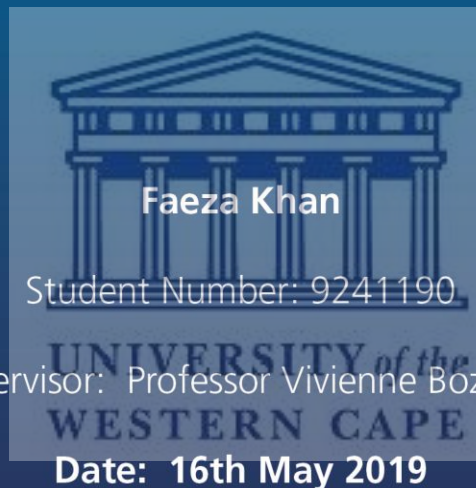# UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

Social justice and participatory parity: Students' experiences of university residence life at a historically disadvantaged institution in South Africa

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FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.

Abstract

The shortage of appropriate student housing in South Africa has been under the spotlight for the past few years. This has been made explicit by the Report on the Ministerial committee for the review of the provision of student housing at South African universities, revealing shocking realities regarding the State of student residences and deplorable conditions under which many students are forced to live. The inequalities in higher education as a result of the legacy of apartheid reflect glaring gaps in resources between Historically Advantaged Institutions (HAIs) and Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs). The inequity present within higher education impacts on student learning, as HAIs have more resources than HDIs, giving students attending these institutions a different exposure to opportunities. Having a safe, conducive space that facilitates learning is key to ensuring that students are able to learn properly.

This research study uses the work of Nancy Fraser to understand how her notion of social justice and the ability to participate as equals (participatory parity) relates to residence life at a HDI in South Africa. Fraser contends that economic, cultural and political dimensions influence participatory parity and either enable or impede the achievement of social justice. The research study considers what suitable institutional arrangements need to be put in place to facilitate more equitable participation for students to enable them to flourish at university.

This study is located at the student residences of the University of the Western Cape (UWC). A participatory action research (PAR) design was used, with the study conducted in two phases. The first phase targeted 40 students across UWC residences and used Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) techniques, including the 'River of Life' and 'Community Mapping'. The second phase, involving the same 40 students, comprised a Photovoice process and individual interviews. Nancy Fraser's participatory parity framework and the dimensions was used as a lens to make sense of the data. The findings of this study revealed several constraints and enablements which affected student learning, namely economic, cultural and political dimensions. The economic dimension revealed constraints relating to poorly resourced facilities, insufficient and ineffective services and problematic technology. Students reported how maldistribution of resources affected them when the lack of those resources prevented them from participating as equals in relation to their peers. The cultural dimension indicated whose status at residences held esteem and whose did not, and consequently what perceived

attributes are valued and devalued at residences. Differently abled students, students struggling with poverty, students living with mental health issues, LGBTIQ issues, issues of gender, as well as foreign national students, found themselves being devalued, meaning that they were misrecognised because of their status. The political dimension was used to examine whether students felt that they had a voice in decision making and whether they felt that their needs and opinions were represented.

The study also examined whether students were misframed. Misframing occurs when students are excluded from the frame of justice and determines whether they count and have a valid claim to justice. Foreign national students reported experiencing misframing at residences since, in some respects, they did not qualify as claimants for rights.

The study highlights how Fraser's dimensions are mutually intertwined and reciprocally influence and reinforce one another but that none is reducible to another. Referring to each of the dimensions, the study examines affirmative and transformative strategies for remedying injustices, focusing on existing strategies as well as possible strategies which could bring about participatory parity for students. Finally, the study presents a list of recommendations which the university could consider to improve student learning at residences.
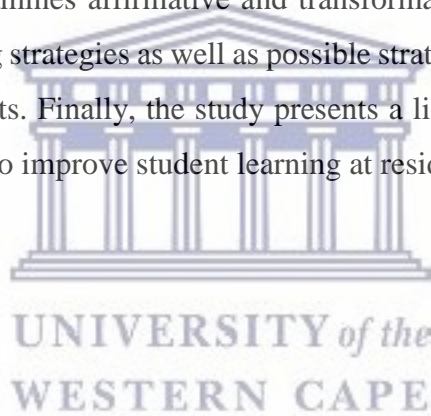
Key words

Social justice

Participatory parity

Constraints

Enablements

Higher education

Higher education institutions

Residences

Student learning

Participatory learning and action techniques

Photovoