce possible escalation should actively be sought.

Despite its shortcomings, various scholars describe Botswana's democracy as being exemplary on the African continent (Holm, 1996; Doorenspleet, 2003; Molomo, 2003). According to the Background Note prepared by the U.S. Department of State (2007) on Botswana, "Botswana has a flourishing multiparty constitutional democracy. Each of the elections since independence has been freely and fairly contested and has been held on schedule. The country's minority groups participate freely in the political process". The Background Note further states that "[t]he roots of Botswana's democracy lie in Setswana traditions, exemplified by the Kgotla, or village council, in which the powers of traditional leaders are limited by custom and law".

The Botswana Government views the *Kgotla* system as an essential key to governance. In 2016, Frans van der Westhuizen, the then Assistant Minister of Local Government and Rural Development of Botswana stated, "The *Kgotla* continues to provide a platform for consultations on various issues such as development, governance and any other issues of national importance" (Botswana, 2016). The Ministerial statement described the *Kgotla* as "a repository for culture, customs and tradition … where important values are passed on to the younger generation" (Botswana, 2016).

On an institutional level, the *Kgotla* is vital in addressing conflict within and between communities. This institution facilitates liaison between the government and community while promoting interaction and socialisation between the community members. All forms of engagements and proceedings are based on fundamental human values of civility, respect and inclusiveness. Restorative justice is another principle practised in the *Kgotla*. In essence, parties collectively resolve how to deal with the aftermath of an offence and its future implications. "[T]he *Kgotla* is not forced on people. In many circumstances, the chief or jury would try to provide advice. People at conflict are often given a chance to talk to each other" (Moumakwa, 2010, p. 71). Respect for the jury during the conversation is an important part of the interaction between the respective parties. The *Kgotla* underscores democratic values, freedom of speech and expression, while open discussion in everyone's presence is facilitated (Moumakwa, 2010, p. 76-77).

A meaningful place stands central to this idea, and the term *Kgotla* defines a meeting place allowing individuals to exercise their democratic rights. Meaning is assigned to the *Kgotla* because it serves as "a forum for policy formulations, decision making, including political and economic developmental activities and judiciary on litigations" (Moumakwa, 2010, p. 11).

b. A place for discussion

Sebitla (2018) explains the association between symbolic order and built artefact in defining the *Kgotla*. The form of the *Kgotla* can support, encourage and strengthen multiple human interactions (Sebitla, 2018, p. 2). The floor, walls and roof of the *Kgotla* provide a specific kind of spatial fabric and enclosure. Figure 2 illustrates the spatial construct of the Kgotla in its context.

Figure 2: A circa 1700 CE photo illustrating a meeting underway in a *Kgotla*
(Source: Image adapted by author from Ravenscroft, n.d.)

Various scholars have studied the physical attributes of the *Kgotla*. Fewster (2006) refers to the significance of the spatial relationships between the main entrance, the location of the residence of the head person, the cattle kraal and kraal gate. According to Sebitla (2018, p. 94), the physical environment of the *Kgotla* serves as a map for the societal roles of the community it serves.

Research by Sebitla (2018, p. 197) demonstrates the evolvement of different spatial relationships between the *Kgotla*, courtyard and cattle kraal. The use of alternative materials, such as brick and mortar walls replacing the wooden enclosure, is accepted as structural elements defining the shared environment. Figures 3, 4 and 5 illustrate the different materials used to form the boundary and define the space of the *Kgotla*.

Figure 3: The open space of the *Kgotla* with the trees in the background and the tightly placed wooden stick fence surrounding it
(Source: Sebitla, 2018, pp. 101, 145)

Figure 4: A stone and mortar wall used to form the barrier of the *Kgotla*
(Source: Sebitla, 2018, p. 146)

Figure 5: A low-rise masonry wall is used to define the open area with a thatched structure for the elders in a modern-day *Kgotla*
(Source: Moumakwa, 2010, pp. [i], 52)

The *Kgotla* as a meeting place for robust debate and discussion could be used effectively as a spatial mediator. The *Kgotla* serves as a place for discussion and debate. It establishes a distinct relationship between structure and place, contributing directly to democratic activity within a specific community.

The traditional *Kgotla* was an open space situated next to a cattle kraal, near to the residence of the head person. Traditionally, the open area of the *Kgotla* was enclosed with a wooden stick fence. Although the materials used to make the enclosure changed over time, the meaning associated with the defined place remained intact. The function of the *Kgotla* as a public forum remained, while the proceedings evolved to become more inclusive.

The following section explores whether South African university campuses provide spaces for sharing, collaboration and the exchange of ideas.

Campus Maps and the Kgotla

A desk survey was conducted to determine if any of the 26 public universities in South Africa provide places to accommodate the functions of a *Kgotla*. For this purpose, a list compiled by the Department of Higher Education and Training (2019), with the contact details of the respective universities, was used. The official website of each university was searched using the following keywords:

- campus map;
- campus buildings; and
- infrastructure.

All the universities have some form of a campus map, using either site plans or three-dimensional representations to illustrate the campus layout. This is mostly used to communicate physical infrastructure and its associated functions. Figure 6 is a typical example of an infrastructural map of the Hatfield campus of the University of Pretoria (UP). Figure 7 shows the Sunnyside campus of the University of South Africa (Unisa) with a three-dimensional illustration.

The ideal of a "placeful" university, as described by Nørgård and Bengtsen, is not evident in Figures 6 and 7. Similarly, no evidence of a *Kgotla* is visible in either Figures 6 or 7. Although similar facilities might exist, no specific reference is made to them. Following the desk review, it was concluded that few South African university campuses refer specifically to spaces facilitating vigorous discussion and interaction. A *Kgotla*, or a similar IKS meeting place, was found lacking on most of the published campus plans and three-dimensional illustrations.

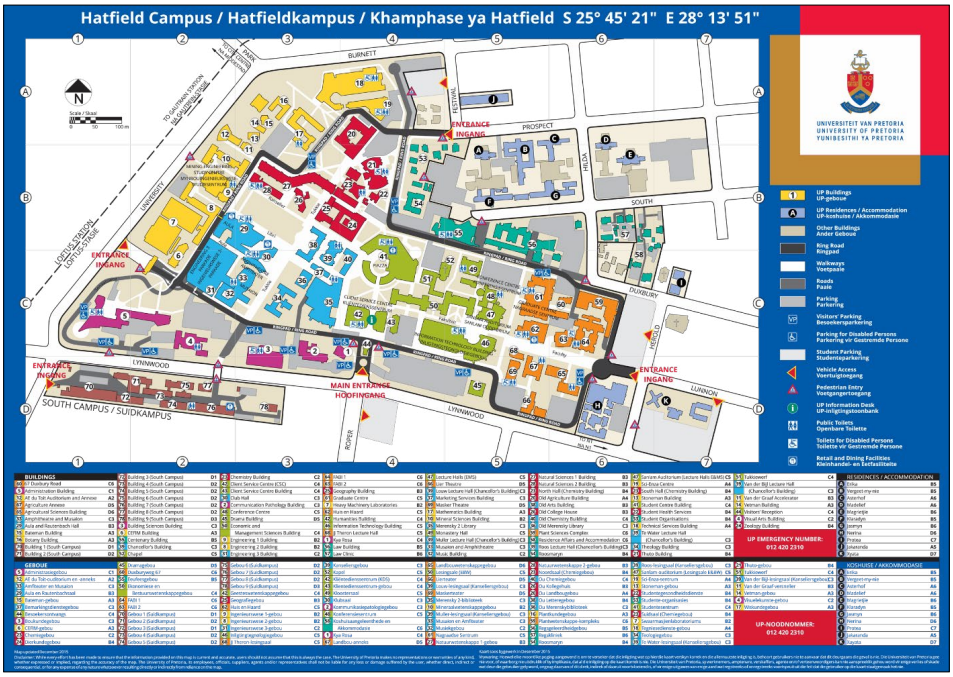

Figure 6: Site layout of the Hatfield campus of UP
(Source: University of Pretoria, 2019)

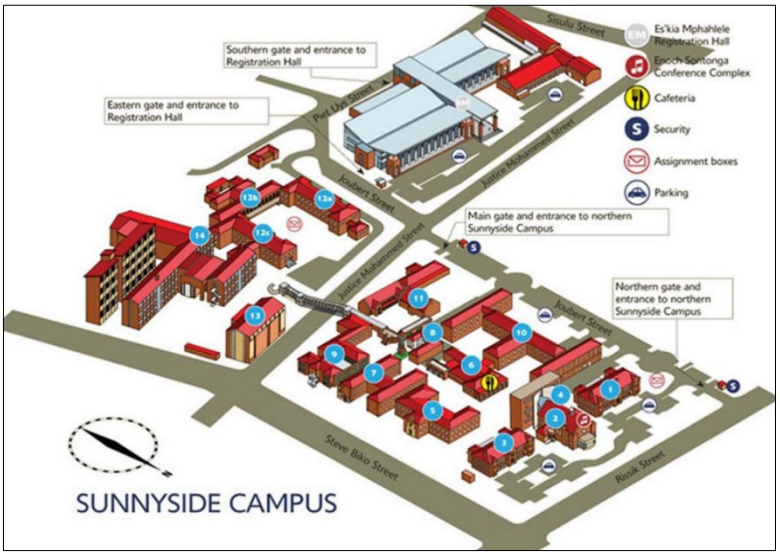

Figure 7: Site layout of the Sunnyside campus of Unisa
(Source: University of South Africa, 2019)

One notable exception is the campus of the Sol Plaatje University (SPU) in Kimberley. The spatial planning of this newly established university, opened in 2014, included the design of "public spaces, squares and parks to facilitate the occurrence of public meetings, events and exhibitions, and thus maximizing sites for exchange" (Sol Plaatje University, 2019). These modern-day functions align closely with the ideals of a *Kgotla* and a "placeful" university as illustrated in Figure 8.

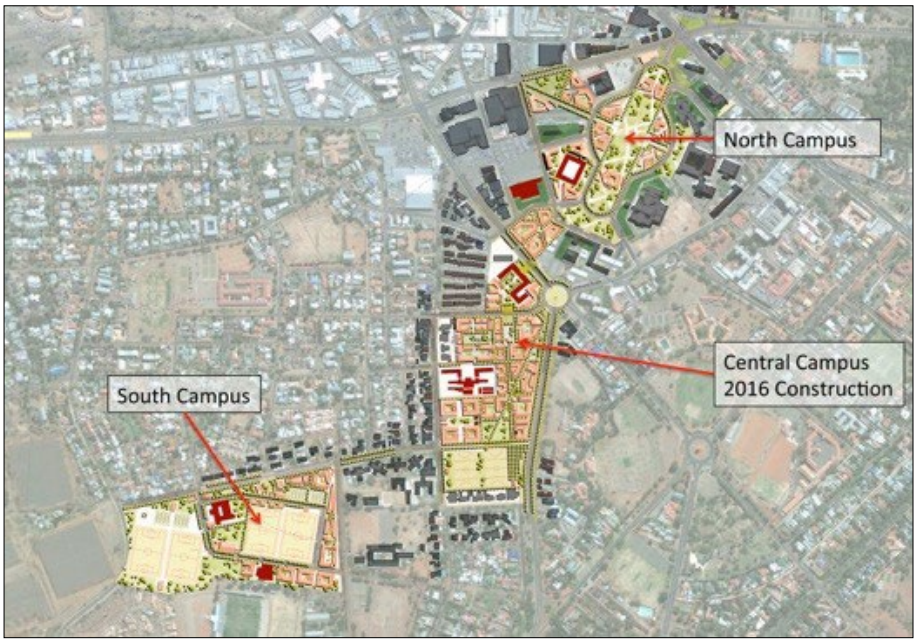

Figure 8: The Sol Plaatje University campus in context of Kimberley
(Source: Sol Plaatje University, 2019)

The official SPU website discusses issues surrounding 21st century campus design and architecture. (Sol Plaatje University, 2019) Amongst others, the following pertinent aspects are listed:

- The campus's integration with its host city,
- Shared space as a driver for the campus plan; and
- Collaboration and exchange of ideas.

To facilitate much-needed interaction on university campuses, meaningful places have to be designed, constructed and maintained. Unfortunately, limited resources for infrastructural development remain a significant stumbling block to achieve this ideal. The establishment of South Africa's first two new institutions of higher learning since 1994, SPU and the University of Mpumalanga, required an infrastructure investment programme of R1,5 billion (Sol Plaatje University, 2019).

Real-world Challenges

According to the official report, titled *Student Enrolment Planning in Public Higher Education* for South Africa, "… the higher education system has grown more rapidly than the available resources. The resultant shortfall in funding has put severe pressure on institutional infrastructure and personnel, thus compromising the ability of higher education institutions to discharge their teaching and research mandate. (Education, 2005, p. 3).

Wolhuter and Wiseman (2013, pp. 3, 14, 16) state significant challenges faced by existing universities in Africa include poor infrastructure as well as isolation from surrounding society and communities. Muller (2016) argues that "the number of first-time undergraduates entering South Africa's universities per year grew from 64,000 (excluding North-West University due to unavailable data) to 158,000" between 1995 and 2014. During the same period, "[t]he total number of students enrolled increased from 380 000 to 980 000 (Muller, 2016).

The exponential growth in student numbers inevitably had to lead to some form of catharsis. The South African context of diminishing resources and the perceived disassociation of universities from the societies they serve, contributed to the frustrations of students being personified in Fallism.

Fallism in 2015

In 2015, two student protest movements converged, culminating in the most significant student protest actions since 1994 (Pillay, 2016). The 21-year-old South African democracy saw the first group of students marching directly to the seat of Parliament. This march originated from disregarded criticism against the curriculum content and visible colonial symbols on the campus of the University of Cape Town (UCT). These seeds of discontent were formalised under the social media banner #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) (Roy & Nilsen, 2016).

Although the first mention of #FeesMustFall (#FMF) on Twitter was made by @SkumbuzoTuswa on 21 March 2015 (Wessels, 2017, p. 68), the movement gained significant momentum in October of 2015, some 1200km to the north of #RMF. After months of deliberations, the Chief Financial Officer (CFO) of WITS communicated a 10.5% increase in the average 2016 tuition fees (Jarvis, 2015). This sparked a revolution reminiscent of the 1976 Soweto uprisings.

Subsequently, students of all races united in their demand for free, decolonised and quality higher education. The vociferous demands from increasingly militant students were initially met with antagonism. At the time, the then President of South Africa, the Hon. Mr Jacob Zuma, commanded universities to control the students by stating that "[w]here such unacceptable violent behaviours occur, institutional management must take firm action in line with the law and their respective policies and rules (Maromo, 2015, p. 3). As a result, scenes from Apartheid South Africa replayed themselves across South African university campuses (Wessels, 2017, p. 24).

The 2017 Master's dissertation titled *#FeesMustFall: Discourse Hidden in Plain Sight*, by Wessels studies the tweets posted on Twitter using different hashtags relating to #RMF and #FMF. Wessels (2017, p. 61) concludes that the hashtags were used 62 741 times. According to Wessels (2017, p. 41), the available data indicates the following (author's emphasis):

- The suppressed reality that colonial domination imposes on public space;
- How that domination transcends public space and has also transcended time (i.e. social changes in history) through hegemonic social practices;
- The effect colonial domination poses on the collective memory and realities burdening SA society's subaltern to date.

In the following section, two pertinent #FMF events are evaluated against the sub-themes of place and space. It is explored at the hand of engagement and boundaries to show how it could contribute to different outcomes.

Personal engagement without spatial boundaries

The events following the announcement of the 10.5% tuition fee increase by the CFO of WITS received extensive media coverage. The reporting included images of senior management at WITS sitting with students. These photographs are particularly powerful in showcasing efforts being made towards personal engagement with boundaries.

On 16 October 2015, the Principal of WITS, Prof. Adam Habib, returned from the higher education conference on transformation (convened by the then Higher Education and Training Minister, Dr Blade Nzimande, in Durban) (Makathile, 2015). The aim of the conference was to address "the concerns of the students regarding the proposed fee increases next year" (Makathile, 2015). Once back in Johannesburg, Habib rushed to the Great Hall of WITS to meet both Deputy Vice-Chancellor Andrew Crouch and a large group of disgruntled students (Morrissey et al., 2015).

Different versions of the ensuing events are told. An online newspaper report, titled *Habib held hostage by students*, states "[h]undreds of protesting students vowed to stay the night, with Professor Adam Habib 'detained' alongside them, till executive council chairman, Dr Randall Carolissen, arrived on campus to address them …" (Morrissey et al., 2015). The headline of a separate article, by the same online publication, states that *Wits prof denies being held hostage* (Makathile, 2015).

Using ten photographs, a photographic essay, titled *PICS: Chaos at #WitsFeesWillFall protest*, tells the same story (Mokati, 2015). While one image (Figure 9) provides context to the assembled congregation in the Great Hall of Senate House, three photographs in particular (Figure 10) show Habib sitting on the floor amongst the students.

Figure 9: Students are gathering in the Great Hall of Senate House at WITS.
(Photograph: Paballo Thekiso) (Source: Mokati, 2015)

Figure 10: WITS university Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Adam Habib, engaging with protesting students
(Photographs: Paballo Thekiso) (Source: Mokati, 2015)

When studying the three photographs in Figure 10 carefully, it portrays the removal of several barriers and fences. The restrictions include that of authority, age, economic status, social and legal standing, amongst others. The result is facilitating debate, albeit in a then hostile environment on emotionally charged themes. The photographs illustrate how a place (and the forms of interaction being facilitated in that particular space) can become an important aspect to assist in being heard.

The removal of barriers and fences between a university principal and the students ultimately lead to those present being heard in one way or another. This highlights the importance of the spatial realm and layout of university campuses. It leads to a critical question: Where are the designated (and sensitively designed) spaces on campuses that facilitate robust debate?

Spatial boundaries and distanced engagement

During the following week, the #FMF movement had grown exponentially in its vocabulary and modes of protest. The climax was set to play out on the lawns of the Union Buildings in Pretoria. When the students, parents and other supporters arrived at the Union Buildings on 23 October 2015, they were restricted to the lower terrace of the southern lawns. A makeshift fence was erected to keep the arriving protestors out.

Behind the fence, a podium was erected from which a presidential announcement was expected at noon. Figure 11 depicts an SAPS Special Task Force member looking over the statue of Madiba and the white podium to the assembly of students on the lower terrace of the Union Buildings.

Figure 11: A member of the SAPS Special Task Force looking over the statue of Madiba to the assembly of students on the lower terrace of the Union Buildings.
(Photograph: twitter.com/NickolausBauer) (Source: Sim, 2015)

The group waited for a reply to their demands from the President, Mr Jacob Zuma, while he was meeting with ministers and student representatives over the issues raised by the #FMF movement. The gathering became increasingly restless while they waited. At the front of the fence, a minority overshadowed the group who had been protesting peacefully. This group was antagonising members of the SA Police Services (SAPS). After the barrier was torn down, stones, bricks and other objects were hurled at both the SAPS and the media reporting from behind the fence. In response, the SAPS used stun grenades, tear gas, rubber bullets and a water cannon to disperse the crowd.

Just after 3.00 pm, the President announced the 0% fee increase for 2016 using national TV. The announcement did not address the actual demand for free education under #FMF, but it assisted in defusing the immediate situation.

The spatial restriction, the distanced podium and waiting period contributed towards the restlessness of the crowd and the ensuing violence. On 23 October 2015, the podium at the Union Buildings was never used. In this instance, the students (amongst others) had to accept distanced engagement.

The Need to Start Talking

During the 2015 #RMF and #FMF movements, students often expressed their anger by damaging physical property. This included the destruction of artefacts, buildings and surrounding spaces. Although South Africa is known for violent protests, often accompanied by damage to property, the anger and its subsequent ventilation might be endemic to the feeling of not being heard. The need for places where one can be heard is becoming increasingly critical. These places should be established on both university campuses and in South Africa at large.

Writing in her own capacity, Lubna Nadvi (2019), based in the School of Social Sciences at University of KwaZulu-Natal, suggests, "Let's stop the violence on campuses and start talking" in a *Pretoria News* article. Navdi (2019) makes the following pragmatic suggestions for:

> … university assemblies being called where all can speak freely and openly about their issues and not be afraid or silenced. Such open conversations will allow for solutions to emerge organically and not be held hostage to "negotiations" between representatives of groups which may never see any fruitful outcome or be stalled indefinitely.

Lubna Nadvi (2019) also argues that universities and associated tertiary institutions receiving government funding are all public spaces. As such, these spaces should "remain safe, accessible and conducive to teaching and learning and not become militarised war zones" (Nadvi, 2019).

According to Navdi (2019), it is necessary to "talk to one another as members of a university community who want the best solutions to the problems which face us collectively". This requires access to a place facilitating the debate. Universities should provide space "that invites and promotes openness, dialogue, democracy, mutual integration, care and joint responsibility (Nørgård & Bengtsen, 2016, p. 4).

Conclusion

Architecture can serve as a mediator giving identity to place through the spatial construct while addressing the needs of future generations. Buildings mostly outlast their designers. Prospective users often assign new functions and meaning to what was once a stable environment to a previous community. Herein lies the challenge, not only for the current designer but also for the future user. The current occupant and on-looker assign meaning, but the purpose of a particular space remains charged through past lived experiences.

The *Kgotla* is a spatial construct originating from IKS. The *Kgotla* could be introduced on existing South African university campuses as a place to facilitate mediation. The space should promote dialogue, democracy, assimilation, care and collective accountability. To become a meaningful place, the social construct of the *Kgotla* needs the support of the entire university community.

Future studies on how the users of university campuses perceive and experience the built artefact are necessary. The built artefact and its surrounding places and spaces undoubtedly contribute to the lived experience. These experiences should be investigated on campuses across South Africa. Ideally, the investigations should focus on personal reality and how it could aid in infrastructural design and precinct plans for university campuses on the African continent.

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How to cite:

Laubscher, J. (2019). The *Kgotla* as a Spatial Mediator on South African University Campuses. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 29-46. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3691

Research article

#FeesMustFall: Lessons from the Post-colonial Global South

Sipho Dlamini*

Abstract

The protests that engulfed South African universities in 2015 and 2016 revealed a dissatisfaction by students with regard to higher education fees. This article looks at some of the lessons that could assist South Africa in understanding the role of universal fee-free higher education or fee-free higher education for the poor. Most countries in the post-colonial global South indicate a shift to cost-sharing as mounting financial pressures on state budgets make universal free education unsustainable. The current study shows that the cost-sharing model in South Africa has not resonated with students and may also be exclusionary to poor students. The lessons from the post-colonial global South show that the trend in higher education is that the poor are often left out of most fee structures – including dual track, universal fee-free, and cost-sharing models. The current study explores some implications and considerations of the current means test model that has been introduced by the current South African president, while using the global South as reference point for the implications of this fee structure, particularly in relation to poor and working-class students.

Keywords

cost-sharing; funding; #FeesMustFall; global South; higher education; students; student movement; student politics

Introduction

South Africa's achievement of a democratic dispensation in 1994 meant all South Africans could have equal participation in the country's governance choice and saw the doors of all higher education institutions being opened for everyone, regardless of race or gender. By the time South Africa had to some extent freed itself from the subjugation of the minority population, most African countries had achieved independence from colonial rule, and had begun engaging with the difficult questions of nation building, and higher education became a focal point of how to achieve this.

Towards the end of 2015, the South African university landscape saw a number of student-led protests that demanded fee-free higher education (Mbembe, 2016; Pillay, 2015). However, it is worth noting that the demands made by students were not limited to fee-free education as there was a resurgence in the demand for a decolonised higher

* Mr Sipho Dlamini is a PhD candidate at the Institute for Social and Health Sciences, University of South Africa, Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit, SAMRC-Unisa, South Africa. Email: sipho.dlamini@mrc.ac.za

education system (Mbembe, 2016; Pillay, 2015). The movement that would come to be known as #FeesMustFall (#FMF) effectively used social media to galvanise support and was intertwined with #RhodesMustFall (University of Cape Town), #OpenStellenbosch (Stellenbosch University), Black Student Movement ([University Currently Known as] Rhodes University) and a host of other movements through which students' sought to transform particularly historically white institutions (Hodes, 2016).

The #FMF student movement showed some variation with regard to what fee-free education would entail in the South African higher education sector. In this regard, institutions such as the University of Johannesburg (UJ), University of Pretoria (UP), Durban University of Technology (DUT), University of the Western Cape (UWC), and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) all called for free education (Moosa, 2016). The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) students called for universal free education, while at the (University Currently Known as) Rhodes University students called for free education for the poor and the "missing middle", i.e. those students whose parents earn a combined family income of R123 000 up to R600 000 (Moosa, 2016). In general, the students appeared to have made the decision that fee-free higher education is an important aspect of higher education provision that is fair and equitable (Naicker, 2016).

The #FMF movement's demands of fee-free education were not met by then president Jacob Zuma as he only conceded to a 0% fee hike for the 2016 academic year (Naicker, 2016). He established the Fees Commission under the auspices of the Department of Justice (DoJ) in January of 2016 to investigate how higher education could be funded going forward (DoJ, 2016). The commission was set to conclude its work in eight months; however, by the time the second round of protests began in 2016, it was largely on the basis that universities were set to increase fees in the 2017 academic year, and the commission had not concluded its work (Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET], 2016). The state announced through the Minister of Higher Education and Training that there would be no fee increase for those whose families have a combined income of R122 000 and below, while those identified as the "missing middle" would also not incur a fee increase as the state would cover the shortfall (DHET, 2016).

The demands made by students reflect democratic South Africa's struggle to alleviate poverty and create an environment conducive to sustainable development. For the majority of the country's population, obtaining a university degree does not only mean better job opportunities but also a drastic shift in social mobility for an entire generation. The importance of an educated society cannot be overstated, particularly in South Africa with its recent history of subjugation and intentional underdevelopment of the large majority of the people. According to Albach, Reisberg and Rumbley (2009), higher education has been recognised globally as a means for people to access higher-paying work, and as an important economic driver. Additionally, Bloom, Canning and Chan (2006) have argued that investing in higher education for any society has a direct impact on economic growth (see also Kapur, & Crowley, 2008).

The Fees Commission released an interim report towards the full report in 2017, after handing the report to the president. The Fees Commission had a number of

recommendations, most notably that students from poor and working-class families be given Income Contingent Loans through private banks that would be guaranteed by the state (DoJ, 2017). The Presidency announced that in the university sector poor and working-class students would be considered as families with an annual combined income of R350 000 and below, and these students would therefore receive fully subsidised higher education including accommodation, study material and transport costs, while those who are above this new threshold up to R600 000 would incur no fee increase as the state would again, for the academic year 2018, provide for payment of the shortfall (The Presidency, 2017). This is a fundamental change in the higher education landscape and surely meets the demands made by students from the 2015 and 2016 protests.

This article deals with the issue of free education and how this may have an impact on the structure of higher education and, by extension, society, with regard to the class distributions. The focus is on what lessons can be learnt from other post-colonial countries. Given the legacy of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa it is imperative that we ask: How does South Africa reshape the higher education landscape to be more inclusive of both class and race? Are there lessons to be learnt from other post-colonial countries? Does fee-free higher education allow greater access for the poor and working classes or is the trend towards higher education to remain the privilege of the middle to upper classes? These are important questions to ask in an attempt to democratise higher education and include those who are often left in the margins of a modernising society.

The South African Condition

Due to South Africa' s racialised past, it is important to keep in mind the role that class plays in racial disparities and the role that race plays in creating class disparities (Young & Braziel, 2006). Mbeki and Mbeki (2015) highlight that there is a growing class issue, particularly between those at the top of the economic strata and those at the bottom, that may not necessarily be race based. It is, however, still the case that class cannot be spoken about without speaking about race.

South Africa is rated amongst the most unequal societies out of 120 countries in the world using the Gini Coefficient[1] (The World Bank, 2017). Mbeki and Mbeki (2016) demonstrate that a large proportion of South Africa's population lives in dire poverty. Estimated at 23.6 million people, they have termed this category the "underclass". They note that the underclass is largely occupied by black people, while the white population group lives mostly in the middle and upper economic strata, though the top one percent of South African society is mixed in terms of racial demographics (Mbeki & Mbeki, 2016). These numbers are not new in the South African public domain as the former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, argued in what has come to be known as the 'Two Worlds' speech (Mbeki, 1998). Amongst the things the former president was referring to was the South African economic divide which was (is) based on race, with the white minority

1 Measures relative wealth in society (see The World Bank, 2017). This was rated at 0.69 in 2014 and may continue to rise if we consider that the unemployment rate has increased to 27.1% (StatsSA, 2017).

having the lion's share of the country's wealth, while the black majority live in dire poverty (Mbeki, 1998). This assertion was not without dispute as Nattrass and Seekings (2001) proposed that the South African socioeconomic landscape was not highly skewed in favour of the white minority. However, the position of this article is such that the inequalities of South African society have persisted well into the 24-year-old democracy and are very evident even in higher education.

According to the DHET (2015), in 2013 the African population group made up 68% of all students registered in contact universities; however, the DHET does not make a case for the socioeconomic status of the African students. This leaves the question of the socioeconomic background of the students being unknown or, worse yet, the unverified assumption is that a large proportion of these students come from low socioeconomic backgrounds. The conflation of socioeconomic status and race often leads to false conclusions about the class struggle in South African society. Amongst these is the idea that a much greater number of the people on the lower end of the socioeconomic strata are gaining access to the higher education system, particularly university education, than may be the case.

The 2016 *General Household Survey* (Statistics South Africa [StatsSA], 2017, p. 17) indicated that the participation rates in higher education amongst African and coloured population groups (aged 18 to 29 years) were the lowest with 3.3% and 3.5% respectively, compared to the participation rates of Indian (18.8%) and white (17.5%) population groups. The low participation rates of African and coloured population groups are concerning as these groups are most affected by poverty and deprivation (StatsSA, 2012; Mbeki & Mbeki, 2016). Although the African population groups may have the highest numbers with regard to people within the higher education sector, this appears to be a disproportionate representation. Additionally, while the evidence presented by StatsSA (2017) offers much about race participation, the question of class remains unanswered.

A recent study conducted at a historically white university (HWU) on factors affecting academic performance included an array of factors such as race, class, age, gender, previous type of high school, social capital, locus of control, well-being, international status, language, and frequency of lecture attendance, noted an interesting trend between race and class (Dlamini, 2016). The research did not intend to highlight participation with regard to race and class. However, many of the participants indicated that they came from homes that fall within the middle to upper strata of South African society with regard to family income and the type of high school they had attended, which were mostly former Model C and private schools (Dlamini, 2016). If we consider the results of DHET (2015) and the study by Letseka, Breier and Visser (2010), the African population group makes up a larger proportion of the students enrolled in the university system (66.4%), although they constitute the smallest relative to the population size (StatsSA, 2017, p. 16). There thus appears to be a disproportionate participation rate with regard to the economic class within the sector.

To fund students coming from lower-income homes, the state created the National Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) (NSFAS Act No. 56, 1999). NSFAS is a loan that is provided

to students who come from households where the combined family income is less than R122 000 per year. The final year of the loan can be converted into a bursary provided the student finishes their degree in the requisite time; however, the rest must be paid back to the state (DHET, 2015). The increase in the student numbers in the early years of the millennium saw NSFAS come under pressure to fund more students. However, the NSFAS budget has increased substantially between the time the scheme was introduced in 1999 and the 2015 academic year, from a budget of R441 million in 1999 to R9 billion in the 2015 academic year (NSFAS, 2015). The 2014/2015 NSFAS report (2015) indicates that the government scheme had funded 42% of students in the higher education system, though this number was inclusive of students in Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) colleges and could be significantly lower if only universities are considered. According to the Centre for Higher Education (CHE, 2016), in 2011, NSFAS funded 31% of students, and 24% of the students in the year 2013 in the country's universities. The authors can only speculate that the marked decrease can be attributed to the increase in the university fees and an increase of the student numbers – although the effect of the latter can be considered to be minimal.

The recent announcement by the Presidency on the structure of university fees included a restructuring of NSFAS. The Presidency outlined that all students currently registered at a university and whose fees are being paid for through NSFAS will be given grants rather than the current loan system (The Presidency, 2017). In line with this announcement is that education will be fee-free for those at TVET colleges, while those who are classified as working class or poor will also not pay for university education. What remains to be seen is the effects this will have for students who are accessing higher education for the first time starting in 2018, that is to say whether class disparities will be alleviated within the higher education sector.

The protests that engulfed the South African higher education sector in 2015 and continued, to an extent, in 2016, indicated that students were unhappy with the state funding in higher education (Naicker, 2016; Hodes, 2016; Motlalepule & Smith, 2017). They also indicated that even though NSFAS has had a fundamental role in allowing those who were previously marginalised to attend higher education institutions, and particularly universities, students still felt that there was more that could be done, as evidenced by the protests in 2015 and 2016. The issue of the majority of African students' participation in the higher education sector has been a point of focus because of the country's history of racial division which resulted in the majority of the country's population being left out of the formal economy (Seedat, 1998; Mbeki, 1998). It is important to note that in as much as university participation is a matter of redressing the injustices of the past that have left a legacy of a racialised economy (Mbeki, 1998) and higher education sector, issues of class participation need careful monitoring as they may create two worlds in South African society.

Further, South African democracy is fairly young if looked at in terms of participation for all who live in it, and the current article posits that there are valuable lessons that can be learnt from other post-colonial countries that have grappled with the issue of an inclusive

economy. Failures and successes in this regard offer an important way to shape the higher education sector, particularly with the demands for free universal or free education for the poor – that are made by students in universities (Moosa, 2016). These lessons can offer a way to understand some of the implications that such a system can have in the higher education sector, particularly for the millions of South Africans living in poverty, and whose hopes for a better future rest with the children who may have access to a university education.

Post-colonial Trends in Higher Education

Universal fee-free education

The issue of access to higher institutions of learning for the poor in the post-colonial world is one that has become a point of contention. Bloom et al. (2006) argue that there is a clear link between a country's economic development and a well-functioning higher education sector. Mamdani (2008) argues that higher education is an important sector as it is where teachers are trained, where curricula are developed, and where the leaders of a society are cultivated. For instance, the colonial period did not yield the number of graduates required for the newly *independent* countries to be able to function at optimal level (Mamdani, 2008; Teferra & Albach, 2004). As such, the post-colonies carry the enormous challenge to reverse the effects of colonisation and offer people in those countries opportunities for a better life.

Cloete (2015) makes the point that "free higher education sounds revolutionary… but in a developing country it is financially, empirically and morally wrong" (p. 11). This argument is based on the idea that in a post-colonial country such as South Africa, the rich are often the beneficiaries of a universally free higher education system. This article postulates that the current fee-based higher education system is not only benefiting the upper class and the middle class, but a higher education system that is universally fee-free will only serve to entrench this further. As Cloete (2015) puts it "for the rich, higher education in South Africa is a bargain, for the gifted poor it is affordable through financial aid…" (p. 11).

Oketch (2003) argues that the calls for tuition-free higher education in countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Zambia were based on the notion that tuition is prohibitive to those who cannot afford higher education, which led to protests by students in the 1990s for higher education to be tuition free. South Africa has had to deal with the same kind of protests in 2015; as noted earlier, students have made similar arguments with regard to fee-free higher education in South Africa (Moosa, 2016). The idea that the current model is exclusionary has taken hold in South Africa and, as demonstrated by the results of Dlamini (2016) at a HWU, this may well be true. However, it does not appear that a tuition-free higher education system will have the benefits of equality that the students are seeking (Oketch, 2003).

The benefits of a fee-free education may not accrue to the poor and working class as can be seen in the case of Brazil, which has universal free education for its student population (Brotman & Pollack, 2017; Johnstone, 2004). However, this has not lead to equitable participation of the classes in higher education. Kapur and Crowley (2008)

indicate that in Brazil 65% of the students attended private basic education and a more indicative statistic is that 66% of the student population come from the top 20% of the socioeconomic strata. This indicates that a universally fee-free education serves to benefit those who come from the upper economic strata of society, and who then have the upper hand in entering higher education. In this way public universities become a space to reproduce privilege by giving access to the valuable resource of university degrees to those who already occupy a privileged position in society.

Cost-sharing

According to Johnstone (2004), a number of countries have introduced some kind of cost-sharing that is "a shift of the higher educational cost burden from exclusive or near-exclusive reliance on government, or taxpayers, to some financial reliance upon parents and/or students…" (pp. 403-404). Mamdani (2008) notes that it was The World Bank that urged the post-colonial countries, particularly those in Africa, to move towards a cost-sharing model as higher education was seen as a private good in comparison to basic education which was seen as a public good (see also Oketch, 2003). The private versus public good debate is a problematic one as the distinction is arbitrary and seeks to create a binary where none exists. This is to say that there is both a private and public good in higher education as the individual who gains a university degree is able to access higher paying jobs, resulting in taxes from which the public also benefits.

In other post-colonial countries such as Uganda and Tanzania the cost-sharing model that has been used is the dual-track system, which means having fee-free institutions and having privately sponsored students (Ishengoma, 2004; Marcucci, Johnstone & Ngolovoi, 2008). Marcucci et al. (2008) argue that even though there is a dual-track system in these countries, there is still unequal access to higher education, particularly because of the stringent access requirements. As is the case in Brazil, most students who attend the universities in East Africa – which includes countries such as Kenya – come from private schools, while families who cannot afford a private education have no option but to place their children in dysfunctional public schools and, as a result, access has been in favour of those in the upper strata of the socioeconomic ladder (see Kapur & Crowley, 2008; Marcucci et al., 2008). What this highlights is a concern that even though higher education is fee-free for the majority of students, because the public basic education system in those countries does not ensure student success in entering higher education, the result has been that those who can afford the fees for private basic education are still populating the higher education space (Kapur & Crowley, 2008; Marcucci et al., 2008).

Further, according to Kapur and Crowley (2008), in Asian countries such as China and India where university education is state funded, there is heavy regulation that seeks to limit the expenditure on universities. However, the imposed regulations have also had an effect on the quality of education provided and decreasing academic freedom. Institutional autonomy is a vital part of many academic institutions that operate at optimal level around the world. In South Africa, the state has allowed institutions autonomy to choose their

pedagogical and research direction, and even set the fee scale according to the needs of each institution (CHE, 2016). What is concerning, however, are the disruptions in keeping the higher education sector financially viable, which often have negative consequences for achieving these research objectives as seen in places such as Uganda (see Mamdani, 2008; Bloom & Canning, 2006). The reduction of research outputs from sub-Saharan Africa – with the exception of South Africa – and the rest of the developing world is of particular concern, and the government of South Africa, along with the higher education sector as a whole, recognises this component.

Most post-colonial countries have faced the challenge of being unable to achieve the desired goal of equitable access through cost-sharing methods. Rather cost-sharing appeared to entrench the inequalities, with a further effect on teaching and learning within higher education institutions (Mamdani, 2008). The same can be seen in the cost-sharing method that South Africa was using up until 2017 as it was not achieving the goal of class access and, to an extent, the goal of racial demographic access (StatsSA, 2017; Dlamini, 2016). Although cost-sharing appears to make a case for the fact that higher education is both a public and private good, what this kind of structure fails to recognise is the problematic manner in which cost-sharing often excludes those who cannot afford university fees. In South Africa, it must be said, NSFAS, has to some degree been able to mitigate this. However, other challenges faced by students who come from working-class and poor families, including transportation, food and accommodation, have resulted in a high dropout rate amongst these students. Intergenerational poverty often results in students having to leave, particularly contact universities, so that they may be able to provide financial support to families. Cost-sharing appears on the face of it to allow equal access for everyone in a society; however, the result is often that there is an undue burden placed on individual families whose circumstances are affected by the history of the systematic racism of apartheid and colonialism.

The call for free education by South African students can be seen as a move in the opposite direction of most African countries. While other countries are looking at cost-sharing, South African students are calling for fee-free education. South Africa, upon achieving democracy in 1994, had already had a cost-sharing method whereby the government subsidised students but students in higher education were (are) required to pay a fee. The South African government's current role is mainly in issuing what is known as 'block grant' funding that differentiates teaching input (enrolments), teaching output (graduation rates), research output (advanced postgraduate research degree graduates, and publications by staff and students) and lastly institutional factors (based on size and proportion of students from historically disadvantaged populations) and so-called 'earmarked' funds (CHE, 2016). It can be argued that the South African government views the higher education system as both a private and public good, through which cost-sharing mechanisms have been maintained.

Following the protests in 2015, the then Minister of Higher Education and Training in South Africa, Blade Nzimande, maintained that the state was "committed to progressively realise free post-school education for the poor and the working class … and to assist

middle-class families who are unable to pay" (DHET, 2016, p. 1). It appears that the state at this point was leaning towards a system in which the poor and the working class could have fee-free education while the middle and upper class would engage in some kind of cost-sharing. The announcement by the Presidency in December of 2017 was in line with the commitment made by the minister two years prior, as higher education will be free for those coming from poor and working-class backgrounds, while those who come from the middle to upper classes will contribute in a cost-sharing method (The Presidency, 2017).

Future Considerations for South Africa

The current analysis of some of the trends in the global South indicates what Cloete (2015) points to about universal fee-free education being more beneficial to the economic elite than it is to the poor and the working class. However, the trends also indicate that cost-sharing mechanisms are not the solution that they may appear to serve, specifically to the poor and working class, as cost-sharing often means that the individual student must be in an economic position to pay for fees. It is clear that the introduction of fee-free higher education in South Africa must be carefully monitored in order to ensure that there is an increase in the number of students from poor and working-class families who access university education.

The introduction of a holistic funding system can serve as a deterrent for the high attrition rates amongst working-class and poor students. It is important to note here what Oketch (2003) argues about students in countries such as Zambia, Uganda and Kenya who tend to stay longer in the education system when a holistic funding system is introduced. The issues of throughput are well documented in South Africa as being a result of a multitude of factors acting against students who come from working-class and poor families. Some of these include student well-being (Young & Campbell, 2014), institutional culture (Matthews, 2015) and even first-generation status (Hlatshwayo, 2016), which all intersect to produce low throughput rates.

The issue of attrition, however, serves as a vital point when holistic support is considered with studies showing that students either do not finish their degrees in the required time frame or drop out completely, leaving university without acquiring even the basic degree (Letseka et al., 2010). It is in issues of attrition and throughput that studies investigating the reasons for this high attrition rate should become an imperative for the sector with regard to funding, as they can better illuminate the challenges faced by students. It is worth noting, however, that existing literature in this field, such as the landmark study by Letseka et al. (2010), shows that those students who come from poor and working-class families are the hardest impacted by attrition rates for a variety of reasons such as those that were investigated by Dlamini (2016).

Given that the financial constraints can be mitigated by means of fee-free education, what still bears mentioning here are the effects of the basic education system on access and success. Even though students from working-class families can apply for a state grant and not pay fees for university in other post-colonial countries such as Brazil and Uganda, students who come from private basic education still are the beneficiaries (Kapur & Crowley, 2008;

Oketch, 2003). The difference in South Africa is that fee-free higher education is based on a means test; however, this does not mean that those from the lower economic strata are going to populate universities, as one of the most important requirements is still grade 12 results. It is in this way highly important that the inequalities in the quality of basic education are fast eradicated to ensure that the inequalities in higher education are not further entrenched.

At this point in the country's policy development, it has become necessary that research focusing on attrition and throughput influences the direction that the higher education system takes. Mamdani (2008) notes that higher education is a great public good when it is applied in this way. Stated differently, higher education is not just a place where people can gain skills that ensure social mobility, but the research that is produced in academic spaces can and should influence the country's policy in some form. It is worth repeating that the climate in which students do not complete their degrees on time will put a heavy burden on an already overly extended fiscus, in which the state has other competing social problems such as the social grants that are now being provided to over 17 million people. South Africa's slow economic growth and low employment rate can result in the inability of the state to shoulder financial responsibility for the higher education sector. This conundrum is seen in other post-colonial countries, as noted by Oketch (2003) and Johnstone (2004), and may very well become a South African reality. Mayanja (1998) argues that the state should remain the primary funder of the higher education system in Uganda. However, there should be increased sensitivity to equality, with an element of positive discrimination. For South Africa it is important that we take cognisance of the concerns raised by Mamdani (2008), Johnstone (2004) and Kapur and Crowley (2008) about post-colonial states' capacity to maintain the costs of higher education.

Another alternative to consider in the future should South Africa not be able to maintain free education is what has been implemented in Scotland – although not necessarily a former colony. The country has done away with upfront fees to higher education and instead has introduced the Scottish Endowment Fund, wherein former students contribute in the form of taxes to the sustainability of the system (Johnstone, 2004). There are concerns with this as it puts an increased burden on the young black graduate who often has to pay the current income-based tax and living expenses while supporting unemployed (and underemployed) family members (Mbeki & Mbeki, 2016). This has been a criticism with regard to NSFAS repayment, which takes into consideration affordability but is often an expense that such a graduate cannot afford in real terms. For this reason – and also lack of employment opportunities – NSFAS repayment has been rather slow (NSFAS, 2015).

Conclusions

South Africa is in a unique position in that it can learn from other post-colonial countries with regard to what to do with the resource of higher education. The developmental agenda that South Africa is currently engaged in does not exclude an effective higher education system. There are matters that appear to have more pressing urgency than that of

higher education, and this is not unique to South Africa (see Johnstone, 2004; Kajubi, 1992; Mamdani, 2008; Oketch, 2003).

This article has focused on whether there could be lessons learnt from other post-colonial countries on the issue of fees in higher education. The trend in the global South has been to move from no fees to some fees being charged for obtaining a higher education qualification; this has been largely due to constraints on financial resources (Kapur & Crowley; Oketch, 2003; Kajubi, 1992; Mayanja, 1998). Equality with regard to socioeconomic class has appeared an elusive concept in higher education institutions in the post-colony, and in South Africa the conflation of race and class has also proven to make this goal even more difficult to attain. It is important that we highlight the racial disparities in higher education if we are to properly redress the challenges currently facing the country. However, in so doing, we cannot create a classist society.

The 'Two Worlds' that former president Thabo Mbeki spoke about will be maintained if the country does not take into consideration issues of positive discrimination with regard to not only race but also class. The understanding that higher education offers an opportunity for class mobility in a world where knowledge and skills are increasingly valuable should be paramount in the analysis of higher education (Johnstone, 2004; Teferra & Albach, 2004).

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. Charles Young of Rhodes University for his earlier contributions and guidance in the formulation of this article. I also greatly appreciate the reviews from Abigail Simons of the Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit at SAMRC-Unisa, Dr Mlamuli Hlatshwayo of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and Prof. Sally Matthews of Rhodes University.

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How to cite:

Dlamini, S. (2019). #FeesMustFall: Lessons from the Post-colonial Global South. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 47-59. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3692

Research article

Theorising the #MustFall Student Movements in Contemporary South African Higher Education: A Social Justice Perspective

Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo* & Kehdinga George Fomunyam**

Abstract

A significant amount of literature on the student movement in South Africa is characterised by two limitations. Firstly, a significant amount of this literature is found in un-academic and non-peer-reviewed sources, such as social media, online newspapers, blog posts and other platforms. Secondly, some of this literature is characterised by an absence of theory in offering us critical analysis of the emergent conditions of the student movement as a phenomenon in South African higher education (SAHE). In this article, we respond to the above gaps by contributing to the scholarly development and critical analysis of the student movement in SAHE. In order to respond to the above two gaps, we firstly provide a brief historical and contextual environment that has contributed to the emergence of the student movement phenomenon in SAHE. Secondly, we introduce Nancy Fraser's social justice perspective, in offering us the theoretical and conceptual tools we need to look at the struggles and challenges that confront student movements, focusing in particular on the challenges that frustrate them in relating and interacting as peers on an equal footing in society. Using Fraser's social justice framework to look at the #MustFall movements will allow us to better understand them as complex phenomena in SAHE and allow us to properly understand their emergence.

Keywords

higher education; institutional differentiation; participatory parity; social justice; student movements; student politics

Introduction

In the beginning of 2015, the then little known #RhodesMustFall activist Chumani Maxwele and a small group of students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) poured faeces at the statue of the arch imperialist and coloniser, Cecil John Rhodes, calling for transformation at UCT. This culminated in nationwide protests regarding the widespread calls for higher education (HE) to transform/Africanise/decolonise particularly in historically white universities (HWUs). Subsequent calls for transformation have shed a spotlight on a range of issues which include but are not limited to the funding crisis

* Dr Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo is a Lecturer in Curriculum and Education Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Email: hlatshwayom@ukzn.ac.za

** Dr Kehdinga George Fomunyam is a Senior Research Fellow at the Durban University of Technology, South Africa. Email: georgek@dut.ac.za

facing higher education institutions (HEIs); academic staff diversity; the marginalised experiences of black female academic staff in HE; the plight of workers and outsourcing; the often forgotten experiences of disabled students; the experiences of first-generation black working-class students who are the first in their family to come to university; the role of language as a symbolic representation of hegemonic cultures, epistemic racism, and cultural alienation; the deeply contested notions of HE curricula as an "institution", one that embodies Eurocentric and alienating values and beliefs, and others (Badat, 2009, 2016b; Bosch, 2017; Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Amit Chaudhuri, 2016; Heleta, 2016; Jansen, 2003; Maringira & Gukurume, 2017; Mbembe, 2015; Naicker, 2015; Ngcobozi, 2015; Oxlund, 2016).

Firstly, a significant amount of this literature is often found in opinion pieces, national and local magazines, on social media platforms and others. Although this could be categorised as primary data and useful to our critical understanding of the emergence of the student movement as a phenomenon in SAHE, this literature is, albeit new, only emerging now in the 2015-2016 period and has not been subjected to peer review, critical discussion or theorisation to a sufficient extent.

Secondly, some of this literature is characterised by an absence of theory in offering critical analysis of the emergent conditions of the student movement as a phenomenon within the SAHE. While we note emerging literature from Nyamnjoh (2016), Mbembe (2010; 2015), Badat (2016b), Luescher, Klemenčič and Jowi (2016) and others who have used various theories to make sense of student movements, student activism and student politics, there is nonetheless a gap in the literature as a significant amount of the canon is either descriptive regarding the experiences of students in HE or focuses on policy. For instance, in their recent work, Case, Marshall, McKenna and Mogashana (2018) critically interrogate the experiences of young South Africans on how they negotiate their university life, including illuminating for us the often forgotten experiences and challenges faced by students who drop out. Some of the scholars who explored 2015-2016 student movements have looked at the role of psychology in supporting student movements (Pillay, 2016); the role of social media, in particular "twitter activism", in sparking the #FeesMustFall movement (Bosch, 2017); the role of fees in student movements as a barrier to accessing HE (Chaundry, 2016; Hodes, 2016); linking the emergence of student movements with the other forms of popular protest in South Africa and to what extent the emergence of student movements can be located in the manner in which HE has been historically structured in the country (Naicker, 2016).

It should be noted that in this article, we are not focusing on the transformation debates in higher education; student activism; student violence (both physical and epistemological); stakeholder engagements; university governance structures and others. Although all these matters are related and intersect with the emergence of student movements in SAHE, they are nonetheless not explored in this article as we respond to the above gaps by contributing to the scholarly development and critical analysis of contemporary student movements in SAHE.

Fraser's social justice framework offers us the theoretical tools to look at the role of social arrangements that ought to enable people to relate and interact as peers on an equal footing in society. Her notion of participatory parity identifies for us three key dimensions for participatory parity to be achieved – these are the economic, cultural and political dimensions. These three dimensions will help theorise contemporary student movements in the SAHE landscape and help to elucidate the conditions of their emergence within the HE landscape as a phenomenon.

Before we discuss Fraser's social justice framework in terms of the the theoretical lenses towards which we will be leaning to make sense of and understand contemporary student movements as phenomena within the SAHE landscape, it is important to first outline the context and contested history of HE in South Africa so as to understand and extrapolate the emergent conditions of student movements within SAHE. We now turn to this context.

Mapping the Context: The SAHE and its (Brief) History

In this section, we offer a brief critical discussion on the manner in which SAHE institutions are structurally shaped and historically influenced by the apartheid period. We do not seek to suggest that student movements as a phenomenon only began during the apartheid era. We are only highlighting the profound ways in which apartheid thinking influenced institutions of higher learning, and how we continue to be affected by this in contemporary society. SAHE institutions are profoundly influenced and shaped by the history of colonialisation and apartheid (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Badat, 2010; Jansen, 2008). The apartheid regime's attempt at racial separation and the reinforcement of white supremacy meant that HEIs were seen as intellectual, academic, linguistic and socioeconomic instruments of social engineering, with the graduates of HE seen as contributing to the needs of the apartheid state or been relegated to the "Bantustans". This implication for HE under the apartheid regime meant that critical conversations only emerged in the early 1990s regarding the role that ought to be played by HE in a democratic South Africa (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Badat, 2010, 2016a). Badat (2008, p. 121) highlights the relationship between HE and the apartheid social order and its implication for the post-apartheid era as follows:

> In apartheid South Africa, social inequalities of a class, race, gender, institutional, and spatial nature profoundly shaped higher education. Given this, South Africa's new democratic government committed itself in 1994 to transforming higher education as well as the inherited apartheid social and economic structure, and institutionalizing a new social order. Necessarily, the realisation of social equity and redress for historically disadvantaged social groups in higher education, and therefore, the issue of admissions, has also loomed large in policy discourse.

In order to critically interrogate the emergence of student movements as a phenomenon in SAHE we need to look at how differentiated the higher education system was under apartheid. This will help illuminate and tease out the conditions of possibility that necessitate student movements to emerge in HE. Naidoo (2004) argues that there

were three kinds of universities under the apartheid period – that is, the dominant tier, the intermediary tier and finally, the subordinate tier. In the dominant tier were the universities that were established during the British colonial period whose function was to serve as an instrument of English values, ethics and morals. When the apartheid regime introduced the apartheid laws in 1959, these universities became reserved for white students (Naidoo, 2004, p. 461). Dominant tier universities were, and to a significant extent continue to be, research intensive with their institutional infrastructure and research output internationally recognised and competitive.

The intermediary universities were predominantly Afrikaans speaking and were established in response to the Anglo-Boer War for the benefit of the Afrikaner community. The primary function of these universities was to act as a socioeconomic and linguistic response to the dominant universities in the first tier, and to help construct, maintain and extend Afrikaner national identity, values and cultural beliefs. It was these institutions that helped to produce some of the apartheid intellectual, academic and political elites who helped legitimate and maintain the regime. In countering the predominant influence of the imperial values and British influence found in the universities in the dominant tier, these universities became instruments of producing the apartheid, nationalist values as espoused and promoted by the then National Party through the production of competing knowledge and ideologies as required and supported by the then regime (Naidoo, 2004).

Universities in the third and final tier were the subordinated universities that were set up for the different black South African ethnic groups.[1] These universities were characterised by, and largely still continue to experience poor funding, poor infrastructure and social upheaval. It was largely in the subordinate tier institutions, together with universities in the dominant tier, that resistance to the apartheid regime emerged within the HE system. A significant number of student movements and their concomitant political influence emerged from within this subordinate tier.

Naidoo (2004, p. 463) argues that what made one of these universities become politically conscious and its students acutely aware of the injustices of the regime, was that the university:

> … forged an alliance with the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] that resulted in the university remaining locked in the heteronomous sector. However, the political stance against apartheid and its aim of developing an alternative model of university education attracted a significant number of radical academics with high levels of academic capital. The university's position-taking and the influx of academic capital resulted in the university ascending to a dominant position relative to other black universities in the subordinate sector of the field.

1 While we acknowledge the non-existence of "race" biologically (Smedley & Smedley, 2005), the racial categories of black and white are used here to emphasise the historical and social consequences of these identities on factors such as history, socioeconomic status, educational and occupational status, wealth, political power, notions of belonging, social and epistemic justice, being-ness and others (Du Bois, 2008; Gordon, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mudimbe, 1988).

The ideological underpinning of the apartheid education policy was specifically designed to fit in with the broader apartheid social arrangements – that is, distributing educational resources unequally on the basis of "race", teaching black students that their marginality and oppressed position in South African society was "natural", and in the process, imbuing in them an ethnic "tribal" identity and locating them with "their own" people (Reddy, 2004). Thus they ensured that they created two types of subalterns for the regime – "a small elite to operate the administrative structures of the subaltern (in the Bantustans and urban areas) and a labouring class to perform unskilled labour for the industrial economy" (Reddy, 2004, p. 9). This ensured that the HE terrain was used as a space in which the broader social engineering goals of the regime were achieved and that racialisation and "ethnicisation" played a significant role in the "tribalisation" of students and the broader population. Reddy (2004, p. 9) argues that this differentiated HE landscape:

> … was produced in keeping with the imperatives of the Grand Apartheid project. The unintended consequence was that the black universities created conditions that led to the emergence of student resistance. The latter helped create and sustain the internal resistance movement and together with structural factors (economic contradictions, regional changes and global pressures) helped produce the collapse of the Apartheid regime.

The role of the HE landscape under apartheid was to ensure that different ethnic groups were divided according to their "tribal" identities, and the social construction of the subaltern would serve the interests of the Bantustan as well as the broader state functioning goals of the regime. This resulted in the unintended consequences of creating the conditions of possibility that led to the emergence of student movements that acted as a force of resistance, particularly in historically black universities (HBUs).

As we have argued in the introduction of this article, the student movement phenomenon is not new in the SAHE landscape. In contemporary SAHE it has historical influences from and can be located to the 1976 Soweto uprisings, with three key trends that can be identified as having played a significant role in the emergence of student movements and their political organisations (Reddy, 2004, p. 19). Firstly, black student numbers significantly increased at universities, particularly at the HBUs, which provided the immediate basis for political mobilisation and effective mass protests. Secondly, the apartheid regime's comprehensive separation of students into ethnic institutions and the repressive atmosphere that was prevailing in the black colleges served as a stark contrast with the conditions at the HWUs. This played a significant role in alienating, frustrating and angering black students (Reddy, 2004). This was further exacerbated by the differences in the material conditions amongst the campuses and constituted one of the key conditions for the emergence of student movements as a phenomenon under the apartheid social order. The third trend was seen in how the "new" institutional vision from the apartheid regime, beginning in the early 1950s, had racially segregated HEIs and attempted to socially construct ethnic subaltern subjects, producing new forms of protests and resistance through the emergence and spread of Black Consciousness ideas and practices (Reddy, 2004).

Reddy (2004) further argues that these revolts were occurring within the socio-political climate of the security police fears, a political apathy within the repressed communities as well as the organisational and political "vacuum" in black politics – the May to June 1972 student boycotts were important developments in student politics. The spread and influence of Black Consciousness beyond university students of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), together with the 1972 boycotts of Bantu Education, greatly contributed to the rejection of apartheid education in most urban areas (Reddy, 2004).

One of the defining moments in student movement history was seen when the Department of Bantu Education in 1974 sent a circular instructing African schools that the Afrikaans language would from 1975 be the language of instruction in 50% of the subjects (Reddy, 2004). The South African Students Movement (SASM), founded in 1968 as a coalition of different and often contradictory views, in bringing together the urban school-going youth (Diseko, 1992) strongly organised in areas such as Orlando West, Naledi High and Morris Isaacson, calling for students to boycott classes from mid-1975 (Reddy, 2004). This resulted in a mass rally organised by SASMA on 16 June 1976 in Soweto at Orlando Stadium. Police shot at the demonstrating crowd, killing Hector Pieterson, who was to become the first of over 600 students, youth and adults killed by the police (Reddy, 2004). This revolt spread to the larger Soweto townships around the Transvaal, the Western Cape and Natal.

In contemporary South Africa, scholars have argued that there was no 'post' moment for students registered in historically black universities, Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges as well as universities of technology, which seem to have been experiencing massive student protests since the dawn of the new democratic dispensation. These students have been protesting issues such as fighting for financial support from the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS); demanding quality accommodation; that tertiary institutions not financially and academically exclude students; demanding transport and other demands (South African History Online, 2015). For instance, student protest turned violent at the beginning of 2012 at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), when the university announced a high registration fee of R5 000 (Holgate, 2012), resulting in the South African Students' Congress (SASCO) leading a massive protest on campus. Similarly, a massive protest occurred in four different universities in 2014, when students demanded to enrol without paying fees after the universities had claimed they owed fees from the previous financial year, and thus were prevented from registering while the money was outstanding. This resulted in massive protests and the disruption of registration at University of Johannesburg (UJ), Durban University of Technology (DUT), Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT) and the University of Limpopo (Makoni, 2014). Davids and Waghid (2016) argue that there is an inequality in the manner in which protests and social disruption in HBUs are treated compared to protest action in HWUs, suggesting that this a reminder of the deeply embedded apartheid inequality reflected in HE:

> Protests at South Africa's universities didn't suddenly start in 2015 with the "fees must fall" movement. Students at poorer institutions that cater almost exclusively for black students such as the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Fort Hare University and the Tshwane

> University of Technology have been protesting routinely against rising fees and the cost of higher education since 1994. But their protest action was largely ignored and often didn't make headlines beyond regional newspapers. The most recent "fees must fall" protests have involved students from both historically advantaged and historically disadvantaged universities. They have attracted widespread media coverage and have sparked solidarity protests in London and New York. The two very different responses – little media attention given to earlier protests at historically black universities versus widespread coverage and international solidarity for protests at historically white universities – are a stark reminder of post-apartheid South Africa's embedded inequalities. (Davids & Waghid, 2016, para. 1-4)

Having briefly engaged the historicity and context of student movements in South Africa, it is critical to theorise this experience and/or phenomenon using a lens that can offer appropriate tools with which the discussion can be advanced. In the next section, therefore, we introduce the theoretical tools that helped frame the article and allowed us to critically engage with and theorise contemporary student movements in the SAHE landscape.

Fraser's Social Justice Framework

Fraser equates justice with the ability of people to participate as equal and full partners in social interactions (Fraser, 2000, 2001, 2009). Adopting a structural understanding of society, she argues that justice requires social arrangements that enable people to compete on equal footing and proposes a three-dimensional approach to social justice – the economic, the cultural and political. This means that social arrangements must be such that they allow individuals in society to participate as equals in all three dimensions. Fraser considers that, although interconnected and linked with one another, they are nonetheless distinct "genres of social justice" which all affect an individual's ability to interact as equals (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). Thus, we suggest that although the three dimensions could be analytically separated from each other, they nonetheless intersect in one's life in either enabling or constraining participatory parity.

Firstly, in the economic dimension, the distribution of material resources is central to enabling individuals to interact as equals in society. Participatory parity would be constrained if there is a maladministration of resources or where there is marginality, deprivation, disparities in the income and wealth, labour and leisure time (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Fraser, 2009). In the economic dimension, class-based structural inequalities are at the heart of dis-enabling individuals in society from interacting as equals in society, thereby resulting in distributive injustice in looking at the economic structures at play. In SAHE, distributive injustice on the economic dimension is seen with the experiences of first-generation black working-class students and their marginalised experiences. This occurs as a result of the economic background that these students come from in terms of which they are unable to participate as equals in HE, and thereby become structurally marginalised and could be said to be experiencing distributive injustice on the basis of their class status.

Secondly, in relation to the cultural dimension, social arrangements should be such that there is equal respect and that there are equal opportunities for achieving social esteem (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Fraser, 2009). In this case, participatory parity would be

prevented, constrained or limited when social arrangements in society do not recognise or value the different cultural views or identities. Within the cultural domains, there exists the politics of recognition or misrecognition. It should be noted that in her earlier conceptions of the social justice framework, Fraser only focused on the economic and cultural dimensions of the framework in her earlier conceptions (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Fraser, 2000, 2001, 2009).

In her recent work, Fraser has introduced the third dimension to her conception of social justice – that is, the political – in arguing for an epistemological shift from the post-Westphalian conceptions of the nation-state to now beginning to expand her framework in looking beyond the borders of nation states and interrogating non-state actors and their ability to constrain, limit or prevent participatory parity (Fraser, 2009). This is seen in how the injustices perpetrated by non-state actors cannot be limited to the confines of the nation-state. Social arrangements must be arranged in such a way that everyone should have a political voice, and thus should have an influence in decisions that affect them. Fraser takes this understanding further in looking at representation as boundary setting. This, for instance, happens when HE establishes the boundaries regarding who is included or excluded in justice claims. For instance, HE under apartheid was characterised by a boundary setting that excluded black students as either being trained to serve the needs of the apartheid state or to respond to the demands of the Bantustans. This racialised and oppressive boundary setting, which Fraser calls "misframing", sought to misrepresent and misrecognise black students outside of the confines and domains of apartheid sociological thinking. In order to overcome unjust conditions that prevent, limit or constrain participatory parity, Fraser (2009) suggests that there needs to be structural dismantling. It should be noted that all three dimensions (that is, the economic, political and cultural dimensions) need to be present in order for participatory parity to be achieved. For each of the three dimensions, Fraser distinguishes between affirmative and transformative approaches that deal with injustices (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Fraser, 2009).

Fraser sees affirmative approaches as not going far enough in dealing with the structural social arrangement in society. That is, for her, they do not disturb or interrupt the "underlying social structures that generate these inequities" (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012, p. 690). She advocates for transformative approaches that privilege the social structures themselves in dismantling them and ensuring universal access to social justice. For instance, in the economic dimension, transformative approaches would enable universal access to material resources and interruption of the economic inequalities, wealth disparities and the privilege that positions one group of people and subordinates and marginalises another. In the cultural dimension, transformative approaches would attempt to challenge and dismantle binary conceptions of social reality, acknowledge complexity and destabilise simplistic understandings of life, reality and being-ness. In the political dimension, transformative approaches would recognise the post-Westphalian understanding of how our challenges and social reality transcend the borders of the nation-state. Boundary setting through the misframing and the misrecognition would need to be "redrawn", or completely challenged and dismantled.

In this article, we adopt the above theoretical tools to make sense of and understand contemporary student movements in the SAHE. We now turn to critically discussing and theorising contemporary student movements through the participatory parity framework. To do this, Fraser's three-tier framework – economic, cultural and political – will be used to theorise the #MustFall student movements in SAHE.

The Economic Framing of the #MustFall Student Movements in SAHE

The #MustFall movements were predominantly engineered by economic reasons which university management could no longer silence and the national government could not ignore. The yearly increment in student fees as well as the diverse financial constraints such as the cost of living in cities where most of these universities are based, became a huge financial burden to bear especially on the "missing middle", that is, students whose parents or guardians are deemed to earn too much to qualify for NSFAS and too little to service the student loans. Ndelu (2017) argues that students from predominantly black universities and universities of technology have been consistently waging battles against the ineffectiveness of NSFAS regarding the payment of university registration fees, financial exclusion and debt cancellation. He goes further to argue that:

> The problem with NSFAS is one of the reasons why students want free education. Once a previously disadvantaged student is not accepted for NSFAS, obviously they will want free education because their debt is increasing – and once you have a lot of debt, you cannot register in the following year. You can't proceed with your studies. You cannot buy your books… They give out food vouchers late. That's why some people get angry as well – because obviously, you want to study but you don't have your books and stuff.
>
> (Ndelu, 2017, p. 20)

The #FeesMustFall movement, perhaps unlike any other sub-branches of the #MustFall movement, was able to attract widespread attention and mobilise large number of students largely because the issue of access to HE, in particular the unaffordability of institutions of higher learning, became the rallying call for different organisations, students, civic bodies and others. What became interesting was seeing how different students from different social class positions became united in the concern with the unaffordability fees. This was seen in how the historical and often forgotten protest from HBUs was picked by the predominantly middle-class students in HWUs who all rallied together in arguing about the importance of access. Similarly, #RhodesMustFall could be understood from an economic perspective. The statue of Cecil Rhodes at the centre of of the UCT campus depicted to the students the reasons why they are financially distressed and economically marginalised. It depicted the very essence of colonialism and how this socioeconomically and structurally underdeveloped Africa at the expense of colonial development and imperial industrialisation (Rodney, 1972). It re-echoed the financial burdens and ruins brought about by apartheid. To another set of students, it represented a huge source of financial buoyancy brought about by the Mandela-Rhodes scholarship as well as the huge endowments bequeathed to the university by Cecil John Rhodes.

Financial exclusion is a common phenomenon across all South African institutions of higher learning. Paton (2016) argues that economic calls were the strongest reasons for the waves of student protest across the nation and economic solutions would provide answers to such challenges. This is supported by Bond (2015) who argues that the increasing university subsidies, and augmenting contributions to NSFAS have not been enough to address the financial exclusion.

Fraser (2009) argues that the economic dimension of social justice sees material resources as central to enabling individuals to interact as equals in society. The lack of financial resources or financially excluding students would be to constrain them which would create marginality, deprivation, disparities in the income and wealth, labour and leisure time and, by extension, ensure the continuation of economic marginality and the death of social justice (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Fraser, 2009). In the economic dimension, class-based structural inequalities are at the heart of dis-enabling students in universities from interacting as equals, thereby resulting in distributive injustice in looking at the economic structures at play. In SAHE, distributive injustice in the economic dimension is seen with the inability of some students to access HE and well as the struggles to secure funding. The consequences of this, although expressing themselves in different and often complex ways (such as the increasing militarisation of SAHE institutions across the different campuses, discussed below), have been predominantly economic in nature.

Wa Azania (2016) argues that within the period of 12 months since the eruption of the different student movements across the SAHE landscape at the beginning of 2015, numerous institutions of higher learning across the country have been set alight by protesting students. In September 2015, various cars and buildings were set alight by protesting students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal while in October 2015 protesting students at the University of Fort Hare's main campus in Alice set alight both entrances leading to the institution. Also, students at the University of Limpopo's Turfloop campus set a security vehicle on fire and at the University of Zululand's KwaDlangezwa campus, protesting students set the student centre building on fire. In November 2015, two buildings were set alight at the University of the Western Cape's Bellville campus while students at the Tshwane University of Technology's Soshanguve campus burned three halls, including an exam centre, and two security cars. Shortly thereafter, the financial aid building at Cape Peninsula University of Technology was set on fire – twice. In February 2016, protesting students at the North West University's Mahikeng campus set various buildings on fire – including the science centre. In the same month, students at the University of Cape Town burned paintings and a Jammie shuttle bus. The vice-chancellor's office was also petrol bombed. The University of the Witwatersrand also saw a lecture hall and a school bus set alight. Various offices and a staff house at Vaal University of Technology's Vanderbijlpark campus were set alight. On the University of Johannesburg's Kingsway campus Sanlam auditorium was set alight in an apparent arson attack. Rhodes University similarly experienced three arson attacks, two of them were at the exam venues and a third one at a tennis club. These figures do not include those in TVET colleges. The huge economic cost of financial exclusion both for the students and the universities makes it a critical factor of the #MustFall student movements, one which requires critical engagement within the paradigms of social justice to handle.

Fraser (2001) argues that social justice is the feedback and corrective principle that detects distortions of the input and/or out-take principles and guides the corrections needed to restore a just and balanced economic order for all. This principle is violated by unjust barriers to participation, by monopolies or by some using their property to harm or exploit others. For this harm to be eradicated, economic harmony which results in participative and distributive justice operating fully for every person within an institution is needed. By understanding the #MustFall movements from an economic social justice perspective we are bringing to bear the guidelines for destroying the monopolies that created such systems and building checks and balances within social institutions, and re-synchronising distribution (out-take) with participation (input). In other words, in order for us to understand the #FeesMustFall student movements properly, we need to understand the economic dimension as playing a central role in denying students the capacity to interact as equals in society, as the lack of funding, crisis of accommodation, textbooks, food and others, continue to marginalise students and ensure that these factors deny them access (both physical and epistemological) to institutions of higher learning. As Fraser argues, we need to move beyond the domain of affirmative approaches to social justice and begin to look at structural social arrangements in society so as to achieve participatory parity and true social justice. Not focusing on the economic structural arrangements that continue to marginalise students will frustrate the possibilities of achieving participatory parity.

The Cultural Framing of the #Mustfall Student Movements in SAHE

The #MustFall movements were also as much a cultural project as they were economic. For example, the #OpenStellenbosch movement was anchored on the language barriers in accessing the curriculum as well as the knowledge systems within the institution. The challenges brought about by the lack of social and cultural capital with which to navigate the elitist systems within the previously white universities made the #MustFall movements a cultural one. The drive to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes from the centre of the University of Cape Town was a deeply cultural act guided towards eradicating the cultural awareness of colonialism, whiteness as a singular mode of being in the world and cultural alienation that the statue invoked amongst students.

Furthermore, the call to remove the statue of King George V from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Howard College Campus in Durban demonstrated the cultural framing of the movement in symbolising the rejection of the imperial and colonial heritage that seems to surround SAHE institutions. The statue itself was thereby seen as representing the legitimation of colonial artefacts which thereby sought to suggest that culturally and politically, the colony can coexist with the envisioned dream of a post-apartheid South Africa, regardless of the contradictions, trauma and memory that the colonial monument evoked for the black majority. The cultural framing of student movements did not stop at these two universities. The call resonated at Rhodes University, University of Witwatersrand, and University of Pretoria, amongst others. Maringira and Gukurume (2017, p. 33) argue that the movement was about blackness and how to regain the cultural identity of black people. They asked, "Where are black lecturers, black non-academic staff? You move from one office to another, from one class to another, all you find is either a white or coloured

lecturer. They don't understand our situation as black students, they don't represent us, and this is part of the struggle in decolonised education" (Maringira & Gukurume, 2017, pp. 33-34). The cultural representation of ethnicity was a strong backbone of the struggle. Similarly, students protested against the imperial and colonial history of HE institutions in South Africa, particularly Cecil John Rhodes' and other colonialists' vision in turning South Africa into a colonial British metropole. For example, Chaudhuri writes about Cecil John Rhodes' vision for South Africa in general and South African higher education in particular, who called for:

> the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan …
>
> (quoted in Chaudhuri, 2016, para. 4)

Fraser (2001) argues that the effect of culture on politics – and thus on the prospects for social justice – are alarming. The widespread "politicization of culture, especially in struggles over identity and difference or struggles for recognition keep exploding in recent times and this is due to the fact that claims for recognition drive many of the world's most intense social conflicts – from battles around multiculturalism to struggles over gender and sexuality, from campaigns for national sovereignty and subnational autonomy to newly energized movements for international human rights" (Fraser, 2001, p. 2). These struggles are heterogeneous and run the gamut from the patently emancipatory to the downright reprehensible. To therefore take the #MustFall movements away from the cultural struggles of South African life is to dissuade it from its very essence. Thus, recognition was and, to a large extent, still continues to be a central theme in the student movements in rejecting the imperial, colonial and apartheid influences in HE institutions and attempting to re-assert blackness as a legitimate mode of being. Reflecting on her own experiences in a historically white university, Lihle Ngcobozi (2015) argues about the need for recognition for black subjectivity and what she refers to as the "methodology of racism" in how it enacts itself in institutions of higher learning as instruments to silence, differentiate and marginalise:

> There are a number of implications that come with this burdensome demand [for transformation]. The most salient of these implications is the implicit demand made by white students to allow white normativity to mutate with ease, comfort and without resistance. This demand suggests further that although black students are in the process of constituting their subjectivity, the students must suspend the project of the humanisation of the self and understand that white students matter, too. This is a distraction. The very methodology of racism and the upholding of white supremacy works to distract the black

> political project of constituting and claiming black subjectivity. This, in and of itself, is the working of anti-black racism, which has unapologetically found itself comfortable enough to claim its space on the Rhodes SRC page and, by and large, a number of white students on campus. (Ngcobozi, 2015, para. 5)

Maringira and Gukurume (2017) and Konik and Konik (2017) argue that the struggle for free education appears to have been a struggle to deracialise the institution and promote inclusivity. This is largely because most of the student movements have a membership that is predominantly black, with few members who are white or coloured. The idea of living with dignity and in a decent place remains largely elusive for the majority of black people. Building on this notion, Oxlund (2016, p. 9) refers to the University of Pretoria, which had to shut down its operations out of security concerns: "Here black student organizations used #AfrikaansMustFall and #UPRising to demand that Afrikaans be scrapped entirely and as a prerequisite for academic employment at this university, which has historically had Afrikaans as its lingua franca. White Afrikaans student organisations, on their side, labelled the right to be instructed in their mother tongue as a human right in their defence of Afrikaans". African students, on the other hand, protested against this movement in another movement which "came to be known under the hash tag #AfrikaansSalBly (Afrikaans Will Stay), and it created a tense and insecure atmosphere in Pretoria". It was not just about a collective student fight, but about student cultural identities and existential belonging, similar to the #OpenStellenbosch movement at Stellenbosch University. #OpenStellenbosch argues that Afrikaans as a language is deeply political in South Africa as it was used by the apartheid regime as a sociolinguistic tool of belonging regarding who counts as being human, and who counted as a subject (#OpenStellenbosch, 2015). #OpenStellenbosch became a movement that sought to connect the marginalised experiences of black students at Stellenbosch University with what they deemed as the oppressive institutional culture that often rendered them as Others in the University (#OpenStellenbosch, 2015). They argued that

> 1. No student should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English.
> 2. The institutional culture at Stellenbosch University needs to change radically and rapidly to reflect diverse cultures and not only white Afrikaans culture.
> 3. The University publicly needs to acknowledge and actively remember the central role that Stellenbosch and its faculty played in the conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of Apartheid. (#OpenStellenbosch, 2015, para. 6)

Bozalek and Boughey (2012) argue that social arrangements should be such that there is equal respect and that there are equal opportunities for achieving social esteem. This is because participatory parity would be prevented or constrained if social arrangements in society do not recognise or value the different cultural views or identities. Within the cultural domains, there exists the politics of recognition or misrecognition. This could be clearly seen in the University of Pretoria. Oxlund (2016) adds that "the university management advised the public that henceforth English would become the sole medium

of instruction, with Afrikaans and Northern Sotho as secondary languages only. Although this was a historic and ground-breaking development, in terms of public attention it was almost overwhelmed by news of violent clashes happening elsewhere". The constraints of misrecognition and lack of social cohesion ensure the constant eruptions of new forms of barriers in the way of social justice. It is the understanding of the deeply rooted cultural framing of such movements that true meaning can be made. The students at the University of Western Cape demonstrated this more clearly when they argued that "we want to rename these buildings, we have to feel at home, it has to represent us as blacks, and Great Hall must be named Steve Biko, heroes of our history" (Maringira & Gukurume, 2017, p. 39). They further added that "if you go to England, is English land, China is Chinese land, but in Africa, it is not African" (p. 40). The desire to be African in all facets is at the centre of the #MustFall movements. Similarly, Lihle Ngcobozi (2015) writes about the Black Student Movement at Rhodes University, confronting this cultural domain regarding the culture of whiteness in HWUs:

> These conversations and forms of resistance from the students at the University of Cape Town and the challenging of the presence of historical artefacts of colonial violence should not be reduced to a removal of a statue, the changing of the name of Rhodes University, or social media campaigns. These are all entry points into broader concepts of transformation and black students laying claim to space, and the right for their space to be reflective of a transforming institution. When students call for "Rhodes must fall" and rally behind #RhodesSoWhite as a collective, we ought to look deeper into the cause and align ourselves with any movement that vehemently rejects the untouchable nature of white normativity and its hold on shaping the experiences of black students at Rhodes, UCT and society at large. (Ngcobozi, 2015, para. 10)

Snodgrass (2015), adding to this, argues that the wave of protests that has swept across South African universities in recent times reflects the undercurrent of socio-political tensions of the society as a whole. The university should be the bastion of the freedom of expression in the promotion of democracy, as well as possess the moral and ethical obligation to provide spaces for fierce debate and critical engagement. But the reality has been somewhat different in South African universities where most of them have distinguished themselves as bastions of intolerance, privilege, conformism and censorship. The culture myopism must be destroyed and room created for inclusive and open engagement on the platform of equality and shared experience as well as individual experiences for the #MustFall student movements to be fully understood.

In her initial work, Fraser only conceptualises social justice as a two-dimensional approach. In her later work, she introduces the three-dimensional understanding through the inclusion of the political dimension in highlighting the increasing role of non-state actors in producing new forms of marginality and exclusion that perpetuate injustice. We now turn to the political framing in relation to contemporary student movements within the SAHE landscape.

The Political Framing of the #MustFall Student Movement in SAHE

Politics is the very fabric of the society. It moulds the philosophical underpinnings within a particular nation and opens up the nation or society for discourse and dictum. Philosophers have always seen a human being as political in nature, meaning almost everything he or she does is inherently political. The #MustFall movements therefore could not but be seen and understood as political. Sibeko (2016) argues that the differentiating effects of #MustFall movements are now pervasive in the SAHE sector and probably beyond. Academics, schools and faculties have turned on each other. Some universities are pitted against others, like the "Wits option" vs the "UCT option" (Sibeko, 2016, para. 2). Some academics are accused of being blindly supportive of "the innocent students" and parading their colours as the immaculate left; while others are seen as blindly securocratic, unreconstructed conservatives who see nothing wrong with the university, institution culture or even how deeply contested HE curricula is and its implicit values. The politicking within and about the movements and the different political and ideological positions which emerged from such process further explore and highlight the political in the #MustFall movements.

Sibeko (2016) further argue that, "For the immaculate left, it is ultimately a capitalist state that has no interest in the poor emerging from poverty; overlapping with black people in a society dominated by whiteliness; creating an unreconstructed racial capitalism that needs to be toppled. Students in this view lack agency and are in every context victims of external forces. Every action is the response of victim to oppressor" (Sibeko, 2016, para. 8). This political reconstruction of the #MustFall movements epitomises the depth of the despondency within academia and the political will and agency needed for redress. Fraser (2009) concurs with this when she argues for an epistemological shift from the post-Westphalian conceptions of the nation-state and the interrogation of non-state actors and their ability to constrain, limit or prevent participatory parity. Socio-political arrangements must be made in a way that everyone has a political voice and influence in decisions that affect them. However, Sibeko (2016) shows the contrary of this in the SAHE when he points out that "senior management" is seen to lead with security, follow up with more security, and have no interest in negotiation or compromise. Students just want a free, decolonised education in a transformed institution and are shot for daring to ask for it – and they remain innocent, brutalised "black bodies". This political meandering and juxtaposition of power with might, speaks to the need for social justice and a social justice understanding of the #MustFall student movements.

Nshimbi (2016) further argues that students are political animals who constitute a vibrant part of civil society, a natural element of a democratic society such as South Africa. Since universities are training grounds for future leaders (and this includes political leaders), it is rather duplicitous to praise students when they demonstrate excellence in science, technology or business that promises a great future, but simultaneously condemn them for political engagement. He adds that universities are to nurture students in the discipline and art of political engagement and groom them for this sort of leadership. Satgar (2016) argues that the #MustFall movements heralded three new developments in mass politics in post-apartheid South Africa. First, it married social media to mass politics which did not exist

prior to this. Second, this political matrix was amorphous, except for moments of media representation which presented 'leaders' at the forefront. In practice, this was not the case in the university space. Third, it was about copying developments from different campuses – what is known as a mimetic politics. So, if students marched and protested at one campus, others followed, or if students occupied particular spaces at a certain university this was repeated at other campuses embracing the revolt.

The #MustFall movements therefore brought forth or represent a form of politics with deeply democratic practices and institutional representation. It is also about a new neo-colonial or post-apartheid politics aimed at reclaiming and transforming the public university and eradicating the crisis of national liberation politics, alongside other rising movements. Fraser (2001) argues that the emergence of the knowledge society opens new possibilities for politics beyond the ordinary or mundane. Identity is no longer tied so exclusively to labour, and issues of culture are intensely politicised. Social justice requires the politicising of these issues, thus creating room for discussions around multiple-status hierarchies, including those of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and religion. The need for a political understanding of the #MustFall movement therefore cannot be overemphasised. Valela (2015) comments on the relationship between the student movements themselves occurring in a specific political moment in South Africa, and the conditions of the emergence as a new phenomenon in the SAHE:

> This wave of campaigns waged by students across the country is also happening at a time in South Africa's history where we are dealing with more than just the post-Apartheid moment. We are in the post-Marikana moment. After 1994, it seemed highly unlikely (if possible) that a group of human beings would be shot and killed by state police considering the nation's history of police brutality under an unjust Apartheid regime. However, we are dealing with the reality that the colonial structure is not dismantled; therefore it should not come as a surprise that protest would be met with such violence. At Rhodes, the Black Student Movement's peaceful mobilisation has been met with responses that reflect the tactics of a police state. However, this should not come as a surprise since the Head of Security is a former member of the South African Police. (Valela, 2015, para. 8-10)

Camalita Naicker (2015), building on Valela (2015)'s argument on the intersectionality between the student movement politics within the SAHE landscape and the broader socio-political challenges that confront the South African state, makes a closer connection between what students experience in HE politically, and the operating discourses that are employed to explain the struggle of the Marikana mine workers:

> Marikana, as a type of politics, is not just about state violence against popular dissent. It is also about the ways in which the liberal media has aligned itself with the state to present poor black people organising themselves outside of authorised institutions as "mobs" and "thugs" who are "irrational" and "violent" and under the control of external agitators of various kinds. In recent weeks, exactly the same language has, for the first time in post-Apartheid South Africa, also been used to describe students at former English-speaking white

> universities like UCT and Rhodes. This development has shown that the liberal consensus is not only unable to engage the politics of poor black people on a reasonable basis. It is equally unable to respond to black students challenging liberal authority on a reasonable basis. This makes it clear that the limits to the forms of democracy acceptable to liberalism, and to the forms of political presence acceptable to liberalism, are about race as well as class.
>
> (Naicker, 2015, para. 4-5)

Both Valela (2015) and Naicker (2015) refer to Fraser's notion of mis-framing in suggesting that the colonial artefacts and symbols in HEIs act as a boundary setting that seek to exclude the lived experiences of black students. This is especially seen with Naicker's argument on the employed political discourse that seeks to mis-frame and misrecognise the plight of students' movements as "violent", a "mob" and under the control of "political agitators". This mis-framing and misrecognition is done deliberately to misunderstand the plight of student movements, depoliticise their fight for social justice and shift the political discourse away from higher education transformation to now about violence and how it threatens and needs to be neutralised by the state. In other words, this shift in political mis-framing does two things – firstly, it silences the critical conversation on the deeply contested and fractured history of SAHE. Secondly, it subverts the debate away from the plight of student movements and what they are fighting, to now conversations about violence, and its place in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus Fraser suggests that a true commitment to social justice would demand that students dismantle the social arrangements that continue to mis-frame and misrecognise them, and that a new boundary setting be "redrawn" that allows for inclusivity and the humanity of everyone, including their different struggles and modes of being in the world.

Conclusion

In this article, we argue that the literature on contemporary student movements is characterised by two key gaps. Firstly, this literature is predominantly found on various "un-academic" and "non-peer-reviewed" platforms such as online media, opinion pieces, social media and others. Secondly, some of the literature on contemporary student movements could be characterised by an absence of theory in offering a critical and theoretical analysis of contemporary student movements, their emergent conditions as well as the challenges that they are confronting. In this article, we divided the responses in two. The first section focuses on mapping the context and the fragmented history of HE in South Africa, and we locate student movements in such periods. This allowed us to see and extrapolate the emergent conditions of contemporary student movements within the SAHE. The second part of the article we dedicated to foregrounding Fraser's social justice framework as an analytical tool that allowed us to look at contemporary student movements within the SAHE as complex actors that could be seen within three domains, that is, the economic, the political and the cultural.

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How to cite:

Hlatshwayo, M.N. & Fomunyam, K.G. (2019). Theorising the #MustFall Student Movements in Contemporary South African Higher Education: A Social Justice Perspective. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 61-80. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3693

Research article

#FeesMustFall Protests in South Africa: A Critical Realist Analysis of Selected Newspaper Articles

George Mavunga*

Abstract

Using Critical Realism, this article looks at articles from selected South African newspapers which reported on the #FeesMustFall protests. The study established that, arising from the protests, was a culture characteried by tensions and distrust amongst stakeholders such as students, university management and the government. This, the article argues, was a result of how each of these stakeholders perceived, and went on to exercise, their agency in an attempt to resolve the conflict arising from the protests. To avert a recurrence of negative consequences of student protests such as the destruction of property and development of toxic and adversarial relationships amongst different stakeholders, the article recommends collaborative approaches to conflict resolution in South African higher education. These approaches need to be framed differently from those in which some stakeholders seek to use their agency to achieve outright victory over other stakeholders – a recurring mode of engagement during the #FeesMustFall protests.

Keywords

agency; critical realism; culture; #FeesMustFall; higher education; protests; student movements; student politics

Introduction

Starting in October 2015, South African public universities experienced a wave of student protests initially over proposed fee increases for the 2016 academic year. The protests started at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and they soon spread to all the government-funded universities. However, students' disgruntlement with a number of issues in South African higher education had been boiling under the surface for a long time. For example, earlier in the year, the country had also witnessed the #RhodesMustFall protests which were triggered by students' unhappiness over the continued presence of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes and other symbols of colonialism at the University of Cape Town. By January 2016, the #FeesMustFall protests had broadened in scope to unhappiness with student accommodation and language of instruction policies at mainly the historically white universities as well as the outsourcing of support staff such as cleaners, gardeners

* Mr George Mavunga is Senior Coordinator in the Academic Development Centre at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Email: gmavunga@uj.ac.za

and security guards. The protests therefore mutated and assumed different names such as #OutsourcingMustFall and #Shackville. At some universities, the protests were very violent and led to suspension of lectures and examinations; damage to property as well as injury and arrest of some students (Phaladi & Salavu, 2016).

The #FeesMustFall protests generated so much publicity that they were nominated the newsmaker of the year for 2015 (Africa News Agency, 2016). As the country takes stock of their financial and social costs, various aspects of the protests have become subjects of research (Langa, 2017; Booysen, 2016). Covering the period between October 2015 and February 2016, this article looks at reports on the protests from selected English language newspapers with a wide circulation in South Africa. The study was motivated by the realisation that the character of the protests is still contested amongst academics (Booysen, 2016). Using Critical Realism (CR) (Bhaskar, 1978), this article is a contribution to the debate around the character of the protests. The article argues that, emerging from the #FeesMustFall protests was a culture of engagement which was mainly a function of how different stakeholders belonging to different structures perceived and exercised their agency.

Critical Realism: The Culture, Structure and Agency Nexus

In trying to explain social phenomena, CR looks at the interplay of three elements, namely culture, structure and agency. The paradigm perceives the world as being made up of a plurality of structures, which through their individual and collective agency influence the events that take place and those that do not (Morton, 2006). These contribute to the architecture or form of the culture of society or that of the events that take place in specific entities within society. Drawing insights from Marxist thinking, CR proposes that, to understand and change the social world, we need to identify the structures that generate social events and the discourse used to describe them (Bhaskar, 1978). CR, therefore, advocates a holistic analysis of the historical and social contexts in which social events take place (Hartwig, 2007).

In the context of the article, the newspaper reports are therefore analysed from the perspectives of all key stakeholders such as university management, students and academics in a bid to holistically characterise the culture of the #FeesMustFall protests.

Culture: 'What do members of a social group have in common?'

Matsumato (1996) defines culture as "… the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people … communicated from one generation to the next" (p. 16). For Quinn (2012), culture is "… the ideas, beliefs, theories, values, ideologies and concepts which are manifest through discourses used by particular people at particular times" (p. 29). A key implication of these definitions is that the culture of group members and relationships amongst them is influenced by aspects such as the identities of the group members; how the group members perceive their roles in those groups and how they should exercise the power or authority attached to those roles (agency).

The definitions of culture given above provided scope for an analysis of the character of the #FeesMustFall protests from a cultural perspective as the protests and how they unfolded were a function of how different stakeholders related with each other. In addition, the protests had a long-term impact on the South African higher education sector. For example, for Mbembe (2016), the protests marked a significant cultural shift in political engagement at South African universities. Booysen (2016, p. 18) asserts that, as a result of the events of 2016, "an on-going thirst for activism is in evidence". Such evidence, is, for instance, seen in that, at the time of writing this article in 2018, the Soshanguve Campus of the Tshwane University of Technology in Pretoria had been closed for several weeks as a result of student protests.

Another justification for framing the #FeesMustFall protests on a cultural basis lies in that they inspired a number of other demands by students, albeit not of equal measure. Examples include #OutsourcingMustFall; #EndRapeCulture and #PatriachyMustFall (Ndelu, 2017). Such demands, and others, all of which aggregated into #FeesMustFall, despite being rooted in philosophies such as black consciousness and decolonisation, also represent a cultural shift which, according to Godsell and Chikane (2016), is driven by the search for a post-colonial South African university in which, amongst other things, students seek solidarity with fellow students and workers as well. Mpofu-Walsh (2016) also alludes to the rationale in looking at the character of the protests through a cultural prism in light of the spread of fallism and its programme of action to other parts of the world such as Europe and America.

Structure: 'We are because we belong'

Structure refers to those institutions that have the power to give direction to social activities (Westwood & Clegg, 2003). Their existence is demonstrated in the systems of interaction that occur between people or entities that belong to different social groups. As a result, social structures have the capacity to establish associations amongst positions, practices and roles (Witgren, 2004). Structure in the context of the #FeesMustFall protests refers to individual or collective actors that have an influence on university governance (Godsell & Chikane, 2016). Such structures as university management, the government and student representative councils, on the basis of perceived individual or collective power, influenced the events that took place during the #FeesMustFall protests and, ultimately, the form of the culture that characterised the protests. The existence and influence of structures at universities is exemplified by FitzGerald and Seale's (2016) contention that some of the formal university structures were subjected to pressure by some groupings whose legitimacy was questionable. This is in keeping with the contention by Archer (2003) that while some structures are formal, others can be informal.

Agency: 'What drives our actions?'

Jarvis (1985) defines agency as "… the vehicle by means of which institutions provide procedures through which human conduct is patterned" (p. 116). Archer (1996) says it is

the mandate (and the ability to exercise it), which individuals or groups have to influence the activities of the structures to which they belong. Implied in both definitions is the idea that it is through agency that structures influence events that take place in society and therefore the culture that characterises those events. In this study, structures such as student representative councils, university executives and government departments are seen as possessing various forms of agency by means of which they influenced events during the #FeesMustFall protests and the culture thereof. This is exemplified by the fact that the protests, according to Godsell and Chikane (2016) were, in part, ignited by mainly black students at historically white universities realising that they still lacked agency to influence the course of events despite their initial celebration upon gaining access to these universities.

Methodology

CR is a multi-method paradigm which is not based on a single research methodology and a fixed approach to data analysis (Carlson, 2005). This study relied mainly on a qualitative approach in the collection and analysis of data from the selected newspaper articles. This entailed trying to make sense of the individual and collective perceptions of members of the various structures involved in the #FeesMustFall protests with respect to the exercise of their agency. The characterisation of the culture emerging from the protests was based on this analysis.

A total of thirty-five articles from widely circulating newspapers in South Africa such as *Mail & Guardian*, *Sunday Times*, *City Press*, *Sunday Independent*, *The Star*, *Daily Sun*, *The Citizen*, *New Age* and *Sowetan* from October 2015 to March 2016 were analysed. While the first four newspapers are weeklies, the last six are dailies. The major inclusion criterion for the articles selected was the extent to which, after an initial reading, the researcher identified the interplay of structure, agency and culture in them with respect to the protests. The study also made use of some online pictures of events that happened during the #FeesMustFall protests.

From a methodological perspective, the use of CR is interpretive in nature. It therefore entails re-articulation of the texts being analysed to yield new narratives (Kripendorff, 2013). In this study, the focus of the new narrative was on the form of the culture that characterised the #FeesMustFall protests.

While they are generally reliable as sources of data, one of the weaknesses which newspapers have is that, as an element of the media, hardly any of them is completely neutral as their editorial policies are guided by the ideologies of their owners. In many cases, they serve the interests of a privileged few in society (Duncan, 2003). This study brought balance to the discussion of the findings from the selected newspaper articles by tapping from literature on #FeesMustFall found in textbooks. Some of the literature was actually based on the voices of the students (Malebala, 2017; Ndelu, 2017;Vilakazi, 2017).

Research Questions

The two main questions were:

1. What is the form of the culture arising from the #FeesMustFall protests between October 2015 and March 2016?
2. How can this culture be explained in terms of the structure-agency-culture nexus?

Results and Discussion

The discussion of the results is based on patterns of the structure–culture agency cross-links which emerged from the selected newspaper reports. The patterns emerged firstly, from an analysis of how each of the different structures involved in the #FeesMustFall protests was portrayed as perceiving its own agency. Secondly, the patterns were derived from the perceptions of the means by which such agency could be exercised to resolve the conflict leading to, and arising from, the protests.

The influence of structure

Two broad levels of structures identifiable from the selected newspapers were the macro and micro. At the macro level were political party-affiliated student organisations. Examples of these included the South African Students' Congress (SASCO); Democratic Alliance Students' Organisation (DASO) and the Economic Freedom Fighters Students' Command (EFFSC). When the protests started, these different student structures put their differences aside and fought as a united front. This was seen in the unanimous agreement amongst the different student organisations that fees had to fall (Watson, 2016b).

The initial unity amongst student organisations affiliated to different political parties was a defining characteristic of the protests to which the momentum that they quickly gathered could be attributed. It is noteworthy, however, that in interviews with Vilakazi (2017) some #FeesMustFall participants at the Soshanguve Campus of the Tshwane University of Technology said that protests at their campus could not be reduced to #FeesMustFall since they had been protesting for many years over issues such as poor student accommodation and financial exclusion.

In addition to student structures, other macro-level structures included Universities South Africa, a joint forum for all vice-chancellors of the public universities in South Africa; the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET); Department of Police; faith-based organisations; and political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The responses of these social entities to the protests as reported in the newspaper articles were similarly closely reflective of how they sought to pursue resolutions to the conflict in ways that suited their interests. For example, the secretary-general of the ANC, in his response to the protests, argued that the provision of free education had always been an aspect of the ANC's policies (Mantashe, 2015). In his view, therefore, the ANC government was, in principle, not against the demand for free education by the students.

Given the demand by political organisations for consistency in responses to issues of national importance, it is ironic that there were often instances of contradiction between sub-structures belonging to the same entity. For example, contrary to the ANC Secretary-General's views on the #FeesMustFall protests highlighted above, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) characterised the protests as "… part of a counter-revolutionary movement bent on overthrowing the government" (Cele, 2016, p. 14). Similarly, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) blamed the protests on inept leadership by the vice-chancellors (Ngobeni, 2016). Such apparent contradictions serve to highlight the complex form of the culture of the #FeesMustFall protests arising from the specific identities, perceptions and interests of sub-structures which, in some cases, belonged to the same macro-level structures.

Visible micro-level, structures included the Students Representative Councils (SRCs) of the individual universities; political party-affiliated student organisations and university management. Generally, the responses of each of these structures to the protests showed their belief in both the legitimacy and efficacy of their actions. For example, university management condemned the violence perpetrated by some protestors, arguing that it infringed on the rights of non-protesters. An example was a letter written to staff members by Adam Habib, the vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, after they criticised him for securitising the university. In the letter, he cited the case of an old man from Limpopo Province whose attempt to assist his grandson with registration had been violently disrupted. However, in a response to the letter, Bohmke (2016) argues that despite previously taking part in protests, which put the lives of staff and students at risk at the former University of Durban-Westville, Habib's material conditions had changed so much as to make it difficult for him to fully appreciate his own students' struggle.

Another example of university executives' position was that of the University of Johannesburg (UJ) spokesperson who reportedly warned that "… no intimidation or violence would be tolerated during the 2016 registration". (Watson, 2016a). This seems attributable to the belief by senior management, as a structure, in the principle of the managerial right to manage, a form of agency which, perhaps in their perception, legitimised their use of threats, rules and regulations to deal with the conflict arising from the protests. However, juxtaposed with such threats, the UJ vice-chancellor issued a statement appealing to students' appreciation of the transformative power of education. The statement, added to the complex and multi-dimensional nature of the culture arising from the #FeesMustFall protests as on one hand, within the same micro-level entity, threats are portrayed as the chosen conflict resolution tool while, on the other, persuasion is depicted as the preferred approach.

The influence of agency

From the selected newspaper articles, the responses of the different macro- and micro-level structures showed reliance on various forms of agency. These responses constituted the means by which they executed the protests, in the case of the students, or responded

to them, in the case of the government and university management. This also contributed to specific tenets of the culture of the #FeesMustFall protests identifiable in the selected articles. Examples of the different forms of agency relied on by different structures included the power of the collective; violence; access to state resources and power; and, in the case of academic members of staff, projecting themselves as the 'voice of reason.'

The power of the collective

Seven years before 1994, Ndebele (1987, p. 2) predicted, "Surely the children of the masses are destined to invade the universities." This came true with the eruption of the #FeesMustFall protests in 2015, ironically under a democratic government. A critical aspect of the students' mass participation in #FeesMustFall was their belief in their power as a collective. Illustrative of this, as shown in Figure 1, was the large number of students who marched to such centres of national political power as Luthuli House, the headquarters of the ANC, and the Union Buildings in Pretoria, which is the seat of government as well as parliament in Cape Town. According to Booysen (2016, p. 22), a placard held by one of the students during protests at Parliament also emphatically expressed the students' belief in the power of the collective as it read, "The people have more power than the people in power".

Figure 1: Mass attendance at the Union Buildings
(Source: https://bit.ly/2O7G0hl)

To demonstrate their power when they marched to Luthuli House, the students did not allow Gwede Mantashe, the then secretary of the ANC, to address them as all they wanted

was to hand over their list of demands to him. Similarly, as captured at Wits University in 2015 in Figure 2, the students prevented the vice-chancellor of the University, Adam Habib, from leaving the auditorium in which they were gathered until he called a meeting of the University's Council. This incident demonstrated the power of the collective in that, in all likelihood, it would have been impossible under normal circumstances for an individual student to prevent the vice-chancellor from leaving the auditorium. According to Soudien (2016, p. 205), Habib's posture, though, did not mean that he was being held hostage by his students, but it was rather one that demonstrated "… the full amplitude of the complexity of, and in some ways an experimental response to, the leadership question of higher education". This confirms the view that the culture of the #FeesMustFall protests was multi-dimensional and therefore should not be looked at from only one angle.

Figure 2: Wits vice-chancellor, Adam Habib (centre), held hostage by students
(Source: https://mg.co.za/#feesmustfallpictures)

Thirdly, in January 2016, students threatened to disrupt the local government elections in the whole country if their demands were not met. (Watson, 2016b). Such a threat could only come from a social entity with a strong belief that as a collective, it could achieve such a feat. No individual student or students' structure would have dared to issue such a threat and hope to be taken seriously by the authorities. The threat by the students to disrupt the local government elections is demonstrative of the influence of the students' faith in the power of their collective agency on the culture of the #FeesMustFall protests.

Violence as a form of agency

In addition to relying on the power of the collective, the selected newspaper articles depict the students as perceiving violence as a form of agency through which the conflict in the #FeesMustFall protests could be resolved as shown in the pictures that follow.

Figure 3: Violence on campus
(Source: https://bit.ly/2GnFsNS)

Figure 4: Violence on campus
(Source: https://za.pinterest.com/#feesmustfall)

The violence depicted in the photographs gave rise to newspaper headlines such as:

- 'Varsities on the brink of collapse' (Monama, 2016, p. 1);
- 'Varsities on thin ice' (Malingo, Ramothwala & Selapisa, 2016, p. 1);
- 'Varsities ablaze' (Phaladi, 2016a, p. 2); and
- 'Campus strife flares' (Monama & Molosankwe, 2016, p. 1).

As a result of the increasing levels of violence as implied in these headlines, one vice-chancellor expressed the fear that there might be loss of life, warning, "What really worries immensely with escalation of violence is … the day is not far off when a parent will have to fetch their son or daughter in a body bag…" (Macupe, 2016, p. 5). However, in the same article, one of the EFF Student Command leaders reportedly expressed the students' determination to continue with the fight until their concerns were heard, even in the face of death.

The sentiment expressed by the EFF Student Command leader is in keeping with the philosophy of *fallism* which, according to Cele (2016), is "an oath of allegiance that everything to do with oppression and conquest of black people by white power must fall and be destroyed" (p. 6). The destruction of artworks at UCT, the torching of a bus at UCT; the burning of a science centre at North-West University and the burning of an auditorium at UJ could perhaps be attributed to this ideology. It is also perhaps on the basis of this philosophy that a former Wits SRC president is cited as arguing that, to merely talk about violence on campuses without addressing the students' demands, is to miss the point (Macupe, 2016, p. 5). In an interview with one of the #FeesMustFall leaders Malabela (2016) was told that the students saw violence as the only way they could get the government and university authorities to listen to their demands because the neoliberal ideology on the basis of which the South African university is currently being run does not believe in anything being given to anyone for free. According to Ndelu (2017) the students' frustration, to which the violence might also have been attributed, was the realisation that since 1994 the South African government had sold the black populace in the country a falsehood about liberation and created a deceptive illusion of a "rainbow nation".

Characterisng the culture of the protests thus were two contrasting perspectives on the efficacy of violence as a form of agency that could be used as a vehicle through which the conflict could be resolved. While those in university management such as the vice-chancellor who expressed the fear that violence might eventually lead to the death of a student, perceived violence as a destructive tool, some student leaders, seemingly on the basis of insights from scholars such as Franz Fanon concluded that it was the only weapon at their disposal for the attainment of their goals. The violence that erupted during the protests might also be viewed as inevitable as protests are inherently disruptive of current social arrangements. Consequently, they call attention to urgent societal problems (Duncan, 2016). Some students at UCT felt that while condemning the physical violence perpetrated by students, the university management was sadly oblivious of the violence that is suffered by both black students and staff members through deprivation, alienation and, especially during the protests, police brutality (Ndelu, 2017).

In addition to violence, the acrimony and toxicity in the culture of the protests was demonstrated through the threats and insults that the then Minister of Higher Education and Training, Dr Blade Nzimande, received from some of the students. For example, during a meeting of student leaders, one of them reportedly warned the Minister, "Blade, we are coming for you … I hope we are very clear on this matter, Blade. We will show you that we are serious, if need be, by force " (Watson, 2016b). In another instance, at Wits, the Minister

was actually insulted by one student reportedly shouting, "Voetsek Blade" while others chanted, "Blade must fall! Blade must fall" (Molosankwe, 2016, p. 1). This is demonstrative of the loss of respect for government officials emanating from the students' frustration with failure by the government to meet their demands.

Another dimension of the culture of the protests was the disapproval which the violence that characterised them received from some observers such as journalists. For example, without absolving university authorities and government of culpability in the crisis, Makhanya (2015, p. 2) observes that "… the destruction of property and the violent intimidation of fellow students is totally unbecoming of people who have overcome obstacles to arrive at institutions of higher learning". Similarly, Mthombothi (2016, p. 21) cautions, "Violence is unconscionable in a democratic society … Reason, not savagery, or boorishness, should reign in our tertiary institutions."

Jansen (2015, p. 16) draws a parallel between the violence that erupted during the #FeesMustFall protests and apartheid-era violence, lamenting that although it brought South Africa its freedom, "… it sometimes included complete disregard for the humanity of others, such as the horrific *necklacing* episodes and the torture, even the death, of suspects in camps". This comparison projects the culture of violence that was exhibited at some universities as a zero-sum game, "… a kind of gangsterism masquerading as progressive politics" (ibid.). Perhaps, to an extent, the death of Professor Mayosi of UCT through suicide, reportedly as a result of depression caused by how he was treated by students during the #FeesMustFall protests, serves to demonstrate this culture of lack of compassion for others, which emerged from the protests.

Interestingly, by the end of February 2016, some students had begun shunning violence and the racism often associated with it. For example, at UCT, one female student lamented: "They (the violent students) are taking something that was pure and good and turning it into a fight: black against white. It's that narrative, these generalisations which I don't like" (Huisman, 2016, p. 6). This student's disapproval of violence demonstrates that even though members of a group confronted by the same form of adversity may initially be assumed to belong to a homogenous group, there may come a time when, spurred by the power of individual agency, some of them begin to differ in the way they may interpret the events happening around them. On the basis of such differences of opinion amongst students on the efficacy of violence as a tool for resolving conflict, the protests might be said to have become characterised by internal contradictions and ambiguities with the potential to slow down their momentum.

Othering and denigration as forms of agency

In addition to reliance on the power of the collective and of violence, the students who took part in the #FeesMustFall protests also used othering and denigration as forms of agency. Crang (1998, p. 61) defines othering as a "… process through which identities are set up in an unequal relationship". This implies that an individual who engages in othering simultaneously constructs the *self* or *in-group* in unequal and mutual opposition to the *other* or *out-group*. They do this through identification of some desirable traits, which the

self or *in-group* is deemed to possess and the *other* or *out-group* is perceived not to have (Brons, 2014). Alternatively, the *other* or *out-group* is perceived as having some undesirable characteristics which the self or in-group does not have. As a result, the relationship between the two is characterised by implicit, but in some cases explicit, expressions of superiority and inferiority in referring to *self* or *in-group* and the *other* or *out-group* respectively. Often this leads to denigration of stakeholders with whom the individual holds contrary views. Denigration thus becomes a form of agency which is embedded in othering (Cole, 2004).

Several cases of othering and denigration could be identified in the newspaper articles reporting on the #FeesMustFall protests. For example, in the article in which one student leader warned the Minister of Higher Education that the students would go for him, referred to earlier, the juxtaposition of the minister's name, 'Blade' with the pronoun 'we' which refers to the students demonstrates that the student leader perceived the minister and the students as occupying opposing positions in the conflict.

Denigration is also evident in the threats issued by students such as "Blade must fall! Blade must fall" and insults such as "Voetsek Blade" (Molosankwe, 2016, p. 1). In the placard in Figure 5, through a sarcastic and metaphoric play on the Minister's first name, the students portray him as ineffective.

Figure 5: Denigrating the Minister of Higher Education and Training
(Source: https://bit.ly/2LF5vVl)

The then President, Jacob Zuma, was also not spared the denigration as shown in Figure 6.

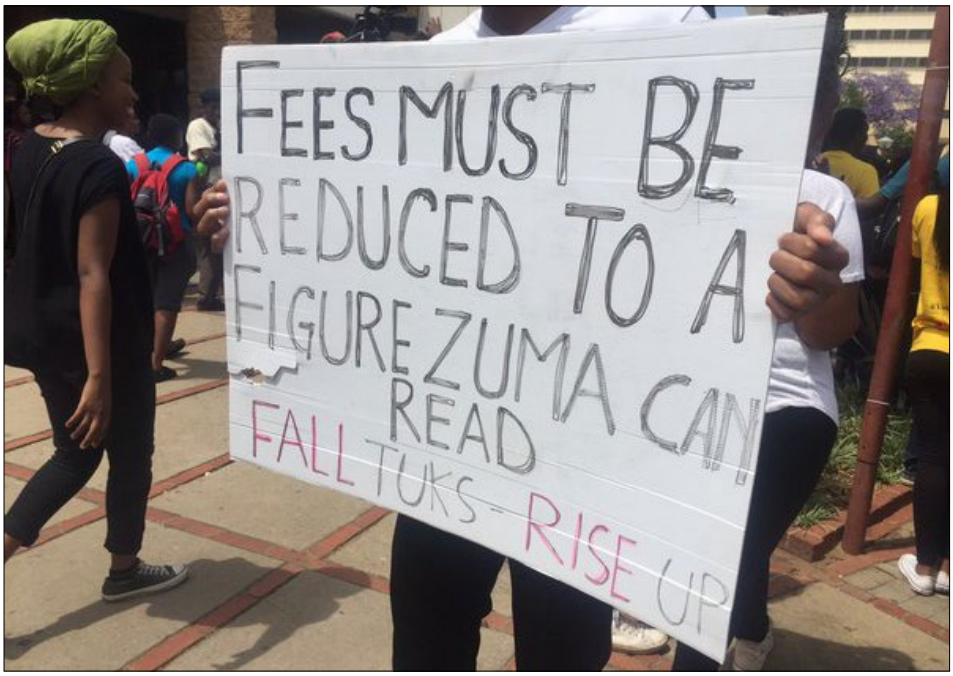

Figure 6: Denigrating the President
(Source: https://za.pinterest.com/#feesmustfall)

The message in the placard is another sarcastic reference to the president's difficulties with reading. Denigration of the president in this way might also be seen as a form of agency through which the students hoped to achieve their goals.

State power and resources as forms of agency

In an attempt to assert its authority, the government had by March 2016 taken the view that, while students had a democratic right to protest, resorting to the use of violence and destruction of property "constitute a criminal act that must be prosecutable" (Chernick & Kalipa, 2016, p. 6). The Minister of Higher Education and Training therefore reached an agreement with the Minister of Police on the deployment of police to those university campuses rocked by violence. He also called for the prosecution of perpetrators of violence to protect life and property at university campuses. Such measures demonstrate belief in the agency of state power as a possible effective tool for containing the violence at university campuses. Similarly, some of the universities are reported in the newspaper articles to have flexed their muscles as exemplified by the contracting of private security companies to secure campuses; using the courts to interdict students from protesting on campus; and, in some cases, the issuing of threats and subjecting protesting students to disciplinary procedures – all inherently forms of agency used by university authorities to contain the protests.

The government, through the DHET, also used its control of the national fiscus as a form of agency. For example, the then Minister dismissed the influence wielded by student leaders who had earlier walked out of a meeting with him in Ekurhuleni. Reportedly, the student leaders later contacted him requesting continued engagement (Makatile, 2016). If true, then the students' turnabout is an acknowledgement on their part, even if not explicitly expressed, of government's agency as a stakeholder in the pursuit of a solution to the protests. This can be said to be particularly so in light of the pledge by government to commit R9 billion to make up for the shortfall arising from the 0% fee increase, clearing historical debt dating back to 2013 and sponsoring the so-called 'missing middle' students.

To assert government's authority and the authenticity of its promises, the then Minister of Higher Education and Training further warned students to "… be careful of wolves in sheep skins" (Makatile, 2016, p. 13). The metaphor was directed at the so-called 'Third Hand' which, the Minister claimed, was trying to use students to achieve nefarious ends in the South African local government elections scheduled for 2016. This force was thus projected as lacking in honesty and its power could only lie in deceit and manipulation. However, the fact that the Minister did not name the so-called wolves in sheep skins seemed to imply that his warning was premised on a conspiracy theory on the basis of which the students were stripped of their own agency.

Academics' responses to the protests

Some articles written by academics or those reporting on their views appeared in some of the selected newspapers. In many such articles, the general view seemed to be that the academics were the voice of reason. The articles portrayed them as holding a position on the matter that would help to resolve it with greater efficacy than what both the government and university executives were capable of. The academics therefore perceived themselves as having a form of agency which can be added to the complexity of the culture of the #FeesMustFall protests. For example, at some universities, some academics marched in solidarity with students as exemplified in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Protesting academics
(Source: https://bit.ly/2GhPD6L)

The academics' sympathetic response to the crisis seemed to stem both from what they saw as genuine demands by students and heavy-handedness in the responses of some university executives to the protests. In an open condemnation of the adoption of measures such as the hiring of bouncers to man university entrances, Swart (2016, p. 47) says, "By inviting the police and security on to campus, management opened the door for indiscriminate force and disproportionate measures against students."

Mangcu (2016, p. 18) concurs with this view, asserting that there had been "… greater peace at those universities that have not brought in any private security or police" and goes on to argue that this is simply attributable to the fact that "police and private security almost always aggravate already volatile situations". This observation concurs with the Bourdiean view that the police represent repressive state power so their deployment to university campuses would naturally ignite violence. The blame for the culture of violence which erupted during the #FeesMustFall protests is therefore laid squarely at the doorstep of university executives.

Painting a picture of contradiction and inconsistency in the culture that emerged from the #FeesMustFall protests, Swart (2016, p. 47) laments the chameleonic behaviour of some vice-chancellors of South African universities when she points out, "It is a truth universally acknowledged that those propelled into power and privilege often forget where they came from."

The vice-chancellors are thus projected as belonging to a powerful structure in terms of both their management positions and the agency of authority that accompanies this. Their implied ill treatment of students is therefore all the more frowned upon in light of the parallels between their own backgrounds and those of the majority of their students whose voices they are projected as shutting up coercively. Instead of being role models, the vice-chancellors, in Swart's (2016) view, are sell-outs who have betrayed not only the present struggle but the old one which they were part of too. According to Swart (ibid.), they therefore created a culture in which they exposed "… their own fear and paranoia and exacerbated existing tensions". This view was echoed by another macro-level structure, COSATU, when it pointed out:

> Vice-Chancellors are all talk and no action and have been exposed by the student protests. They have barricaded themselves behind police and security walls and are not behaving like people in charge of foundations of knowledge, but like paranoid securocrats running concentration camps. (Ngobeni, 2016, p. 4)

Similarly, accusing the vice-chancellors of a culture of brinkmanship in dealing with the protests, Amato (2016, p. 6) identifies Adam Habib and Max Price, the Wits and UCT vice-chancellors respectively, of having "… veered into *kragdadigheid* (display of power or vigour) by hiring private security whom they have allowed to suppress peaceful protest", their initial deft response to the #FeesMustFall protests notwithstanding. The metaphor used to characterise the vice-chancellors' behaviour in this case is indicative of academics using their agency as intellectuals to subject the vice-chancellors' competencies to closer scrutiny than they might have done before.

Ironically, one of the vice-chancellors at the time, Jonathan Jansen, who might have been expected to defend his fellow vice-chancellors, concludes that it is disingenuous to blame the students for the crisis that rocked South African universities as they were not the problem. Rather, he advised that "… without solving the leadership problem at universities, large injections of state bail-out funding would be a terrible waste of resources" (Jansen, 2015, p. 8). In this view, therefore, real power lies in good leadership and not in managerial or state-assisted agency to solve the problem through throwing money at it. FitzGerald and Seale (2016) concur with this view when they argue that at the height of the #FeesMustFall protests, vice-chancellors' managerial inadequacies were seriously exposed as many of them did not know how to deal with the dilemma of allowing the protests on their campuses concurrently with guaranteeing the safety of staff, students and infrastructure.

With respect to vice-chancellors who boast about their struggle credentials and yet react dictatorially to students' protests, a parallel is also drawn between them and some national leaders in post-colonial Africa, liberators who became oppressors using the same instruments of power which the erstwhile oppressor used to employ. Confirming this characterisation, Mangcu (2016, p. 18) concludes that "… protest is by definition a process of disruption of the normal order: Democrats respond to it with patience, authoritarians with violence". In this view, therefore, such vice-chancellors use their power to unfairly perpetuate the oppression of students coming mainly from previously disadvantaged demographic groups, thus subverting the gains of the democratic trajectory the country has been on since 1994. This becomes paradoxical in that universities, especially in the South African historical context, are supposed to be agents of empowerment of those from historically disadvantaged sections of society. In this regard, as a reminder to the universities of their obligations to the larger South African society by virtue of their position, Ramphele (2015, p. 5) says that "the education system, including higher education, must acknowledge that it is time to provide intellectual leadership to effect radical transformation".

In further condemning the securitisation of campuses, Swart (2016) appeals to academics and students' right to academic freedom, which she, however, sees being eroded by those structures that leverage their access to power either at state or institutional level to suppress their voice. Acknowledging the critical role of youth's inherent power, Swart (2016, p. 47) says: "There is nothing as powerful as youthful anger constructively employed. We should convert the intense anger into something new and existing; the creation of a culture of non-violent protests in which the police have no place and in which no bully or black shirt can mute us."

In light of this suggestion the protests could be said to have generated a culture of mistrust between academics and university executives with respect to the handling of the students' protests. The academics project themselves as the voice of reason which, if listened to, would bring normalcy to campuses while some of the vice-chancellors are portrayed as insensitive dictators.

Mangcu (2016) advises that universities need to listen more closely to students and devise a new governance model. Whatever its form, such a model would imply a realignment of the power structures and relationships amongst the different role players

involved in the governance of the universities. In concurring with this suggestion, the Wits vice-chancellor called on "… all stakeholders in higher education to collectively take the blame for all the wrongs in the sector and come up with solutions" (Macupe, 2016, p. 5). The Wits vice-chancellor's suggestion is indicative of a realisation on the part of some university executives that a culture of intransigence would not be helpful to attempts to end the #FeesMustFall protests.

Conclusion

The selected newspaper articles show that, emerging from the #FeesMustFall protests of 2015 to 2016 was a culture which was demonstrative of the structure-culture-agency nexus. The form of this culture was shaped firstly, by the identities of the different structures involved in the conflict and secondly, by these structures' perceptions of their agency as well as how they deemed it possible to exercise this agency. Aspects such as mass participation and speaking with one voice exemplified the character of the culture of the protests, especially at the beginning. The different stakeholders are also portrayed as having relied on different forms of agency in their bid to resolve the conflict. While the students relied on such forms of agency as the power of the collective and violence, the government relied on its control of the national purse and security apparatus. On the basis of their belief in the managerial right to manage, university executives relied on threats of expulsion and other forms of discipline. Articles by academics and those reporting on their views projected them as the voice of reason – a form of agency that added complexity to the culture of the protests. In light of the time that was lost during the protests, the level of destruction that took place at some of the campuses and the attendant financial losses as well as the acrimony, adversity, stakeholder polarisation and toxicity which the protests generated in the relationships amongst the different stakeholders, different approaches to conflict resolution in South African higher education are recommended. Such approaches should be such that less focus is placed on positions which stakeholders occupy in different structures and the agency which is perceived to come with these positions. Rather, for effective conflict resolution, all stakeholders should seek to leverage forms of agency predicated on collaboration and the pursuit of win-win outcomes.

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How to cite:

Mavunga, G. (2019). #FeesMustFall Protests in South Africa: A Critical Realist Analysis of Selected Newspaper Articles. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 81-99. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3694

Research article

It's Time to Unite: A Collaborative Approach to Addressing the Needs of Graduate Students of Colour

Travis C. Smith* & Emily E.Virtue**

Abstract

Higher education administrators often speak of the value of collaboration between student and academic affairs yet there is little empirical evidence of such collaboration. As such, graduate school services and programmes traditionally receive less attention and support than undergraduate programmes. Arguably, deficiencies in those services and programmes expose a need for collaboration, specifically for students of colour. This article explores the experiences of graduate students of colour while examining the barriers in place that tend to hinder their success in graduate school. By addressing these barriers, we present a justification for the need for collaboration between student affairs and academic affairs within graduate education.

Keywords

academic affairs; collaboration; graduate students of colour; student affairs; support

Introduction

In her 2001 piece, Adrianna Kezar explains that while a great emphasis has been placed on collaborations between student and academic affairs, almost no empirical evidence exists to corroborate the assertions that collaborations are worthy endeavours (p. 39). While a national study was conducted to learn more about collaboration, more than fifteen years later, Kezar's statements ring eerily true: institutional leaders discuss the benefits of collaboration between the two "branches", yet little hard evidence (in the form of empirical data) exists to support such practices. There are a variety of factors that suggest collaboration is needed on college campuses. Financial responsibility, reducing duplication of efforts, and meeting the needs of diverse populations are three notable areas that collaboration can address. This article will use the goal of meeting the needs of diverse populations (especially marginalised populations) as a framework for discussing collaboration. Specifically, we will explore the experiences of graduate students of colour while examining the barriers in

* Mr Travis C. Smith is a PhD candidate in Educational Leadership (Higher Education) at Clemson University, South Carolina, U.S.A. Email: travis8@g.clemson.edu

** Dr Emily E. Virtue is a graduate assistant at Clemson University, South Carolina, U.S.A. Email: evirtue@g.clemson.edu

place that tend to hinder their success in graduate school. By addressing these barriers, we present a justification for collaboration between student affairs and academic affairs within graduate education.

History of Student Affairs

The practice of student affairs has been present on college campuses for nearly a century. In the last 90 years, institutions of higher education have transitioned to a more concerted effort to support not only students' academic pursuits but their overall well-being. As colleges and universities shifted from paternalistic, controlling treatment of students to a more personalised approach, undergraduate students' well-being became a primary focus. By the late 20th century, numerous professional organisations for student affairs formed, giving further guidance to professional efforts to support students on college campuses (Schwartz & Stewart, 2017).

During the early decades of the student affairs profession, the responsibilities of student affairs professionals were distinctly separate from academic affairs. Administrators leaned on student affairs professionals to handle personal issues that arose for students while all issues related to academic success were handled by faculty and academic deans. While *The Student Personnel Point of View* documents (American Council on Education, 1937, 1949) outlined the principles and philosophical development of the profession and how it relates to student academic success, many in the academy experienced (and perhaps encouraged) a sort of separation of powers.

As political climates and world events changed, the demographics of enrolled college students changed and leaders of academic and student affairs divisions began to work more closely together. Colleges and university officials realised that more needed to be done with fewer resources and collaboration between the two units became a more pressing demand (Schwartz & Stewart, 2017). Kuh, Schuh and Whitt (1991) demonstrated the need for collaboration between units to better promote student learning and development. Likewise, Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) outlined the impact of college in various measures including positive cognitive, financial and developmental outcomes. At the turn of the 21st century, collaboration between the two divisions increased, yet very little has been explored empirically.

There is some empirical and much anecdotal evidence that collaborations exist. Kezar (2001, p. 40) noted that every institution engaged in the national survey on collaboration indicated some form of collaboration, many of which identified their efforts as moderately to very successful. The research on student affairs and academic affairs collaboration is sparse. Discussion of this trend began in earnest in the early 2000s and then waned. Research and interest has grown more recently. Due to the lack of empirical research on collaborations, this article will contain references to what is available in the literature from 2000 to the present. What is demonstrable in the literature is that nearly all efforts at collaboration are done with undergraduate students in mind. We argue that not only does collaboration need to exist (and be researched), but such efforts need to focus on the well-being of graduate students in addition to undergraduates (the demographic that most noticeably benefits from such efforts).

The Need for Collaboration

While many note the need for collaboration on campuses, Bourassa and Kruger (2000) point to the one-sided nature of this need, stating that professionals in student affairs are more vocal about the need compared to their counterparts in academic affairs. Indeed, the increased effort on the part of student affairs professionals to work towards supporting learning environments on campus signalled both the desire and the need for collaboration. For example, joint efforts from the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) led to guiding documents such as *The Student Learning Imperative* and *Learning Reconsidered* (Bourassa & Kruger, 2000, p. 10) which stress the ways in which student affairs programmes and services can augment academic experiences.

The nature of collaboration is particularly difficult when stakeholders do not value the contributions each may bring to the table. Philpott and Strange (2003, p. 81) characterised the relationship between academic and student affairs professionals as "second cousins of the academy", implying that while related, their identities are not fully known and valued. As such, collaboration can be difficult. Numerous articles in the 1990s and early 2000s point to "turf wars" and the stepping-on of toes as significant reasons why collaboration is not successful or sometimes even desired (Love, Kuh, MacKay & Hardy, 1993; Matthews, 1997). Negative beliefs about the abilities of student affairs professionals abound as they are often not considered (by faculty) to be academics in their own right and their services are largely unknown or misunderstood (Kezar, 2017). These misperceptions (despite the increased requirement for advanced degrees in the field of higher education) can lead to a belief that student affairs professionals are unworthy of garnering credit equal to academics for their work with students. One way in which student affairs professionals have sought to ensure their work is research-based and developmentally appropriate for students was the development of the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (commonly referred to as CAS Standards).

CAS Standards were developed in 1986 to guide professional preparation for students in Master's level student affairs programmes (Young & Janosik, 2007, p. 342). Since the introduction of CAS Standards, numerous studies have been completed to assess effectiveness, learning outcomes, and specific competency outcomes (Harrow & Mann, 1996; Herdlein, Klein, Boquard & Haddad, 2010; Young & Elfrink, 1991). Yet, while the CAS Standards guide the preparation of student affairs professionals, Young and Janosik (2007, p. 361) note that little time in graduate study is given to research and that "most programs require no more than one introductory research class". The lack of preparation for understanding and utilising research can cause campus partners (particularly faculty) to feel as though their peers are less qualified to serve students. Student affairs professionals may believe they are competent in providing services but may not feel prepared to assess need or research appropriately to address needs when they are found. This suggests that while there may be a desire to help students, professionals may not be adequately equipped to determine what students' needs are or how to address them. Here, a collaborative partnership might alleviate where student affairs professionals may fall short.

Collaboration as a Benefit to Graduate Students of Colour

Not all college students share the same experiences, especially students of colour pursuing graduate degrees (Flynn, Sanchez & Harper, 2011; Gildersleeve, Croom & Vasquez, 2011; Twale & Weidman, 2016; Ingram, 2013). Maton, et al. (2011) supported previous findings when they examined the similarities and differences between the experiences and perspectives of students of colour and European American students in psychology graduate programmes. Unfortunately, the authors found that students of colour faced greater barriers than the European students, while the African American students reported greater barriers and less cultural diversity than all other groups. Furthermore, Maton, et al. (2011) reported students who were more satisfied identified academic support, access to mentoring, greater cultural diversity in their academic environment and more confidence in obtaining employment as reasons for their satisfaction. These findings show a distinct difference amongst graduate student experiences. On one hand, some students are thriving and actively supported by their professors, peers, departments and universities. Yet, the other populations are experiencing a different world with the lack of support that creates barriers and reinforces systems of oppression.

Similar to the Maton et al.'s (2011) study, Henfield, Woo and Washington (2013) identified challenges of African American graduate students in counselling education programmes. The authors also sought to examine the different aspects that promote successful retention and matriculation. As such, they reported three findings: feelings of isolation, disconnected peers and lack of cultural understanding. In this case, isolation was birthed from the lack of diversity in the student and faculty population. Students spoke of feelings of being alone and being the only one in their setting. In regard to disconnected peers, the participants spoke directly to orientation and the lack of cohesion from the start of the cohort. Orientation, for some students, sets the stage for peer interaction. However, the students expressed their concerns that orientation was primarily used for faculty introduction. Finally, the students reported a lack of cultural understanding from their faculty members. These concerns were rooted in misunderstandings of how the students dressed and the differences in value systems. Hence, academic affairs should partner with student affairs to offer programmes that address these barriers throughout the year. We note that this is only a temporary fix to a deeper systematic issue. If we plan to eradicate the cause of the barrier then both academic affairs and student affairs must work closely with graduate students to change and implement policies that deconstruct the root causes that are embedded deep within the policies of the departments and institutions.

Similar to Maton, et al. (2011), Haskins et al. (2013) sought to identify the experiences of students of colour enrolled in a Master's counselling programme at a predominately white institution. The authors reported five thematic trends as a result of the study:

> a) isolation as a Black student, b) tokenization as a Black student, c) lack of inclusion of Black counselor perspectives within coursework, d) differences between support received by faculty of color and support received by White faculty, and e) access to support from people of color and White peers. (Haskins et al., 2013, p. 168)

These findings reflect the narrative of some students of colour across the country in graduate education. Particularly in this study, the students reported isolation as a result of being under-represented or not fitting in. They also alluded to not being supported and not having a community to belong to. Again, we see the of lack of support and community arise. This continues to be the trend across higher education for students of colour. In turn, administrators are becoming more aware of this trend and are calling for more collaboration between student affairs and academic affairs in graduate education. Collaboration between the two would assist in providing safe spaces and support for these students. We acknowledge that graduate education differs vastly from undergraduate education. Yet, the need to support students remains the same. We argue that because student affairs can collaborate with academic affairs on the undergraduate level, the same takes place at the graduate level, albeit with the academic and social needs of the graduate student population in mind. These partnerships should play on the expertise of both faculty and staff. For example, some student affairs professionals have a thorough background in a wide array of student development theories. As such, faculty could partner with these professionals to better understand the holistic student and how they operate outside of an academic setting.

Social experiences and development of graduate students of colour have been studied and can promote better faculty understanding of student needs. Johnson-Bailey, Valentine, Cevero and Bowles (2009) researched the types of social experiences of black graduate students at U.S. research institutions. The authors explored the formal and informal interactions between students and their faculty, the reception of the students on campus, and prominent memories of being a graduate student. Unlike the previous studies mentioned, this study included alumni over a 40-year span. Therefore, the authors were able to thoroughly examine the culture and climate of this institution in relation to their graduate students of colour. Johnson-Bailey et al. (2009) reported that students experienced isolation from the university community and programme, routine discrimination, underestimation of academic ability, and loneliness in graduate life. These findings are similar to the current and past trends that have been reported in the literature. Furthermore, the negative experiences from this particular study affected the idea of legacy within a university. The participants commonly expressed their disinterest in sending their children to the university. These results strengthen our assertion that more emphasis should be placed on the collaboration between student affairs and academic affairs. Some of the negative experiences reported in Johnson-Bailey et al. (2009) may have been alleviated by concerted efforts for collaboration of services to graduate students of colour.

Johnson-Bailey et al.'s (2009) findings suggest that services in the form of programming could have changed the outcome for graduate students of colour. According to Pope's (1995) multicultural change intervention matrix, change is the third level of the first order directly following awareness and membership. As noted in Pope's matrix, programming is a function of the institution. The findings of Johnson-Bailey et al.'s (2009) study should be used to implement collaborative programming between student affairs and academic

affairs such as creating academic support groups, introducing social clubs, enforcing cultural trainings for departments, and providing safe spaces for these students.

Graduate education has become increasingly isolated because all of the student support is expected to come from the faculty. This unfair expectation is merely a setup for catastrophe. Faculty members can only do so much given their expectation of writing for publication while maintaining advisor roles, teaching loads, and serving the institution and professional organisations. If we want to truly provide better experiences and more support for our graduate students of colour, then we must promote collaboration across campus lines.

Opportunities and Direction for Collaboration

As Kezar (2017) explains, the most common place to find collaboration is in programmes related to a student's first year: recruitment, orientation and first-year seminars rely heavily on collaboration to succeed. Yet growth in collaboration is evident in such programmes as learning communities, living-learning environments, senior capstone projects and citizenship education (Kezar, 2017, p. 96). Interestingly, Kezar's (2001) earlier work pointed to counselling being an area of commonly successful collaboration (p. 41). Many of these areas have a clear commonality in that they are all focused on the student transition, a time that is stressful for many and requires extensive planning and preparation for administrative staff and faculty alike. It is likely that these collaborations will continue as colleges and universities put great emphasis on recruiting and welcoming students in the hope that these students will be retained until graduation. However, institutional leaders must consider their graduate students and students of colour who are also in transition.

To make collaboration successful Polnariev and Levy (2016, p. 136) argue that collaborations must come after strategic planning:

> The strategic plan is an ideal forum to more cohesively unite activities – pulling them further away from silos and strengthening their connections to other departments and divisions. Effective strategic planning necessitates broad participation and reflects a continuous commitment to collaboratively lead the institution toward achieving its aspirations.

To commence collaboration without first identifying specific outcomes, measures and benchmarks is a disservice to students, staff, and faculty alike. Similarly, strategic planning will build faith in the project, allow stakeholders to address concerns, and ideally serve as a means to create trust amongst members from both sides of the institution. As assessment continues to drive both academic and student affairs endeavours, strategic planning will serve both the short- and long-term needs of the institution.

To respond to the needs of graduate students of colour, assessment and strategic planning must demonstrate a commitment to collaboration. Evans and DeVita (2017, p. 70) assert that "college campuses produce 'chilly' climates for racial and ethnic minorities that contribute to feelings of isolation and loneliness". Such climates must be addressed by administrators in both academic and student affairs. Rather than quickly and haphazardly

responding to immediate needs, faculty and administrators need to come together to better serve this student population. As the literature on collaboration continues to grow, tools for successful collaboration will ensure that positive outcomes are possible.

While there is no one-size-fits-all solution, there are steps that can be taken to help alleviate some of these persisting issues. For example, Clemson University has implemented a new initiative, titled Grad 360. This initiative focuses on nine core areas that are designed to "strengthen your existing skills and develop new competencies relevant to your academic and professional goals" (Grad 360, 2017, para. 1). The programme is housed in the Graduate School yet the sessions are outsourced across campus, from academic and student affairs professionals. The nine components of this programme are: career development and exploration; social and global responsibility; research and innovation; professionalism and ethics; leadership and management; teamwork and collaboration; teaching and learning; oral, written and intercultural communication; and personal health, wellness and financial literacy. Programmes such as Grad 360 can offer a place outside of classrooms and departments in which students can seek support. Although there has not been any substantial research conducted on the outcomes of this particular programme, we see this initiative as a prime example of collaboration.

Challenges to Collaboration

Kezar (2001, p. 47) noted that the largest challenges to collaboration are lack of faculty and staff time, disciplinary ties, faculty resistance and lack of established goals. Depending on the campus culture, such challenges may be overcome or serve as an impasse. Cho and Sriram (2016) noted that while the competency level of student affairs staff does not significantly impact the collaboration process, the culture of collaboration on a campus could predict the outcome. For example, on campuses where collaboration has been established for some time or valued in even small efforts, larger collaborations might be more welcomed by stakeholders. Cho and Sriram (2016) also noted that institution type may play a role in whether collaboration efforts are effective. The recent literature on student affairs and academic affairs collaboration suggests that certain institution types may lend themselves to collaboration better than others. This is certainly reflected in literature related to collaboration at community colleges (Frost et al., 2010; Gulley & Mullendore, 2014; Gulley, 2015; Ozaki & Hornack, 2014). In addition to institutional type, budgetary concerns may foster greater collaborative efforts.

As recent studies have shown, funding for higher education, specifically state-level funding, has decreased significantly in the last decade (Mitchell, Palacios & Leachman, 2014; Oliff, Palacios, Johnson & Leachman, 2013). Though American institutions of higher education are now rebounding from recession cuts, some states have failed to increase budgets and, in some cases, continue to cut funding (Mitchell et al., 2014). Thus, those working in both academic and student affairs are continually pressured to do more with less. Collaboration efforts that address not only student needs but budgetary considerations might find favour amongst more leaders in divisions that often do not work well together.

Assessment of services and programmes offered across campus would shed light on where efforts to support are duplicated, demonstrating where financial cuts may be made without loss to the student experience. Leaders on campus might consider how combining efforts might better serve not only their students but also their budgetary bottom line. As the literature on collaboration continues to grow, tools for successful collaboration will ensure that positive outcomes are possible.

Faculty and staff should partner together to create intentional programmes that serve as interdisciplinary support hubs for students. These collaborations could be done in a variety of ways such as writing groups across disciplines; interdisciplinary lunch and lectures to discuss current innovative research happening throughout the campus; interdisciplinary creative inquiry teams to work on grant proposals; or even social networking events in conjunction with the various commissions and professional entities on campus. These programmes should create a welcoming space for all students regardless of their discipline. Should this happen, departments would no longer have to bare the total fiscal responsibility for programming. By partnering together, departments should be able maximise the use of departmental funds, thereby expanding the number of programmes and services offered to graduate students.

Conclusion

The need for collaboration between student and academic affairs will only continue over time. As resources dwindle, expectations for institutions increase and student needs change. Collaboration could very likely be a factor that keeps institutional doors open. While all students can benefit from increased collaboration, it is crucial that institutions remember their graduate student populations as deserving of services. The potential loss of the often-forgotten graduate student population could have dramatic effects on an institution. If graduate students do not feel supported and heard, they will take their growing expertise and gifts elsewhere (Johnson-Bailey et al., 2009). Institutions of higher education that wish to keep their doors open to all students would do well to support those who may become future leaders in higher education. As institutions work to better support graduate students of colour on campus, systemic and historical practices of institutions must also be considered. Collaborative efforts can only go so far: graduate students and students of colour must also see institutional dedication to eradicating the systems in place that prevent their full engagement on campus.

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How to cite:

Smith, T.C. & Virtue, E.E. (2019). It's Time to Unite: A Collaborative Approach to Addressing the Needs of Graduate Students of Colour. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 101-110. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3695

Research article

Presenting History: The Manipulation of Chronological Structures in the Development and Maintenance of Transformative Curricula

Stephen Steyn*

Abstract

In this article it is argued that, through adjustment of the point of view from which history is taught and theorised in architecture schools, grand narratives of progress can be critiqued and manipulated at a structural level. This could provide more lasting transformative practices than those produced by attempts to subvert such narratives by slotting alternative details into the existing structure.

The restructuring of points of view in history curricula is approached from critiques of two devices through which historical events are considered to be of objective significance: the canon and the timeline. The fundamental definitions and justifications of these devices are briefly unpacked, after which a proposal is made for alternative structures in the production of content for history and theory modules at university level. A brief description of some of the structural teaching and learning devices of studio-based design courses serves to illustrate the diversity of modes of engagement available to managers, teachers and students in the discipline. Some of those devices are then transposed onto more conventional teaching and learning structures in order to test new possibilities for history and theory curricula.

The possible outcomes of a restructuring is briefly illustrated through an example of resulting 'other timelines' which are functional at the level of rendering history legible and comprehensible as a subject of study, but which could simultaneously move narratives of progress out of history and into the personal experience of students and tutors.

Keywords

academic development; architectural representation; chronology; curriculum; decolonisation; history and theory; timelines; transformation

Firing a Canon

Whenever one reads a text, one is by definition *not* reading a very large number of other texts. One is at all times selecting from a nebulous and interconnected field of texts because all subject matters, regardless of how clearly defined or autonomous they may appear, are connected to many others which, to compound the problem, are themselves connected to many more subjects and matters in their turn. The most common solution to this problem

* Mr Stephen Steyn is a Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa. Email: steynsp@tut.ac.za

(that of defining the boundaries of a field of study) is the establishment and maintenance of a canon, a selection of particular examples that define an area. Through anchoring with examples, the canon can define a vague boundary which is simultaneously strong enough to identify all those texts that would fall inside its territory while also being diffuse enough to expand should a new anchor appear near or in its periphery. This quality has made the canon an enormously successful device in the production of order in the industries and faculties of knowledge. Since much of what we consider canonical in any field, however, is a historical inheritance, it becomes subject to renewed critical scrutiny in the South African context, where the call for the decolonisation of university curricula presents opportunities for the reinvention of the canons that define the activities of our fields.

Although decolonisation debates have already been substantially formed and interpreted by a large number of scholars and theorists, both globally and in Africa – Biko, Fanon, Said, wa Thiong'o, Spivak and Bhabha are probably the most well-known amongst them – its specific relevance in the design and delivery of university curricula was highlighted in South Africa during the popular political movements initiated by #RhodesMustFall in 2015. This resistance movement followed, generally, two lines of critique. Firstly, it argued that universities are perpetuating inequality through financial exclusion (Naicker, 2016), and secondly that, through teaching content that is primarily a colonial inheritance, students may be alienated from their own experience and that values true to this time and this place are thereby either eradicated, or rendered invisible (Pillay, 2016; Nordling, 2018).

The successes of that movement were most immediately felt in the first line of critique, which came to be known as #FeesMustFall. Since financial models of exclusion and access have a substantial recorded dimension, in the form of statistical records of disbursement, they are comparatively easier to adjust than curricular content (the second line of critique). Unlike financial bookkeeping, the records for curricular content are distributed amongst an enormous quantity of incompatible documents, presentations, texts and, often, the memories of individuals involved in teaching. The second branch of the movement is therefore significantly more complicated to untangle. This complication was made evident by the wide-ranging online mockery of the component of #FeesMustFall that splintered off in the form of #ScienceMustFall (Ally & August, 2018). Intended to critique the predominance of Western lenses on African subjects, the respondents often found themselves in the unfortunate position of having to recommend content to replace knowledge inherited from colonial sources. The direct engagement with content outside of one's field is evidently a dead end (*Science must fall?*, 2016). It remains possible, however, for any number of disciplines to analyse and comment on the structural conditions of a field of knowledge. It is possible to study science, for example, historically and philosophically (Latour, 1993). In search of new canons, it may thus be useful to not only look at specific interventions in content, but at the underlying structure of a field.

Deconstructing the Timeline

Amongst the most sensitive subjects in relation to decolonisation as a mandate, alongside the sciences, is the teaching and production of history. The proponents of decolonisation are operating with the awareness that the trajectories traced by the past through the present and into the future can be manipulated not only by speculative projections of what the future should be, but also by repositioning knowledge of history – the conceptual starting point of a trajectory, a timeline. The timeline is to history curricula what the scientific method is to science – a fundamental ordering device. The vicissitudes and implications of the idea of the timeline are elaborated in Figure 1.

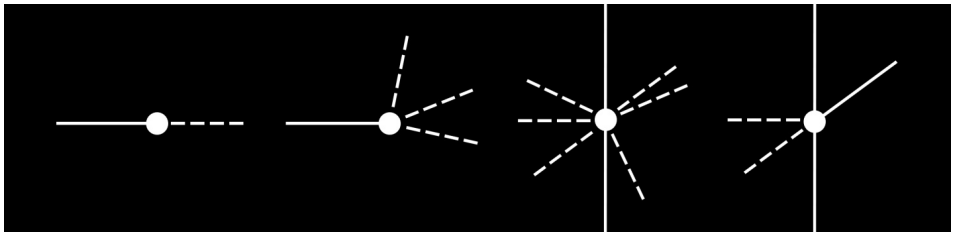

Figure 1: Some diagrammatic conceptions of conventional timelines
(Source: Author, 2018)

The convention of reading from left to right is maintained in the descriptions that follow. The present is represented by a circle with the past to the left and the future to the right. In the diagram on the far left, we are presented with the simplest conception of time in which the present straddles a known past and an unknown future. The past and the present appear to have a relationship, since the rationale of the line is maintained in spite of crossing through the circle.

In the second diagram, the idea is more complex and is represented through a crude summary of the concept of the rhizome developed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987). Accordingly, the future is represented not as a line but as a field of possibilities. In the diagram three lines are drawn but in reality, to the right of the circle is an infinitely dense field which could not be represented as a line. The function of the dotted line here is to indicate the paths that the present could follow through that field in defining the events that do occur, and separating them conceptually from the field of potentiality and the mass of possibilities that do not occur. Events are thus conceived to move from potentiality to actuality through the present moment. In *The Idea of Building*, Steven Groák elegantly spatialises this conception of the relation between the past and the future through an analogy with the body when he cites an unidentified South American language in which "the word for 'the front of the body' is the same as the word for 'the past', and the word for 'the back of the body' is the same as the word for 'the future'. They picture themselves walking backwards into the future, able to see the flow of what has happened, incapable of *conceiving* what is to come" (1992, p. 182).

The spatial nature of history (alluded to by the fact that events *take place*) means, however, that the past too must be represented as a dense field. In this instance, it is a field of the endless number of different places in which events have occurred (Massey, 1992). The third diagram illustrates such a dynamic environment for the past. It is now more dense, less like a line and more like a field due to the number of events that have taken place simultaneously (Žižek, 2014). In order to accommodate that representation, the present is now drawn as a vertical line separating two fields of possibility – a field of places to the left and a field of possible events to the right. The present is thus drawn as the intersection of space and time.

Since the present can redirect the movement of events at any moment, the past and the future are not represented as logically consistent in the third diagram. It is not assumed that there is a direct connection between events in the past and those in the future. While it may be true to say that the logic is very complex and thus generally unpredictable, it would be obtuse to argue that that means that there is no logical consistency in the passage of time. Accordingly, in the fourth diagram, continuity between the past and the future is restored, but the conventional hierarchy of known and unknown is reversed for the purposes of illustration. The past and the future are thus not considered to be entirely independent (though it remains possible in the present, through agency or coincidence, to redirect the path at any moment) and there is generally still understood to be a flow from the one side to the other, which happens in a more or less comprehensible or logical fashion. One could now theoretically select or follow a trajectory through the field of the past in order to change the future or one could speculate on a future, and find a past (or a place) for it that would make it logically consistent with reality.

The problem with the simplicity of these diagrams is apparent: the representation of a four-dimensional reality (Massey, 1992) in the two-dimensional medium of the drawing severely limits that which can be represented.

More complex forms of representation may be useful in the production of alternatives. One of the most evocative timeline drawings in architectural history was revealed in Charles Jencks' expertly timed mid-2000 publication of a drawing titled *The Century is Over, Evolutionary Tree of Twentieth Century Architecture*. In it, Jencks summarises many of the movements in architectural thought throughout the twentieth century along a semi-organic, blob-like construction containing ideas, their proponents and example buildings. The representation is remarkably complex, containing multiple values and their interactions such as the relative impact of ideas (through the blob size in the vertical dimension), their duration (blob length and colour), the relative impact of individuals, examples and key terms (through variations in the text size). In Jencks' words:

> As can be seen in the classifiers to the extreme left of the diagram, it is based on the assumption that there are coherent traditions that tend to self-organize around underlying structures. These deep structures, often opposed to each other psychologically and culturally, act like what are called, in the esoteric science of nonlinear dynamics, 'attractor basins': they attract architects to one line of development rather than another. (2000, p. 77)

Frame/Work

What Jencks attempts with remarkable success in that exercise is a more or less definitive illustration of the content of a century of architectural history. That is not what this project is attempting, but the limits of that diagram can be taken as the start of another project, one where representation leaves the space of images, and enters the four-dimensional space of organisations (which includes images, persons and events). This is an attempt to develop what Fanon called the "the framework of an organization" when he said that "[a]ll this taking stock of the situation, this enlightening of consciousness, and this advance in the knowledge of the history of societies are only possible within the framework of an organization, and inside the structure of a people" (1963, p. 142).

Jencks' exercise is useful because it points to the limits of definitive illustrations and shows some of the values that can be created by manipulating the limits and depths of both the canon and the timeline. It is through these devices that history takes on the appearance of objectivity and inevitability. But through the manipulation of those devices, and critique of categories like "other" (Zizek, 2014) – or what Jencks calls, in that diagram, "unselfconscious" – it can be made apparent that it is, in fact, politically constructed, subjective and retroactively malleable. What this project is proposing is to describe the structure of an organisation which produces critiques of history through the exploration of alternatives to these devices.

In this proposal it is recommended that, rather than positing specific content as anchor points for new canons, the details be almost entirely dictated by the idiosyncratic and unpredictable expertise and proclivities of individuals appointed to study and teach individual history and theory subjects, the framework being used only to determine the relative position of students and teachers. A more idiosyncratic order is succinctly defended by Søren Kierkegaard when he states that '[w]hen a classification does not ideally exhaust its object, a haphazard classification is altogether preferable, because it sets the imagination in motion (cited in Žižek, 2014, p. 36). Similarly, in a review for *The New Yorker* magazine, Christine Smallwood (2014) speculates on a variety of means of ordering the multiplicity of mutually exclusive possibilities involved in the activity of reading while subverting the canon. Smallwood describes a number of unusual methods for dislodging the prejudice of importance set by existing canons. One technique involved the apparently arbitrary selection of a shelf from the New York Society Library and completing all the books on it. Another, perhaps more poetic technique, is to rely on the chance meetings of the past and the idiosyncrasy of the books one has selected to purchase, but not yet read.

Such techniques, while they may seem somewhat whimsical on the surface might be of use in the reconsideration of historical curricula. Logic and coherence do, however, remain imperative. Should the structure be based on a truly arbitrary selection, it will be impossible to describe and summarise content for an audience interested in taking a course. In other words, if the only way to understand the content of the course is to take the course, it becomes impractical to implement as a university subject where content needs to be communicated at varying degrees of complexity depending on the audience for the information. The function of the course programme (or curriculum) could, however,

be shifted from the description of required content, to the production, maintenance and description of structures which make space for difference. They should ideally be well-defined and lend themselves to summary understanding while describing value clearly without either going into excessive detail or restricting the complexity or nature of the content that they contain. Such a structure could also be called an architecture. In order to teach history and theory of architecture, in other words, we first need an architecture of history and theory.

Reflexive Traditions in Architectural Education

Architecture is a text, but it is also a technology and a social service. Its pedagogy has therefore always performed complex manoeuvres between satisfying the demands made upon it by a profession, the academy, the expectations of students (and their benefactors) and a historically grounded, cultural discipline. The most potent medium for the production of these manoeuvres is the design studio. As a medium of instruction, the studio is non-directional (or, rather, re-directable) making it more dynamic than traditional auditorium-style lecturing.

The classroom setting within which lectures typically take place has a clear and often very useful directionality and hierarchy, which is balanced by the architectural studio where freedom of movement leads to more reflexive teaching and learning practices. What students learn in a studio setting is determined through the interaction of lecture content, briefs, their own interests and talents, as well as the proclivities, talents and frames of reference of tutors and fellow students. Any canonical development is thus necessarily filtered and manipulated in real time, making it an ideal format for decolonising curricula. It is, however, highly laborious and expensive to teach in this medium since it generally takes on a format that approximates that of a conversation, which is highly limited in the possible number of participants. Though techniques for economising these conversations abound (group work, elaborate briefs, reading lists and critique) such instruments tend to be poor substitutes for inclusive and reflexive conversations between tutors and students. Therefore, though it may be tempting to simply absorb history and theory completely into design studios, the purpose of this article is rather to speculate instead on some of the means by which reflexivity can be increased within more conventional lecture settings.

The requirement for increased dynamism in the programme derives from a specific problem that arises when history and theory are taught as subjects parallel to the design studio. While architecture can be studied as a historical phenomenon, it is no longer considered appropriate that it be practised historically. In other words, in the studio, the logic of instruction is a-historical – students require and benefit from expansive frames of reference, but they are never (or almost never) mimicking historical forms in their exercises. Their experience with the production of form is always contemporary because, through the medium of the studio, students are active participants in the development of the discipline and historical forms are not given superior status. Though the historical practice of architecture is possible, and was popular during the prominence in the 1980s and 1990s of the style of architecture generally known as 'Postmodernism', it is now understood that

one loses substantial opportunities for new identity formation. In addition, it produces a problematic dualistic hierarchy between theory and practice. In the first instance, one cannot study architectural history until one can 'do' architecture and in the second instance, one cannot 'do' architecture without knowing the selected history.

Keeping in mind the means of identity production described by Michael Smith when he stated that "identity and difference are socially produced in the here and now, not archaeologically salvaged from the disappearing past" (1992, pp.513), the Department of Architecture at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) is in the process of testing and developing a series of new and reconsidered structures in the history and theory subjects. The descriptions that follow are the first iterations of these structures and the first speculations on how new structures can be represented and implemented.

Theoretical Structures

The Theory and History programme at TUT is divided, according to long-standing and deeply ingrained traditions, into horizontally stratified layers of one year's duration each. This structure is not in question since disrupting it would prove too substantial in its consequences for other structures extant in the system. The proposed new structures at TUT will allow for the essential, underlying principle of an incremental increase in complexity to remain the order of the field, but the timeline is radically transformed and the grand narrative of progress is removed.

The effects of any structural changes to an organisation will only be evident over time, and are therefore described and approached as a project, rather than a curriculum. With close observation and minor adjustments, the proposal will be refined in real time while quality-control procedures such as peer review, regular reports and substantial feedback sessions will help to prevent illegibility. Content that does not fit into the incremental, horizontally stratified structure can be resolved either by adjustments to the structure, or by circumventing the stratification through, for example, guest lectures in some years from tutors who primarily manage and develop other years.

The first structural/chronological adjustment to the History and Theory programme at TUT is an alteration of the title. Architecture schools, when they don't attempt to separate history and theory entirely into autonomous subjects, tend to name their History and Theory programmes just that – history, then theory. A switch to Theory and History marks a reversal in the order and an important re-conceptualisation of the programme, shifting focus from the history of architectural theory to the theorising of history through the medium of architecture. In other words, theory is not seen as an object of study parallel to history but is instead considered technologically, as a device through which to view, approach and appropriate history.

Another adjustment involves the use of some techniques derived from studio-based teaching in the development of organisational structures. Since it is not practically feasible at this point for each student to construct her or his own theoretical structure and historical narrative, the proposed structure focuses its attention instead on the relationship between tutors and the content that they teach. Occasionally, it appears that the content of a course

could be objectified (through lecture notes, slides, course guides and even essays) which would institutionalise the intellectual property produced by employees of the university, and would make tutors somewhat interchangeable. The reality is, however, that the notes and slides are highly specific to the person who developed the course, and can be esoteric and inaccessible for anyone tasked with replacing them or standing in for them. This would be interpreted as a weakness by more bureaucratically and economically minded managers, but it also presents an opportunity in the context of transformation, where bureaucratic instruments themselves become subject to critique. The task at hand, then, is to develop a structure that allows for individual idiosyncrasy which would, in turn, more or less automatically transform the content. It requires a substantial amount of curricular invention from individual tutors, but allows each tutor to exploit her or his strengths in the production of order in order to compensate for the possible lack of continuity, or reduced continuity.

The etymological origin in English of the word *theory* links it to concepts of vision and manners of seeing (theatre is derived from the same root). In keeping with this original conception of theory, the first four years of study serve as an introduction and investigation of means of constructing and wielding different lenses on history. The lenses are named and conceptualised as representative of an incremental increase in complexity but reflect the idea that that which increases in complexity is not the object which is viewed, but the viewer or the lens through which the object is viewed instead. Accordingly, a student may progress through 'levels' of knowledge of increasing complexity, but history is no longer assumed to be a narrative of 'improvement'. The first four years are thus named using adjectives rather than nouns, and describe a way of seeing – an order, rather than an object which is viewed. In the fifth year, the focus shifts from the construction of lenses (or perspectives, and/or points of view) by tutors to the self-conscious construction and manipulation of perspectives by students themselves in preparation for a minor dissertation in the sixth year.

As an example of how this would translate into teachable content, a brief unpacking of some possibilities from each year will serve as examples. In the first year, the lens is called *Geometric*. This does not mean that students only study the geometries prevalent in architectural history, but instead that the order by which the content is arranged is a geometric order. In other words, should one take the example of the circle as an ordering device, one could place architectural artefacts from the Renaissance next to Iron Age circular settlements of Southern Africa or circular buildings in the 21st century in the same lecture, providing students with context for each, and allowing them to mix intuitively as a montage. This a-temporality will resolve many conflicts between the history subjects and those in the fields of design and construction, while simultaneously opening up history courses to minor insertions of radical novelty in the production of content.

The course progresses from this very broad introduction to an *Elemental* conception of architecture in the second year, based on the extensive work by The Office for Metropolitan Architecture (Koolhaas, 2014) in which architectural elements are dislodged from one another and each is studied in the context of its own history as a technology,

rather than within the generic context of political history or styles of architecture. What exactly is considered to count amongst the 'elements of architecture' will, however not be dictated by that text and will instead be decided, studied and expanded by tutors and students.

In the third year, elements are given order through the investigation of *Sequential* techniques. There, time, and its relation with space, become the background for investigations of, for example, literature, cinema and film making, music and its notation, or the plan as an essentially sequential device. In the fourth year – the exit level for an undergraduate degree – students study the history of architecture through a *Political* lens. Here, architecture could be studied in its relation to power, identity, and/or the idea of a nation or city (urban design is explicitly introduced into the design curriculum at this time) with the background of an awareness of architecture as an embodiment of relationships and hierarchical values. The fifth year is the first year of postgraduate study. It precedes a one-year thesis in which theory, construction and design are fully integrated. Titled *Organization* it allows for the lens to become a self-conscious object of study as students begin to experiment explicitly with the production of visualised points of view through analysis of architectural representation and its histories, taking the previous four years into account.

The example above is based on the current staff distribution of the department and their expressed research interests. It will be updated as staff join the department, leave it, or change the trajectory or framing of their research.

Other Timelines

Each of the lenses outlined above will produce a different concept of the timeline. It is not within the scope of this text to describe any course content in detail, or to draw a comprehensive representation of any of the courses, their content, or resulting timelines. As illustration, however, Figure 2 serves to summarise roughly the type of timeline that a lens like the *Geometric* (left) and *Elemental* (right) could produce.

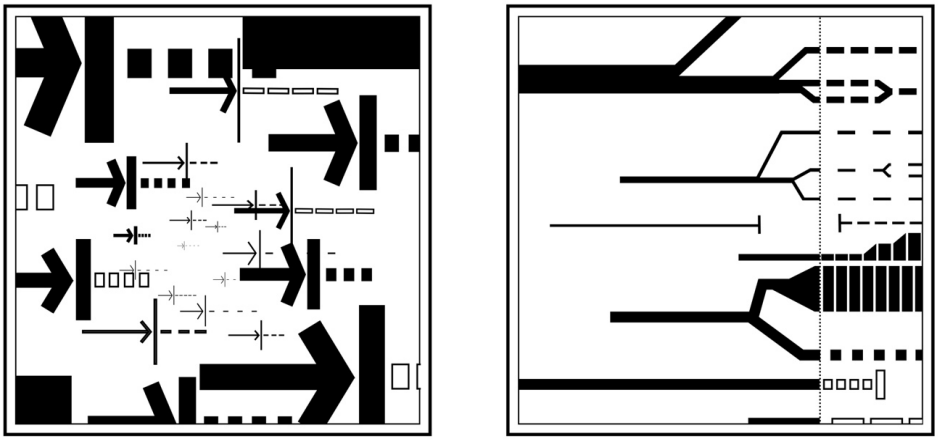

Figure 2: A multiplicity of coexistent histories are revealed when the primary order of history is adjusted to an a-temporal mode such as geometric shapes in architecture (left) or architectural elements (right).

In the alternative timelines above, the convention of reading from left to right has been retained, meaning that the past is generally to the left and the future to the right of the present which is described by a vertical line. Each arrow in the frame on the left represents an architectural artefact, event or person. The logic of the relations between individual artefacts is determined idiosyncratically through association with geometric shape, in the production of each lecture and its content, and they are placed in a three-dimensional space according to the order of that logic. The duration, intensity and impact of individual geometric components (circles, squares, or spirals, for example) vary somewhat, depending on the subjective will of the tutor and students.

In the diagram to the right, the timeline resulting from the second-year course, *Elements*, is roughly described. In it, the different artefacts of study maintain their own relative timelines and are located in a field from which the tutor selects details to discuss in class. They have different trajectories, lengths, pasts and futures and are relatively independent of one another in the abstract space of the diagram.

In both images, the present is drawn as a vertical line, introducing the explicit study of possibilities for the future. The study of history is thereby reframed as a study of the past, present and future – as well as their interactions.

Identity and Continuity

Architecture schools are in a continuous process of negotiation between the mutually exclusive and competing possibilities of a well-defined and well-illustrated identity on the one hand and the mandate to conform to predictable and consistent standards on the other. Standardisation allows interoperability between institutions while identity allows unique, place-based education. The drive towards standardisation is a response to artificially produced, place-based inequalities which will be perpetuated if left to develop naturally and so should not be dismissed. Architecture is, however, a place-based discipline (buildings, like events, take place) and the productive potential of place-based identity also should not be dismissed.

In order to tread the fine line between equality and difference (and, for that matter, possibility and definition) one could focus on the dual nature of architecture for at least a conceptual solution. The moveable components of architecture tend to be its conceptual dimension, which is mutable through reinterpretation and description, as well as its organisational component (people arrive at and leave architecture, defining it as they occupy it). By focusing on giving definition to these immaterial components of architecture (people, procedures and concepts), architecture schools may be able to not only bridge discrepancies between bureaucratic processes and practical reality in its own curricular programmes, but could also contribute more broadly to debates in education and politics. Architectural thinking can contribute recommendations for changes to the procedures by which rules (form) are followed, when not making recommendations for new rules. To say, in other words, what is *in* the book but not to say it *by* the book.

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How to cite:

Steyn, S. (2019). Presenting History: The Manipulation of Chronological Structures in the Development and Maintenance of Transformative Curricula. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 111-121. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3696

Reflective article

Grasping the Regimes of Language, Space and Identity in the Visual of Post-apartheid Higher Education in South Africa

Giselle Baillie,* Mary Duker** & Zamansele Nsele***

Preface

In 2014, through the University of the Free State's (UFS) Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice (IRSJ), three South African universities partnered to collaborate on the pilot phase of a research project focused on understanding whether the Arts could enable social cohesion, as the 2012 National Development Plan (2030) had promoted.

The project, which had been conceptualised by one of the authors of this article in early 2014,[1] followed both experience and observation of the challenges with regards this concept in the Arts, Culture and Heritage sectors of South Africa. Subsequent reflection and questioning of some of the related challenges, problematised the role that higher education had in societal transformation, and accordingly, in the conceptual development of social cohesion: Were universities creating appropriate conceptual frameworks and praxes required for the post-apartheid South African context?

The disruption created by the 2008 'Reitz Video' and the UFS's subsequent decision to critically explore the meanings and trajectories thereof as part of the university's transformation process, opened an important space also for the interrogation of concepts like that of 'Arts' and 'Social Cohesion' in South Africa. The 'Reitz Video' when read as a 'Visual', signaled the need to not only understand and address racism more substantively, but also the need to understand the power of the visual in the disruption of outdated social imaginaries and, in the production of what the new social imaginaries could also be.

Research questions around the visual were subsequently set for the pilot phase of the project in 2014. These included firstly, the need to question how social cohesion was thought of and worked with in an African context by emerging and established visual

1 Giselle Baillie.

* Ms Giselle Baillie is a Researcher at the Unit for Institutional Change and Social Justice (formerly the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice) of the University of the Free State, South Africa. Email: bailliegk@ufs.ac.za

** Prof. Mary Duker teaches in both the studio and visual studies programmes in the Department of Visual Arts at the Nelson Mandela University, South Africa. Email: mary.duker@mandela.ac.za

*** Ms Zamansele Nsele, at the time of the project in 2015, lectured in Visual Culture at Rhodes/UCKAR, South Africa, and is currently a Lecturer in design studies at the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Email: zamanselensele@gmail.com

artists, and secondly, to ascertain what the broader student and staff populations at these three South African universities (the University of the Free State, Rhodes University[2] and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University[3]) understood and proposed in terms of the concept of social cohesion at this particular juncture of South Africa's democracy project.

With this research framework, each university set about the project's implementation in 2015, as would be best suited to the needs and context of each institution. Common to the implementation of the project, however, was that each university would develop an exhibition consisting of visual arts-based works reflecting and responding to the research framework; that each university would also host a colloquium on the research question; and that all three universities would document their processes in a joint publication for reflection and development purposes.

Through the IRSJ, the UFS's implementation focused on the exploration of the concept through firstly working with students drawn from across faculties and who would collaborate with third year Fine Arts as well as Drama and Theatre Arts students and secondly; working with professional artists, both those employed by the university as well as those operating in the surrounds of the university. While students of the university were worked with over a period of a semester to reflect on the concept in relation to the context of the university self, the professional artists were asked over the same period of time to think of the concept in terms of the broader Mangaung[4] municipal and South African context through an African epistemological lens. Discussions with regards this conceptual basis of social cohesion with the group was guided by the provision of various scholarly articles, book chapters and thought pieces by a range of African artists and thinkers. The artworks developed by the students and the professional artists were then hosted as part of the IRSJ's Social Justice platform in the second semester of 2015, which was integrated across spaces of the university campus in order to elicit interaction and reflection from as broad an audience as possible.

Rhodes/UCKAR aligned the project to its Office for Equity and Institutional Culture as well as to the Department of Fine Art and implemented the project through a collaboration with Makhanda community-based arts organisations (Fingo Festival and Upstart Youth Development Project), interested Fine Arts students and a group of professional artists working at community level from the Western Cape. Working with school learners from Rhini and Joza,[5] this collaboration resulted in the installation of site specific work located on campus and its surrounds. Partnership with the Nelson Mandela Foundation was also established in order to curate and host a photographic exhibition in the Albany Museum, focused on visualising issues of social justice.

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2 From 2015, Rhodes University has also been referred to as the University Currently Known As Rhodes (UCKAR) as the debate and dialogue around its name take place.

3 From 2017, the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University has been known as the Nelson Mandela University.

4 Mangaung Municipality comprises the Bloemfontein, Botshabelo and Thaba Nchu municipal areas.

5 Township residential areas within Makhanda.

The Nelson Mandela University's School of Music, Art and Design incorporated the project into the workplan of its newly introduced first year Bachelor of Visual Arts programme. Students from across a range of visual arts disciplines collaborated in the production of artworks and texts. In September 2015, the project culminated in a colloquium and an exhibition. These activities served to launch the new art gallery and expanded visual arts facilities on the university's Bird Street Campus.

As became evident through the pilot phase, the various histories and institutional cultures particular to each of these universities would come to influence the project, as would the particular frameworks of change which the student #movements in 2015 were to provide. The findings from the pilot implementation phase of the project were as a result complex and have continued to provide scope for interpretation, thought and use across contexts. With this in mind, our contribution to this journal focuses on representatives from each of the three participating universities engaging in a reflective discussion on what we have learnt so far in terms of how, in particular, the visual works with and intersects higher education and issues of space, language and identity politics in South Africa today in terms of the meta issues of social cohesion and social justice.

Some of the issues raised from our reflections include, firstly, that the visual within the public space, including university campuses, remains as contentious and unresolved as it has over the past two decades of our democracy. Secondly, this lack of cultural advancement has led to young black academics being caught in a particular and precarious form of crossfire. On the one hand they are highly critical of the institutional practices and highly conscious of erasures and amnesias, yet, on the other hand, they are employed in the system. Lastly, the disruption which the visual results in has the potential to change narratives. However, as with the challenges of the visual in the public space, we continue to struggle in finding the language and the will to effect this.

All three authors worked in leading positions in the project in 2015 and through their attempt at explaining the processes and findings of the pilot year of the project at the 2016 South African Art Historians Conference, it was confirmed for themselves that the project, while implemented through the Visual Arts sector in 2015, had findings which needed to be developed and shared with the broader higher education environment as well.

This reflective discussion therefore goes back to the beginning and focuses on each university reflecting on one question, which is framed and guided by key thematic areas drawn from the overall project findings from 2015, and which can be read at the end of the article. This framework, at that particular juncture in time, summarised the social conditions and contingencies which each university had identified as being in need of consideration and work if social cohesion was to be developed within their institutions.

Keywords:
diversity, reconciliation and silence; history, post memory and space; process, politics and pedagogies

REFLECTIVE QUESTION: Assuming that the National Development Plan focuses on the arts and their relationship to social cohesion on the understanding that the arts have the ability to 'encounter' problems and that through their practices have the power to re-imagine social relationships, we could argue that it is intuitively possible that the arts can be an enabler in the arena of social cohesion. How does this translate to and become integrated into the cultures of university campuses in the post-apartheid space?

A) Giselle Baillie: UFS

Diversity, Reconciliation and Silence

Diversity

For a university campus where the more recent commissioning of public artworks under the institution's transformation project has in many ways been to counterbalance, reposition and problematise the 'Old' (Read: Apartheid histories, statues, memorials, architecture, spatial complexities) with the 'New' (read: Constitutional Democracy); a response to this question until more recently would very likely have been to the affirmative, in that public artworks do enable social cohesion. This response would more than likely also have been premised on the notion that wherever the artworks were displayed, that they could be read in the post-apartheid conceptual framework and discourse which promoted diversity, reconciliation, tolerance, respect for difference and, social cohesion (UFS, n.d; Schmahmann, 2013, 2015). Also implicitly factored into this claim would be the understanding that the visual language promoted by these artworks would be accessible, meaningful to and accepted by all communities and identities engaging with the university (ibid).

What was raised by the 2015 #RhodesMustFall (here after referred to as #RMF) movement however, was the explicit rejection of this conceptual framework, its language and its meanings on public university campuses. This rejection however was not isolated and neither did it relate only to the issue of statues or to South African public university campuses for that matter. Parallel to the #RMF drive in getting the Rhodes statue moved off the University of Cape Town's campus, was a similar project in the broader South African public space spearheaded by members of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and also the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and, which focused on the removal of pre-democracy 'Colonial and Boer [Afrikaner]' public monuments and statues. Amongst the reasons provided by the aforementioned political parties was their frustration with the lack of socio-economic change in the post-Apartheid South African society and therefore the need to 'cleanse society' of all symbols and social imaginations which hurt and hampered development (see, for example, Independent Online, 2015).

While vested with a new form of urgency, given the media's intense focus on the matter, at face value it seemed that these forms of rejection mirrored those which had been ongoing since the late 1990s in South Africa as the heritage landscape underwent

transformation processes.[6] Subsequently, the #RMF rejections were soon to be located into the framework of historical narrative, identity, politics and power contestation with the accompanying conceptual framework of heritage contestation management soon following. Since 1994, and in recognition of the oppressive symbolism which certain objects were imbued with - statues, artworks and visual reminders of apartheid leaders such as Hendrik Verwoerd were removed from their original positions and contexts in the public space, supposedly to be banished to storage or alternately to be re-contextualised for critical public engagement in a new 'museum' or 'heritage' context or setup (Coombes, 2004; Dubin, 2009). The broader public art landscape, including objects relating to British and Afrikaner histories, however, were to remain in the public space to be utilised for reconciliation processes through the dialogues which the inclusion of additional public artworks, focused on the narratives of Black historical figures and events, would purportedly enable. This 'dialectical relationship', it was proposed, would elicit the development of critical public dialogue and a public philosophy towards constitutional realisation and citizenship development.

However, as could be witnessed over the past two and a half decades of South Africa's democracy, the conceptual development needed within the public space and in the heritage sector to equitably deal with the related historical, cultural, racial and discriminatory trauma and hurt (see for example Moodley, 2014) which these colonial and apartheid objects evoked, was limited. As a result, even though new public artworks were commissioned and dialogues in relation to the heritage transformation process were called for or attempted, limited philosophical progression at ground level and at executive level seemed to take place. What was removed from the public space usually ended up being purposefully forgotten in some obscure and out of the way dark room or repositioned into different meanings in spheres of private language and heritage practice related to specific identity interests. Alternately, what was proposed for inclusion into these spaces in order to problematise the old, would either not be realised or, alternately, marginalised owing to various other socio-political factors at play (Coombes, 2004; Dubin, 2009; Miller, 2017).

Hence, when this discourse again became foregrounded in 2015 through the #RMF movement, and given the continued lack of conceptual, linguistic and political framework development to deal with the challenges it foregrounded, initial proposals raised by a national working group established by the Minister for Arts and Culture again focused

6 Prior to South Africa's democracy, heritage, like all other realms of the South African reality, was governed by the principles of segregation and 'own development'. Segregated museums were established for the white population in towns and cities to present particular narratives of history and to uphold the white imagination of racial, cultural and intellectual superiority. The principle of 'own development' was employed in the previous ethnically segregated homelands of apartheid South Africa, focusing on ethnic cultural development and usually through the establishment of 'ethnic-based cultural institutions' where only one language and its related cultural practices would find the space for development. The process of creating new shared narratives, new shared histories, shared spatial frameworks and so forth from this previously segregated reality, would and has continued to prove challenging in democratic South Africa. Rather than being able to create a shared historical and heritage framework, contestations seemed instead to focus around whose narrative was being promoted in most instances of heritage transformation debate since 1994.

on 'solutions'. These included placing the statues in a special 'Statue/Memorial Park', alternatively placing these 'offensive' statues in a museum or heritage site in order to re-contextualise them, or placing them in storage, with the unspoken knowledge that this would once again lead to the temporary salve of silencing and shelving of the conundrum (see for example, Mthethwa, 2015). The public space and the heritage sector it seemed had no new praxes to the conundrum. But was it an issue which only the heritage sector should address?

In February 2008, the UFS found itself faced with its most critical public-visual-witnessing moment when the video produced for an internal residence cultural competition went viral, globally. Focused on expressing rejection of the university's 2007 forced residence racial integration policy, four young white male and Afrikaans-speaking students, through the adoption and use of the *Fear Factor* television show format as storyline shaper, created a video narrating their rejection of racial integration. Through this register, the five black university workers they had co-opted into acting out the 'Fear Factor' competition storyline would show how 'different' they were by 'playing the game' through a set of challenges which evoked elements of the cultural hazing practices traditionally employed by UFS residences. These included testing the ability of the participants to consume food dishes concocted to induce vomiting, to consume large quantities of alcohol and then to perform particular dance movements; to present their 'identity' at the residence bar through the utilisation of language registers particular to the Reitz residence and, to successfully compete in an obstacle-based athletic competition (Van der Merwe & Van Reenen, 2016, pp. 9-23).

This visual interpretation, which won the Reitz Residence cultural competition in the previous year, became so much more than what students had supposedly intended it to be. Rather, like public statues and other visuals in plural or diverse identity South Africa, this video hosted meanings and powers beyond those of the supposed intentions of its producers and its custodians, and beyond those of the communities they were located in. Rather than remaining an 'innocent spoof', as the students and their families would claim (ibid.); the video and its after-images were read and utilised along a trajectory of different meanings. For many black people in South Africa and globally, the video represented the arrogance underpinning the racism of many white people and the continued ignorance of the hurt caused by racism. For many black and some white UFS students, past and present, the video took on meanings aligned to the subtle aggressions, discrimination and injustices which these students had for years articulated as taking place at the university, but who could seldom provide visual evidence thereof. For gender-interest groups, the video represented not only racism, but also the continued arrogance of patriarchy and sexism in society. For the workers in the video and for their families, the video took on meanings of shame and embarrassment as members of their own communities ridiculed them for supposedly having been 'duped' by these students (UFS Media Archives, 2008). Although produced by the four students and not the university, and even though the university publically condemned the video and apologised for the hurt it had created, for many of the publics (after Habermas) it remains symbolic of the university's alleged continued racism,

with its visual power lingering deeply in the social imagination of the injustices, which black South Africans foreground as continuing in the democratic space.

In 2015, and aligned to the #RMF movements, the UFS was once again faced with a critical social cohesion and social justice question in the public sphere, with its roots once again in the visual. Should the UFS, as it had initiated in 2009, continue in its attempt to reconcile the university community to the underlying premises of the Constitution in order to re-imagine and re-build the university community and broader society, or should the University forego promoting its conceptual understanding of reconciliation, democracy and transformation and allow what was considered 'oppressive' by students (various public artworks on the campus) to be removed instead?[7] In February 2016, students decided for the University.

Reconciliation

"To imagine a language means to imagine a form of life" (Wittgenstein, 1953, p. 8)

When the new vice-chancellor of the UFS, Professor Jonathan Jansen, announced in his inauguration speech in October 2009 that the university would still proceed with criminal charges against the four students who had produced the 'Reitz Video', but that the university would also forgive the four students and allow them to complete their studies, and that he, the university and society should recognise their complicity in providing the environment in which such racist and unjust behaviour could take place and as such accept responsibility and study and develop new, critical praxes of reconciliation, the backlash from the black South African public was significant. Why, they asked, should black people continue to forgive white people for their continued racism, for their continued exclusion of the black person from spaces and opportunities, for their continued lack of remorse? As contended by countless opinions expressed on the 'Reitz Video' matter in the media, those four white students needed to be punished and removed if anything was ever to change. Jansen's proposed and publicly mis-read 'racial reconciliation', like that of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC), was an 'insult' to black people, writers and thinkers like Pumla Gqola inferred (2009).

The decision to utilise 'Reconciliation' as a key operational principle in the UFS's proposed societal transformation project, however, went ahead. In assisting the UFS as well as its broader communities to 'read' this transformation and societal development principle in action, significant changes were made to the University's motto, its insignia, its vision and mission, its public art project, its academic project and to its strategies amongst others

7 Since approximately 2003, the UFS had undertaken discussions and actions in dealing with apartheid-era statues, names and artworks on the Bloemfontein campus. Following the success of an application made around 2007, a set of new public artworks was commissioned from 2009 until 2011 through funds from the National Lottery Commission to exist in relationship to the 'Old'. Further, the removal in many residences of apartheid-era and discriminatory signs, artworks and symbols was also undertaken. From 2013, the UFS had similarly been attempting to work with the Students Representative Council (SRC) in identifying new names for buildings, as well as the re-positioning/interpretation of public artworks. A critical breakdown in this process, however, seems to have taken place.

(UFS Media, 2009-2014). As stated to the media, the UFS would become a world leader in the praxes of reconciliation. However, as would be consistently raised and witnessed via the various media articles and visuals captured or created on alleged racial incidents taking place at the UFS over the period from 2010 to 2015 (see, for example, YouTube, 2014); by supposedly not punishing and removing the initial 'problem' that related to the 'Reitz Video' in 2007/8; the university assumedly continued to protect and support white Afrikaans culture and in doing so, continued to allegedly allow white superiority, racism and oppression to manifest unhindered. No matter how the UFS attempted to visually and conceptually re-imagine itself, the imprint of the visuals and meanings from the Reitz video and also from other prior and subsequent alleged racist incidents at the University seemed to find more traction in the student imaginative space.

Then, on 22 February 2016, almost eight years to the day from when the 'Reitz Video' had initially gone viral globally, images and digital footage of white rugby supporters beating up protesting black UFS students and black staff trying to resolve the impasse, also went viral. Within twenty-four hours, the C.R. Swart statue[8] on the UFS campus was removed from its plinth by a group of EFF-linked members and students, and dumped into the pool outside the UFS Law Faculty buildings. Five months later, an Afrikaans-focused interest group, the Voortrekkers, applied to the provincial heritage authority for permission to remove the statue from storage at the UFS campus in order to install it on a farm near Lindley in the Free State, which was being used to educate young Afrikaners about 'their' history and heritage. The C.R. Swart statue, which like other statues had not been removed from the Bloemfontein campus but had been joined by other works to foster dialectical relationships as part of the university's reconciliation frame, seemed to prove once again that the 'dialectical relationship theory' was limited.

Silence

As was articulated in the 2015 project publication, a publication that explored the findings put forward by the project across all three universities at that time, for the arts to enable social cohesion, conceptual clarification in relation to how social cohesion needs to be thought of in the post-apartheid plural South African context, what it is meant to/projected to achieve, and what support structures and discourses were needed to enable this, were in dire need. Without this clarification, the visual arts, in particular, would continue to kick up dust and create festering wounds around the concept on university campuses and in the public space.

Two threads of silence therefore shape and inform my current thinking with regard to the question. Firstly, given that the 2015 project focused on the visual arts, and as such this

8 The statue of Charles Robert Swart was installed on the UFS campus in 1993, in front of the Law Faculty buildings. C.R. Swart was the first State President of the Republic of South Africa (1961-1967). Prior to this, he was last Governor General of the Union of South Africa under whose watch many of the discriminatory laws of Apartheid South Africa were legalised. For more on the statue, see Miller and Schmahmann, 2017.

answer needs to shape my thinking to that particular art form, the visual and the public arts do have the ability to encounter or raise problems, but, as has also been evidenced through numerous examples from South Africa since 1994 – ignorance, subversion or avoidance of the political agency (aisthesis, after Rancière, 2004) in favour of the 'aesthetic' of the artwork usually ends up silencing and frustrating the potential language, interstices and re-imagination the visual should initiate. As would be seen through the #FMF movements, and since then, as universities have attempted to grapple with public art issues; contestation over whether the historical value or the aesthetic value of an artwork carries more weight than its political agency, obscures and silences the power that the visual could have in the social re-imagination process.

Secondly, as is the case with the UFS and its attempts at problematising 'Reconciliation' – when attempts are made to put in place frameworks and interventions to locate and develop new imaginations around the visual – in the conflicted space which the South African historical past creates, social cohesion is not about relationships of consensual dialogue, but is rather that of continuous productive contestation, given the plural and highly complex society that South Africa is.

B) Zamansele Nsele: Rhodes/UCKAR

History, Post Memory and Space

The issues that were raised at the dialogues culminated in a student-led colloquium on art and social justice. A variety of papers were presented by students and they coalesced around an amalgam of themes pertaining to the complicated status of Rhodes University in the institutional post-apartheid landscape. What emerged as the most immediate issue at the colloquium was the institutional project of memory as represented by the contested signifier[9] of Cecil John Rhodes, as is still carried by the name Rhodes University (UCKAR). What I have written below is a meditation on the signifier of Cecil John Rhodes and the implications that this signification bears on the physical built space that is still called 'Rhodes University' or the 'University Currently Known As Rhodes' post-#RMF.

What is remembered, who remembers it, and how is it remembered?

Memory is a fragile and faulty device that is driven by desire and imagination. We use memory not to remember, how things were, but rather to remember things the way we want them to be. It follows then that imagination and memory are bedfellows. Ricouer (2004) writes that if memory and imagination are two affections that are always in the company of one another, then "to evoke one to imagine it, is to evoke the other to remember it" Ricouer (2004). Now, within this mnemonic structure of desire, imagination and memory, what do we make of the institutional memory that commands the university

9 This issue of name change followed from the removal of the Rhodes statue that previously stood erect as an extension of UCT campus (University of Cape Town).

apparatus? Here I use the term 'institutional memory' as shorthand to refer to institutional patterns and institutional cultures that are cultivated as everyday norms that reinforce whiteness in historically white university spaces. Such norms reinforce the comfort of white bodies, in the sense that white bodies in these spaces of higher learning are in the words of Sara Ahmed "bodies-at-home". Ahmed[10] refers to institutions as spaces that are historically prepared and readied to receive and enable white bodies. The somatic difference represented by black bodies manifests the opposite effect – discomfort. Consequently, one can confidently expand from the premise that black South Africans who have gone through a 'previously white university' system know that it is a painstaking journey characterised by varying degrees of humiliation and alienation. This journey is akin to the one outlined by Ngugi (1986) in his tome, *Decolonising the Mind*, where he sheds light on the pathological effects of colonial alienation. What is touted as a path out of poverty – university education – for poor black South Africans is a double-edged sword that can cut both ways. It is a journey that alienates oneself from oneself and this alienation extends to one's family, community and towards Africa in general.

What does it mean to grow up in the places and spaces of history which are not your own?

The question above was posed during the Art & Social Justice colloquium, and I use it as a conceptual guide in my response as it links a series of pertinent questions raised by Zine Magubane (2004) in the text *Hear Our Voices*, and they are as follows:

1. For what and for whom were these universities created?
2. From their inception, what have the social functions of these universities been?

In order to attend to these questions, Magubane agitates that we go back in time to trace the lineage linking universities, especially English-medium universities, to the mining industry. Magubane (2004, p. 44) points out the following:

> The history of mining magnates whose ill-gotten gains played such a central role in providing the financial bequests that underwrote the establishment of South Africa's most prominent universities is a damning one.

Cecil John Rhodes is a major actor in southern African colonial history; he unapologetically dominates the imperial stage. He looms large as one of the mining magnates that Magubane speaks of in the above passage. His image can be productively analysed as a quintessential representation of imperial heroism. It was the Rhodes Trust that bequeathed the funds to

10 According to Sarah Ahmed, the institutionalisation of whiteness involves work: the institution comes to have a body as an effect of this work. With this in mind, she urges us not to reify institutions by presuming they are simply given and that they decide what we do. Rather, Ahmed suggests that institutions become given, as an effect of the repetition of decisions made over time. Institutions involve the accumulation of past decisions about how to allocate resources, as well as 'who' to recruit.

establish a university bearing his name in Grahamstown[11] in 1904, Rhodes University. Magubane argues that the institutional memory of Cecil John Rhodes is strategically an amnesiac one. I propose that it speaks of much more than just a selective institutional memory practice. The whitewashing[12] is indicative of an ominous type of memory practice that is in the form of imperial nostalgia. Imperial nostalgia regards colonialism as a "one-way flow of charity and benevolence from the European to the African" and, therefore, words of gratitude are expected from Africans in return (Reilly, 2016). From this standpoint, colonialism is a gift that bestows civilisation where there was none, echoing the myth of the white man's burden.[13] Put differently from this purview, colonialism equals civilisation.[14] Herein lies the violence of nostalgia's sentimentalism, as by its own internal logic it is a form of remembering that effaces all the inconvenient bits, i.e. violence and plunder. For its own gains this memory practice removes the inconvenient truths about the past. Modernity and its underside, coloniality, coalesce upon a fundamental organising principle and that is abject violence, but this aspect is often muted and ignored by those afflicted by this form of sentimental longing. Imperial nostalgia further strategically omits the fact that modern civilisation depends precisely on what it chooses not to acknowledge: black abjection. Institutional memory practice is consistent with this pattern of remembering whereby the image of Cecil John Rhodes is "tightly edited" in order to play down his flagrant hatred towards "natives" and this effectively conceals his conspicuous zeal for white supremacy[15] (Magubane in Reilly, 2016, p. 78). In recent history, that is in post-apartheid history, the pattern is not broken. In a paper presented by Siseko Kumalo (2015) at the colloquium, he highlighted Rhodes University's (institutional) silence on Marikana, and pointed out the negligence in acknowledging and remembering the lives lost during the Marikana massacre in 2012. What makes this institutional silence conspicuous is that the anniversary of Marikana on 11 August fell on the weekend of intervarsity, which was hosted by Rhodes University at the time. Little to nothing was done by the institution to note the importance of this fateful day. Kumalo (2015) expands on this:

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11 Renamed 'Makhanda' in 2018.

12 Bernard Magubane in Joseph Reilly's (2016) *Teaching the 'Native'*, notes the deliberate effort not only to whitewash the deeds of Cecil John Rhodes but to further whitewash his words in liberal history. Magubane (in Reilly) further points out that Cecil John Rhodes' will from where his scholarship was established was heavily abridged, "savagely censored". As a result this effectively denies contemporary readers open access to CJR's imperial vision.

13 *The White Man's Burden* is the title of a poem written by Rudyard Kipling in 1899. In the poem, Kipling urges America to righteously assume imperial control over the Philippine islands. Consequently, the term has come to signify the justification of imperialism as a moral obligation on the part of the Europeans to uplift and civilise blacks and people of colour.

14 This notion has recently been subject to public debate following the tweets of the premier of the Western Cape, Helen Zille, where she lists the positive outcomes of colonialism. This suggests that South Africans, even at the level of leadership, have not come to a consensus about colonialism and apartheid as irredeemable abominations.

15 The native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa. I prefer land to niggers. http://www.2oceansvibe.com/2015/03/23/i-prefer-land-to-niggers-and-more-choice-quotes-from-cecil-john-rhodes/#ixzz4jGTykyU9

> With students claiming affinity with the working class population there is no surprise that on the morning of the Marikana anniversary, after a weekend of debauchery masked by the assertion of celebrating sporting excellence, through the intervarsity tournament which was hosted by Rhodes University this year, we woke up to an institution whose administration block was drenched in red spray paint with 'Marikana' placed strategically in defiance of the blatant silencing of what was termed 'Black Pain'.

In this pattern, post-apartheid institutions such as Rhodes University are seen as complicit in the fundamental lack of formally registering the precariousness of black lives in post-apartheid South Africa. In its epistemological frame this aspect of erasure was discussed in *Bantu-Staan!*, a paper presented by Sikhumbuzo Makandula (2015). To regard history from this perspective affirms the logic of epistemicide. Put in another way, it speaks to the necessary distortion and devaluing of indigenous (non-Europeans') forms of knowing and being in the world. Colonial epistemicide has occurred on all disciplinary levels including the visual. Up until the #RMF student protests, when the Rhodes statue was physically removed, Cecil John Rhodes had been (and arguably still is) institutionally regarded less as a racist imperialist and more as a magnanimous philanthropist, his name being synonymous with prestige and academic excellence as embodied by the Mandela-Rhodes Scholarship.[16] The legacy of Cecil John Rhodes is by no stretch of the imagination, from this perspective, a symbol[17] of benevolence; it is a gift that keeps on giving even in the post-apartheid future in 2017.[18]

On space, post-memory and the political nature of visuality in post-apartheid South Africa

Spatiality and visuality in their various intersections are domains that are not value-free and nor are they separate from ideology and politics. Rhodes University is like many institutions in South Africa which have been formally structured by the divides of apartheid. It is an institution that can be understood as a spatial site and as a visual sight of identification and resistance. Additionally, one's experience of its administrative and cultural practices as a whole creates an overall sense of either belonging or non-belonging in the space. In the case of 'non-belongers' there is nearly always a sticky feeling that one

16 See the online article, 'Feasibility of Rhodes University name change to be studied'. http://ewn.co.za/2015/07/31/Task-team-set-for-Rhodes-University-proposed-name-change [Retrieved on 7 June 2017].

17 The most prominent signifiers of Cecil John Rhodes' legacy have lived in the realm of visuality. For instance, it was the eventual removal of the statue that opened up space for a public discourse on decoloniality to ensue. The removal of his statue subsequently invited debate and scrutiny over the name of Rhodes University and the urgent need to change it. The public call for renaming has been largely student led, and it squares against the desires of an invested alumni, to whom such a change would affect the brand value of the institution, denoting a lowering of standards.

18 It is not surprising, then, that anti-#RMF rhetoric relies on this type of thought pattern. #RMF leaders, such as Sbo Qwabe who is a recipient of the Rhodes scholarship, were often painted as irrational ingrates for their critique and protest against discriminatory practices in university spaces.

has to conform to a way of doing things or saying things or appearing in a prescribed way in order to fit in and eventually arrive at the destination of 'home' in the space. These experiences are not exclusively shaped by race, as class, one's gender and sexual orientation further contaminate the experience of not belonging. For instance, at Rhodes University, to speak with a detectable 'Model C' accent carries a dominant social and cultural capital that would enable the speaker to be welcomed and to 'feel at home'. Within the same vein the repeated discomfiture of hearing one's name repeatedly mispronounced has led to an informal culture of predominantly black students that either change or shorten their names as a method of assimilating into a space that is not yet ready to receive their arrival. This brings to mind Sara Ahmed's discussion where she unpacks the structural privilege of those who are vested with the comfort of playing hosts in such institutions; she speaks of "those who are at home in the space, the ones who are welcoming rather than welcomed". The unhomely shadow that follows black bodies around in these spaces is a long one that cannot simply be overcome through admission and recruitment policies.

C) Mary Duker: NMU

Process, Politics and Pedagogies: Considering the Way Forward

The 2015 Project

The invitation from the IRSJ to partner with them and Rhodes/UCKAR in the 2015 project came at an opportune time. This was the year in which Nelson Mandela University's Department of Visual Arts introduced its Bachelor of Visual Arts (BVA) qualification. Because the programme was in its very first iteration, there were no pre-existing, fixed, cast-in-stone sets of curricular 'traditions' to uphold, and there was a degree of flexibility possible with regard to the work plan and the timetable. The lecturers who would be presenting the newly minted studio modules expressed a willingness to engage the first cohort of BVA students in a collective and embodied art-making project focused on the visual expression of 'African' identities. We mapped out a timeframe, with the work produced in the project destined for a high-profile institutionally supported exhibition, accompanied by a colloquium. The studio exploration would focus on the re-imagining of social relationships while the colloquium, with its presenters drawn from the ranks of both the visual arts and the social sciences, and including practitioners and theorists, artists, curators and student activists, would probe the gaps in the social cohesion narrative.

The project was conceptualised and planned very early in 2015, and the studio aspect commenced just prior to the date that the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town was removed from its plinth as an outcome of the #RhodesMustFall protests. Shortly after the exhibition and colloquium in October, the national #FeesMustFall protests gained momentum. Looking back, the heated discussion that informed and helped to shape the studio project, and the content addressed by the colloquium presenters, appears both timeous and prescient.

Bringing the 'outside' inside

We envisaged the project in its entirety, both the studio and the colloquium aspects, as a boundary-crosser, one that could bring theory and practice closer together, but more importantly, one that could bring the 'realities' of the outside world into the possibly over-protected disciplinary 'safe' space of the first-year programme. Nathan Harter (2016, p. x) points out that reality itself is anything but stable, certain, simple and dis-ambiguous, and using the military acronym 'VUCA', he suggests that it is more likely to be a liminal space – one that is volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous. With this project we set out to invite 'VUCA' into the studios and lecture halls.

So what 'truths' emerged in the studio?

The studio engagement proved to be challenging. I realise that while my colleagues remained committed to seeing the project through, they experienced a great unease when the collective conceptualising and making process became messy and tense and the conversation shifted, moving away from the comfortable space of 'rainbow-ism' and towards the edgier space of 'emancipation', with black students speaking their truths about identity politics, about fitting in and about feeling silenced in a learning environment dominated by 'whiteness'.

This speaking out in the open space of the studios was new. Amongst my colleagues, some were discomforted by the levels of emotional intensity. There were earnest attempts at brokering discussion around silencing and voice and marginalisation, most of which fell to me and the head of department to facilitate. In the end we ended up with a very fetching set of works which looked good wwqsqqsqqwand which complemented the institutional narratives around *Respect for Diversity* and *Ubuntu* very well.

For me, looking back reflexively, it is not in these finessed end products that the strength and relevance of the engagement lies. Rather, the significance is to be found in the conversations, with all their awkward disjoints and their [mis]-understandings, and the potential for future engagements is to be found in the performative aspects of the shared and often painful collective art-making processes.

Writing about the "material thinking" and "handling" that underpins performative practice, Barbara Bolt suggests that, "Handling as care produces a crucial moment of understanding or circumspection" and that "… it is material thinking, rather than the completed artwork, that is the work of art" (2006, p. 5).

In her text on performativity, handling, and art practice as transformative therapeutics, Lorna Collins suggests that art-making serves as an emancipatory way of making sense of the world (2014, p. 122). Viewed through the lens of Collins' theorising, and following her train of thought, the collective-making process has the potential to serve as "… a reparative act, one that addresses loss, pain and suffering …" (2014, p. 228) and, one that may "… help to resolve the struggle between anxieties and aggression …" (2014, p. 197).

What 'truths' emerged in the colloquium?

The colloquium that we presented later in the year was intended to be an uncomfortable space, and it served its purpose. The presenters were invited to grapple with a set of questions that had emerged as the outcome of the studio project, viewed from their own disciplinary perspectives:

- Is culture a fixed entity and, if not, who controls its changes?
- Who can lay claim to being 'African?'
- How does the individual fit into the group?
- Who can talk for whom?
- Whose voice is being silenced?
- What are the power relations?
- What are the 'rules of engagement'?
- How do young creative artists position themselves, and how do all of these discussions take place – who facilitates them and in what framework?

There was vigorous engagement between the audience and the presenters, one that served to challenge certainties and call into question assumptions. What stands out when viewing the recorded footage of the event are the completely different worldviews (the 'alternative truths', to borrow a phrase, that have entered the popular lexicon in recent months), that were brought into the room by the largely student audience. What was articulated in the conversations with the presenters was not 'just' a 'simple' bi-polar black–white divide, although race was clearly foregrounded as a central issue. What was articulated were vastly different constructions of reality, ones that spoke to the socio-political optics, to the lenses through which students view themselves and the world(s) in which they live. I was reminded of Mahmood Mamdani's prescient and pessimistic words in *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa and the United States* (Hamilton, 2001). Writing as a respondent to a chapter by Neville Alexander that addresses the prospects for a non-racial South Africa, Mamdani forecast the likelihood of an "impending clash between rainbow-ism and nationalism", between an embrace of inherited inequalities and a mobilisation against it, between "Reconciliation" ideology and "Renaissance" ideology (2001, p. 495). The sounds of that clash reverberated around in our venue.

So what was the 'take-away'?

In subsequent corridor conversations with individual students from the 2015 cohort, who by now are in their final undergraduate year, I have received mixed feedback – there appears to be a very strong consensus that the whole robust process of engagement and art-making had been significant and meaningful to the student participators, and that projects such as this one, projects that provide collective opportunities to address the realities of the 'world outside the building' are invaluable, and should be included in the curriculum and in the annual studio and theoretical work plans. There are, however, different opinions regarding whether first years are 'ready' for 'challenging' projects so early in their studies, with some students and lecturers maintaining that such uneasiness of content is best grappled with

in the second and third years of study. As an extension of that train of thought, there are differing levels of comfort with the concept of working collectively. Why not, as the question was posed by a commentator, allow people to express their own ideas about where they fit in, and what their understanding of the nature of our diverse society is? Why be required to engage with others as they do this?

It is telling of exactly that desire to avoid the discomfort that comes with grappling with potentially explosive issues in a group setting that, during the departmental planning for the 2016 first-year studio work plan, it was established that the timetable could simply not support the inclusion of a similar 'group', 'outside' and 'difficult' project. Ironically, as fate would have it, the 2016 programme was disrupted by the resurgent #FeesMustFall protests, and in the end reality, the 'outside' and 'difficult' world, did indeed intrude into the sheltered space of the programme.

So where to now? What needs to be put in place to revive our project?

Our 2015 project was delivered within the framework of an innovative new curriculum, one that was drafted as a response to calls for pedagogical transformation. We made use of arts-based methodologies, and we extended the reach of our teaching and learning approach. Our project was hailed as a success, despite it having caused discomfort and unease amongst some colleagues and students. Yet, there was no noticeable appetite from my colleagues to build on it in 2016 or 2017.

If so-called 'difficult' projects are ever to form a regular, ongoing and robust part of the teaching programme, if we want to bring the volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous 'outside' world into the studios and seminar rooms in any kind of collective, robust and potentially confrontational way, whether as a pedagogical tool, a means of foregrounding social-political issues, or as a catalyst as we seek to re-imagine social relationships and work towards social change, we must ask what support measures need to be put in place, and we must consider how we can increase our collective appetite for 'discomfort'. I cannot be alone in posing these questions. Institutions are under pressure to transform. Disciplines are under pressure to listen to the student voice, and to explore ways to acknowledge and foreground the exploration of student identities within the curriculum. It is not supposed to be business as usual. It would doubtless be helpful if there were a framework of support in the form of counsellors and facilitators, conflict management specialists and teaching and learning professionals, that we could call upon for advice, as we set out to explore 'VUCA' spaces within the curriculum. This is a conversation that we need to have with our institution(s).

More importantly, these are conversations that need to be held within the department, between ourselves and with our students. For us as academics, perhaps our point of departure could be the acknowledgment of our own "learned ignorance" (De Sousa Santos, 2009, pp. 103-125), an acknowledgement of what we do not know and understand about the world outside our buildings, a recognition of the different kinds of knowledge that students bring with them into the disciplinary community, and an awareness of the limits of our own understanding of the student experience within the department.

Update: 2018-2019

In 2018 and 2019, there were signs of a turning of the tide. The collective engagement with the socio-political and the world outside the university was revisited. Theory and studio lecturers worked together to facilitate an experimental collaborative project which saw senior Bachelor of Visual Arts (BVA) students working in transdisciplinary collectives. In 2018, the groups explored key themes, including History, (Post)Memory and Re-enactment that emerged from visiting artist Nomusa Makhubu's exhibition, *Intertwined 2005-2017* (which was on view at Nelson Mandela University's Bird Street Gallery at the time). In 2019, Sethembile Msizane took up a short residency and, after an intensive and emotive workshop process, transdisciplinary collectives of senior students produced works in which they explored the performativity of individual and group identity in an engagement with the innercity area around the campus. However, the BVA first years have yet to participate in these new generation collaborations. This is a work in progress.

Postscript: 2019 and Towards some Conclusions for This Reflective Article, at This Time and in This Space

This article will possibly be printed in 2019, two years post the initial reflection informing it, four years post the pilot phase of the project's implementation, and five years post the project's initial conceptualisation. Over this period of time and space, some things have changed, and others have largely remained the same.

Following consistent demands by the Students Representative Council (SRC) at the UFS in 2016 and early 2017, the University entered into a process of broad consultation, informed by national heritage legislation regarding the future of one of the public artworks of the Bloemfontein campus, the M.T. Steyn statue: should this statue be relocated to another position on the campus or should it be removed to a site off campus. Aligned to the University's Integrated Transformation Plan (ITP), which was launched in 2017, this process (UFS, 2018) remains ongoing at the time of this conclusion in July 2019. Although perhaps having more content informing, shaping and driving the related arguments, interest groups involved in the public consultation process (as aligned to the national heritage legislation) regarding the relocation or removal of the statue remain essentially located in the politics of opposition. These, in turn, largely replicate the framework of contestation used over the past 25 years of democracy in South Africa. In this modality, none of the parties involved in the argument actually 'wins' and, as such, the understanding that public artworks such as statues are able to elicit dialogue and a philosophy towards the development of shared objectives, social cohesion and so forth, once again seems challenged in the current heritage framework. Following a process of public consultation over the period 2015-2016, the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) also released its recommendations on the broader transformation of the heritage landscape (DAC, 2018). In the report, DAC motivates the removal of colonial and apartheid statues, and the installation of statues symbolising South Africa and the governing party's democratic ideals. Silence at the conceptual and operational levels of 'statues and social cohesion' persists.

In her 2017 reflection on the project, Zamansele Nsele raises the issue of how public art on university campuses in South Africa are framed by the notions of 'whitewashing', underpinned by the deliberate obscuring, avoidance and institutional silencing of the histories of these artworks and of the institutions themselves. Although the previous University of Cape Town (UCT, 2017) and the ongoing UFS public artwork processes have resulted in the creation of what are currently narrow and very difficult inroads into this interrogation, societal transformation remains conceptually confronted and silenced by the intangible phenomenon and power of 'whitewashing'. From what has been evidenced to date in many of the arguments put forth into the public space over the past three years, it seems that this 'whitewashing' is also being informed and underpinned by the Western canon wherein the perceived aesthetic value of the artwork is promoted and defended above the consideration of its agency within social transformation.

As part of her reflection of the project dialogues around social cohesion, which took place at NMU in 2015 and which raised the reality of the highly complex pluralism existent in university communities and hence the limitations of consensus seeking, Mary Duker's promotion of these difficult and philosophically-framed, open-ended discussions and related institutional development processes being nonetheless necessary to continue, remains relevant today. What Duker's observations raise also returns us to one of the original questions of this research project: As universities have historically been identified as the vanguard of the development of new societal concepts and social transformation processes through the Arts and if currently, rather than creating new languages and meanings, they seem to be frozen in the regimes of silences, 'whitewashing', fear of confrontation and the challenging legislative framework of public art and social cohesion or, alternately, education and social cohesion (Department of Education, 2008), then continued deep interrogation and disruption of the current 'social cohesion' concept within the higher education and public context of South Africa remain as salient as ever. Perhaps central to this is the need to critically interrogate the current premise of 'social cohesion' in diverse and irreconcilable contexts as South Africa is, before the concept becomes totally enmeshed as an empty signifier in both the higher education and public social imaginaries.

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How to cite:

Baillie, G., Duker, M. & Nsele, Z. (2019). Grasping the Regimes of Language, Space and Identity in the Visual of Post-apartheid Higher Education in South Africa. *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 123-143. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3697

APPENDIX: Our State of Affairs 2015

University of the Free State	Rhodes University	Nelson Mandela University
Language, Power, Reconciliation, Agonism: • How do we understand, trust and work with each other as human beings when we do not speak a common language? • The younger generation and the older generation have very different approaches and meanings ascribed to words, terms, concepts and their meanings. This is where a breakdown between the generations also happens. How do we work with this? • How do we 'unlearn' ourselves, our prejudices, our privileges, our stereotypes? • Our histories, our identities and our meanings are tied up in a private language which we carry forward as individuals, families, groupings and communities. Making sense of and being able to reason and articulate this private language in a framework of Agonism is difficult, so how do we do it? ***History, Legitimacy and Thresholds:*** • What is our truth or truths and which generation values what, why and how? How do we work through our silences, distrust and confusion? • What is our common history? Could we have one and could this be shaped without distortions and silences? What would this look and feel like? From which epistemic foundation/s do we create this? • How do we use the current as a threshold into a combined future? ***Process:*** • Does our educational framework fit our social and development objectives? Is the manner in which our studies are held conducive to the kind of society envisioned in the National Development Plan, for example? • Students want to be stakeholders in their education, not bystanders. How do we enable this?	***History, PostMemory, Space, Diversity:*** • What is remembered, who remembers it, why is it remembered and how is it remembered? • The psychology of PostMemory defines the aftermath of trauma through the connections and discontinuities between generations. • What does it mean to grow up in a place and spaces of history which are not your own? Spaces are not neutral and are complicit in the enforcement of unknown and rejected histories – how do we interrogate this? • We seem confused with regard to issues of 'Diversity'. What do we want it to mean? • All 'Art' is political and everyone who conveys a message through the visual needs to be aware of this power. • Why is the younger generation appropriating the history of previous generations when it suits them, but rejecting it otherwise? What are our understandings of 'Oppression', of 'Subjectivity' and 'Objectivity'? ***Language, Process and Inclusion:*** • We need to work on finding the language to work with where we are now, the hermeneutical space of radicalism and conservatism. • Can our Education be responsive to our society in its current pedagogical modality, which is deeply infused in Western canons of form, process, taste and style? • The previous generation of artists conceptualised an understanding of the 'Human Condition' – what are we conceptualising now? What is the ontology of our Condition? • What ontology do the student protests reflect?	***Identity, Politics, Appropriation, Pluralism, Privilege, Silence:*** • What is the personal narrative? What is the institutional narrative? Is there space for dissonance between the two? • From which Canon are we taught to think and what kind of 'human' does this make us to be? • By re-reading our Archives we can disrupt the present status quo. • Is there a 'Culture' which facilitates the authentic Black African Voice? • 'Don't call me African, call me Black.' • 'Patriarchal assumptions affect my Being'. • To appreciate 'Diversity', you must be aware that there is a deliberate power dynamic at play. Uncritical and unconscious engagement is wrong. • If you appropriate with intellectual commitment or theoretical substance, then it's OK to appropriate. Just be conscious of what you are doing and why you are doing it. • Ditch the White Guilt. • The 'I' is easy, the 'Us' is difficult. • There is no 'Equality' within the African Diaspora. Some are more privileged than others. • To address social challenges, address structural issues. Understand that underneath the design of all challenges, lies a structure, systems and relationships. • People construct their identities in relation to the objects [resources] around them. ***Language:*** • Does 'cohesion' silence? If so, why?

Book review

Calitz, Talita M.L. (2019). *Enhancing the Freedom to Flourish*. London, U.K.: Routledge.

Reviewed by Monica McLean*

It is evident that, whatever the country and system, some students benefit from higher education more than others. Talita Calitz addresses the problem of equal participation with conceptual clarity and practical proposals which have global relevance. In my view, the outstanding achievement of her book is to replace the usual deficit view of students whose economic and social circumstances make it difficult for them to benefit from university education with a theory of participation which emphasises agency and inclusion. This achievement results from Calitz's combining a human development approach with insight from the life stories of eight students in a South African university who faced economic and academic barriers to equal participation.

The book of eight chapters starts with two chapters presenting the big picture of inequalities in higher education and structural barriers to participating in it. The first chapter describes the global phenomenon of how family income, geographic location, race, gender and quality of schooling influence the capacity of an individual to benefit from higher education. Across the world, low-income, working-class and academically underprepared students are more concentrated in lower-status universities and lower-status courses and find it more difficult to achieve the same outcomes as their more privileged peers. This situation is "intensified" (p. 7) in South Africa where severe racial inequalities have persisted as a legacy of colonial rule and apartheid. The second chapter explains how university policies that align with neoliberal policies in the wider world not only jeopardise the integrity of academic life but offer little incentive to support more vulnerable students in effective and humane ways. Rather, economic and regulatory pressures on universities contribute to a deficit approach which Calitz defines as:

> [B]lam[ing] individual students for their failure without equal attention given to the role of institutional structures in enabling participation. The assumption that the individual is solely responsible for the motivation, academic effort and social adjustment needed to make the transition from school to university misframes students as academically underprepared, demotivated or culturally deficient. (p. 27)

* Prof. Monica McLean is Professor in Higher Education in the Centre for International Education Research, University of Nottingham, United Kingdom. Email: monica.mclean@nottingham.ac.uk

From this point in the book, Calitz keeps the reader's attention on how universities fail to do justice to some students and what, as institutions, they might do about it. The first step is to recognise the resourcefulness and agency of students struggling to overcome structural barriers.

Having established the parameters of the problem of unequal participation in higher education, the third chapter introduces a tripartite conceptual framework, comprising the capability approach, founded by the economist Amartya Sen and the theories of Nancy Fraser. For the capability approach, "capabilities" are opportunities or freedoms to be or to do what any individual has reason to value, and "functionings" are the achieved beings and doings. The approach evaluates the justice of social and political arrangements in terms of human flourishing that arises from freedom and agency. Using this approach, Calitz conceptualises higher education as a site where well-being outcomes should be achieved. In this view, government and universities are responsible for arrangements that promote the freedom to flourish. Nancy Fraser's egalitarian theory is used to show what kinds of redistribution, recognition and representation would address current structural inequalities; and Paulo Freire adds the idea of pedagogic arrangements that are participatory and directed towards the development of critical consciousness which equips students to question and transform society.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 relate the eight student narratives, which constitute the heart of the book, analysing them in terms of the conceptual framework. The data for these chapters were produced by using participatory methods. Chapter 4 introduces the reader to the students and explores their lives prior to university, showing how access to and use of resources at home and school enabled and constrained their agency and freedom. All the students brought resources to university and have clearly achieved the capability for entry to university, yet the combination of socioeconomic inequalities with constraining school environments put limits on their freedom to pursue alternatives. Chapter 5 picks up the narratives once the students arrived at university. It discusses the students' experiences of five factors which act as structural constraints on students' capability to participate: individualising failure rather than recognising what arrangements the institution should make; failure to support students' critical engagement with knowledge; lack of consultation with students; little contact with lecturers, resulting in alienation from them and other pedagogical arrangement; and misrecognition of students' academic ability and resources, leading to a deficit view. The overall effect of these experiences was that students' potential for full participation in and benefit from transformational learning was curtailed.

In parallel with the constraining factors in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 discusses five factors that enable participation: building affiliative relationships with supportive lecturers; building affiliative relationships with peers; opportunities for having a voice; access to disciplinary knowledge and skills that could be converted into valued capabilities and functionings; and having capabilities recognised. Pedagogical arrangements that promoted these factors increased students' freedom to participate by supporting them to mobilise their agency to navigate the structural constraints depicted in Chapters 4 and 5.

Calitz shows that to effectively support more vulnerable students requires sophisticated understanding of how socioeconomic disadvantage accumulates if it is not disrupted and why transformed institutional culture and pedagogy and curricula are needed. Chapter 7 draws on what her research – empirically and theoretically – indicates is possible when "students and staff enact agency and resistance, despite systemic inequalities" (p. 145). It is, therefore, the culmination of the book, aiming to "design capability praxis for higher education environments where students are vulnerable to unequal participation" (p. 147). Here she proposes a capability list for equal participation: practical reason, critical literacies, undergraduate student research, deliberative democracy, critical affiliation and values for the public good. A final chapter is titled 'Creating just universities' which makes suggestions about what a just university might look like from a capabilities perspective.

In keeping with Sen's conviction that specific capabilities and social arrangement need to be locally debated and agreed upon, it is both unlikely and undesirable that Calitz's capability list and proposals for more just arrangements will be taken on wholesale anywhere. That said, what she offers in this rich book chimes internationally with other higher education research which focuses on social justice. Moreover, it makes a significant conceptual and practical contribution to grasping the complexities of the kind of actions necessary to address what can often seem an intractable problem of some student groups systematically gaining less than they should from participation in higher education.

How to cite:

McLean, M. (2019). Review on Calitz, Talita M.L. *Enhancing the Freedom to Flourish*. London, U.K.: Routledge. (2019). *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, 7(1), 145-148. DOI: 10.24085/jsaa.v7i1.3698

Author biographies

Giselle Baillie is a researcher at the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice, University of the Free State, South Africa. Here she conceptualises and works on strategic projects focusing on Social Justice, Social Inclusion, Social Cohesion, the Arts and the 5th Industrial Revolution (5IR).

Sipho Dlamini is a Counselling Psychologist, who obtained his Master's degree at Rhodes University, South Africa, in Counselling Psychology. He is currently a PhD candidate with the University of South Africa's Institute for Social and Health Sciences, and the Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit of the South African Medical Research Council-Unisa, where he is also a researcher. Sipho's research interests include the teaching, research, and practice of African psychology with an orientation towards Africa(n)-centred psychology. The focus on the practice of psychology intersects with his interests in higher education, particularly curriculum development and student participation. His other research interests include the effects of colonial and apartheid racialisation on post-colonial identities.

Prof. Mary Duker teaches in both the studio and Visual Arts programmes in the Department of Visual Arts in the School of Music, Art and Design at Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Dr Kehdinga George Fomunyam holds a PhD in Curriculum Studies from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), South Africa. He lectures and researches in the curriculum, education studies and higher education fields at Durban University of Technology, South Africa. Previously, he lectured at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. His research areas are curricula, pedagogy, quality assurance, teacher education, literature and higher education. He has presented papers at various national and international conferences. He is currently working on a book titled *Curriculum Theorising: The African Perspective* to be published in 2020. His edited volume titled *Decolonising Higher Education in the Era of Globalisation and Internationalisation* has just been published by Sun Media Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Dr Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo is a Curriculum and Education Studies Lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He holds a PhD in Higher Education Studies and a Master's degree in Political and International Studies from Rhodes University, South Africa. He has taught undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Designing and Evaluating Curricula in Higher Education, Philosophy of Education and Professional Studies. His research interests include theorising South African higher education transformation; epistemological access and curricula; higher education student movements and the philosophy of education. He is currently a visiting scholar at the University of Connecticut's Neag School of Education for 2018-2019.

Prof. Jacques Laubscher is the Head of the Architecture Department at the Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa. He holds a PhD in Architecture from the University of Pretoria. Jacques presented guest lectures at the Technical University of Delft (Netherlands), Bartlett School of Architecture (U.K.), National University of Córdoba (Argentina), National University of La Plata (Argentina) and the Shandong Jianzhu University (China). Jacques was a guest researcher at the Technical University of Delft (Netherlands) as part of his postdoctoral studies and is currently a guest researcher at the University of Salerno (Italy). He has supervised or co-supervised more than 50 professional and research Master's degree students. During his academic career, Jacques developed 12 academic courses and taught more than 20 courses. Under his tutelage, his students have received various national and international prices. Amongst others, these include competition winners in the Innovative Electronic Theses and Dissertations Award (worldwide); the Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (worldwide); the Open Architecture Challenge: [UN]RESTRICTED ACCESS (worldwide); the COROBRIK: National Architectural Student of the Year Awards (SA); the Archiprix International / Hunter Douglas Awards (worldwide); and St Gobain DesignHub Respond/ Renew/Revitalise Competition (SA). In 2019, Jacques spearheaded the re-curriculation of the undergraduate degrees offered by the Architecture Department of Tshwane University of Technology. The programmes now focus on the local built artefact and Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The African lens provides curriculum guidance and it is used to study architectural responses beyond the continent. At the same time, students receive training in the latest digital technologies in preparation for the challenges of the 4th IR.

Prof. Thierry M. Luescher is a Research Director in the Education and Skills Development Research Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), Cape Town, and an affiliated Associate Professor in Higher Education Studies at the University of the Free State (UFS), Mangaung, South Africa. Before that, he was Assistant Director for Institutional Research at the UFS, a Senior Lecturer in Higher Education Studies and extraordinary Senior Lecturer in Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, and a Senior Researcher in the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET), Cape Town. He has a Postgraduate Diploma in Higher Education from the UFS and obtained his PhD in Political Studies from the University of Cape Town. Thierry researches, teaches and consults on matters of international and comparative higher education, with particular interest in the nexus of higher education with politics in Africa, higher education policy and governance, student politics, the student experience, student affairs, and higher education development in Africa. He has published in local and international scholarly journals, along with several chapters in internationally edited books. He is a founder and editor of the *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*, and member of the editorial boards of the *Journal of College Student Development*, *Makerere Journal of Higher Education* and *African Higher Education Dynamics*. Thierry recently edited the book *Student Politics in Africa: Representation and Activism* (with M. Klemenčič and J.O. Jowi, 2016). His publication list and links to open access downloads can be viewed at www.thierryluescher.net.

Dr George Mavunga is a Senior Coordinator at the Academic Development Centre at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. He coordinates the teaching of the Extended Diploma (Management and Humanities) programmes. His research interests are in areas such as students' responses to management practices in higher education; students' experiences of higher education physical and social spaces, and higher education teaching and learning cultures.

Prof. Monica McLean is Professor of Higher Education in the School of Education at the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom. Her main area of expertise is university curriculum and pedagogy as it relates to social justice. Recent research projects, both funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), have investigated the relevance of the capability approach to university-based professional education for the public good in South Africa; and quality and inequality in social science departments in U.K. universities of different reputation. She is currently a co-investigator for a ESRC/DfID-funded project focused on raising the learning outcomes of rural and township youth in South Africa. Her books are: *Pedagogy and the University: Critical Theory and Practice* (Continuum, 2008); *Professional Education, Capabilities and the Public Good* (Routledge, 2013); and *Quality in Undergraduate Education: How Powerful Knowledge Disrupts Inequalities* (Bloomsbury, 2017, with Andrea Abbas and Paul Ashwin).

Prof. Teboho Moja is Clinical Professor of Higher Education at New York University. Her teaching experience includes high school and university levels. Teboho has held key positions at several South African universities, including being appointed Chair of the Council of the University of South Africa. She has held positions as Professor Extraordinaire at the University of Pretoria, the University of Johannesburg and the University of the Western Cape, and has been Visiting Professor at the University of Oslo (Norway) and the University of Tampere (Finland). She was instrumental in setting up the Centre for Higher Education Trust (CHET) in South Africa and is currently serving as Chair of its board. In addition, she has served on the boards of international bodies such as the UNESCO Institute for International Education Planning and the World Education Market. She has also served as Executive Director and Commissioner to the National Commission on Higher Education (1995-1996) appointed by President Mandela. Before joining New York University, Teboho served as a special advisor to two ministers of education in post-1994 South Africa. She has authored several articles on higher education reform issues in areas such as the governance of higher education, policy processes, and impact of globalisation on higher education, and co-authored a book on educational change in South Africa. She is a founding member and Editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*.

Zamansele Nsele is a lecturer in the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. She has lectured art history at what is currently still known as Rhodes University, where she has recently submitted her PhD thesis on *Post-Apartheid Nostalgia and the Future of the Black Visual Archive.* Her writing has been

published in *English in Africa*; *The Journal of Asian and African Studies*; *The Journalist* and *Elle Decoration Magazine*. In June 2018, Zamansele was selected for the *Mail & Guardian*'s Top 200 Young South Africans list.

Dr Birgit Schreiber is Senior Director of Student Affairs at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Prior to that, she was the Director of the Centre for Student Support Services at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town. She holds a PhD from UWC. Birgit has published in national and international academic journals on student support and development, has presented research papers and keynotes in national and international conferences, and has given lectures at the UC Berkley, the University of Leuven (Netherlands), and the University of Oslo (Norway). She was a visiting scholar at the UC Berkeley, where she was involved in their student affairs department. She has also been involved in various quality assurance panels reviewing student affairs at South African universities, and has taken part in the national review of the South African Student Engagement tool (SASSE). She has been a member of the national executive of various national professional organisations, including the South African Association of Senior Student Affairs Professionals (SAASSAP), and currently serves on the Executive of the Southern African Federation of Student Affairs and Services (SAFSAS). She is also the Africa Regional Coordinator of the International Association of Student Affairs and Services (IASAS). She is a founding member of the Editorial Executive of the *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa*.

Travis C. Smith is a PhD student in Educational Leadership, Higher Education, at Clemson University, U.S.A. His research revolves around Black student involvement, historically black colleges and universities, and graduate students of colour.

Stephen Steyn graduated from the University of Pretoria, South Africa, with an MArch (Prof) in 2013 after which he immediately embarked on an academic career, teaching design in the third-year studio at his alma mater. While keeping one foot in the door of the profession with occasional design work with Laboratorium Architects in Pretoria, he expanded his academic offering by teaching design in the fifth-year programme at Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), South Africa, from 2015. In 2016, he also joined the Graduate School of Architecture (GSA) at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa, as the Unit Leader for Unit 10, a postgraduate design-research studio focused on the intersections of political relationships and built forms. There, he also taught a seminar series at the GSA titled 'Uncommon Knowledge: Forgetting Immanuel Kant' which juxtaposed the materialist and metaphysical strands of popular philosophy in order to critically illuminate them. While serving as the GSA's Course Convener for History and Theory in 2017, he developed new programmes and structures with which theory and history could be approached and transformed. His design work as a student has been awarded at the national level with the Murray and Roberts Des Baker Design Award in 2010, and at the regional level with the Corobrik Architectural Student of the Year Award for Best use of Clay Masonry in 2013. In 2018, he joined the permanent staff at TUT as a Lecturer.

Dr Philippa Nyakato Tumubweinee was awarded her PhD in 2019 at the University of the Free State, South Africa. She is a co-founder and director of IZUBA INafrica Architects, and Senior Lecturer and Head of School at Architecture Planning & Geomatics, the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Her focus on technology and construction in architecture is located in the first-year architecture studio. In 2012, she served on the National Judging Panel for the SAIA Awards of Merit and Excellence, and in 2013 she served on the National Judging Panel for the prestigious AfriSAM Sustainability Awards. From 2009 to 2012, she served on the board for the Gauteng Institute for Architects (GIfA) where she contributed to the re-branding and rejuvenation of GifA as an active vehicle through which the significance of architects and architecture is made visible in the broader society. Her commitment to architectural education has developed through her involvement as an external examiner for MProf and BHons students in Architecture at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, and Namibia University of Science and Technology.

Dionne van Reenen is a researcher at the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice at the University of the Free State, South Africa. Her work is centred in critical studies of institutional politics and practice. Van Reenen is currently completing her PhD. She is the co-author of the award-winning book *Transformation and Legitimation in Post-apartheid Universities: Reading Discourses from 'Reitz'* (with J.C. van der Merwe, 2016, African Sun Media).

Emily E. Virtue is a PhD candidate in Educational Leadership, Higher Education, at Clemson University, U.S.A. She earned her BA in Writing at the University of Mount Union and her MA in English Literature at the University of North Carolina, Wilmington. She teaches writing and rhetoric at Western Carolina University, U.S.A.

Thank you to our reviewers*

The *JSAA* Editorial Executive wishes to thank the peer reviewers of Volume 6 of the *Journal of Student Affairs in Africa* for their time and expertise in evaluating and helping to select and improve the submissions received:

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*Erratum: This is a corrected list [2020-09-10].

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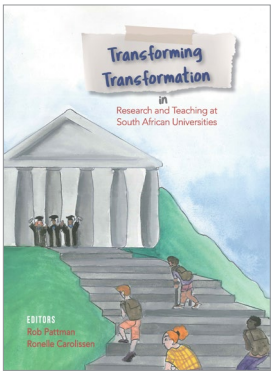
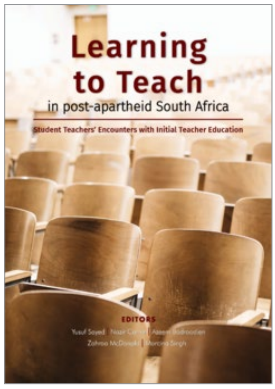


Transforming Transformation in Research and Teaching at South African Universities
by Rob Pattman & Ronelle Carolissen (Eds.) (2018)

What is transformation in contemporary South African higher education? How can it be facilitated through research and pedagogic practices? These questions are addressed in this edited collection by established academics and emerging research students from nine South African universities. The chapters give us access to students' worlds: how they construct, experience and navigate their complex spheres, on and off campus. By engaging with students as knowledge producers, we transform popular ways of thinking about race, gender, class, sexuality, disability and age as singular and natural markers of difference and diversity. Rather than taking diversity as fixed and rooted in nature, we explore how diversity is imagined and lived in particular contexts on and off campus.

ISBN 978-1-928480-06-8 R500 570 pages
ISBN 978-1-928480-07-5 R400 (e-book) DOI: 10.18820/9781928480075



Learning to Teach in Post-apartheid South Africa: Student Teachers' Encounters with Initial Teacher Education
by Yusuf Sayed, Nazir Carrim, Azeem Badroodien, Zahraa McDonald & Marcina Singh (Eds.) (2018)

This book addresses the complexities of teacher education programmes in preparing students to teach, contributing critical understanding of education and the schooling system. It provides important insights to deepen understanding of the importance to address equity, redress and quality in South African education in a post-apartheid era. The book further helps to build student teachers' capacities to work creatively and to become active and critical agents of transformation. It ultimately outlines the challenges faced in designing and delivering successful initial teacher education programmes, and the impact this has on delivering equitable and quality education.

ISBN 978-1-928357-96-4 R400 308 pages
ISBN 978-1-928357-97-1 R320 (e-book) DOI: 10.18820/9781928357971

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Please register as an author and read the Author Guidelines at https://www.journals.ac.za/index.php/jsaa/about. Submissions must be made by email to the Journal Manager, Ms Maretha Joyce, at mjoyce@sun.ac.za. Submissions in response to special calls for papers must also be made directly to the guest editors concerned (see Call for Papers).

The *JSAA* typically has themed issues. However, submissions that fall within the general scope and focus of the Journal can be made at any time and may be published irrespective of the overall theme of the Journal. Particularly encouraged are open-theme manuscripts that address the following:

- Case studies of innovative practices in student affairs in the context of African higher education (e.g. student lifecycle, orientation, residence management, student governance, student counselling).
- High-level reflective practitioner accounts.
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Please note that there are different requirements for different types of manuscripts:

- **Research articles:** Contributors are encouraged to submit research-based manuscripts. Research articles must include an extensive consideration of recent literature and relevant theory. Research-based articles must be original and research-based and must make a significant conceptual (or empirical or normative) contribution relevant to the scope and focus of the *JSAA*. The length must be approximately 5 000 words, including all references, notes, tables and figures. Manuscripts should be accompanied by an abstract of approximately 150–300 words.
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Journal of Student Affairs in Africa

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ISSN 2311-1771 (print)
ISSN 2307-6267 (electronic)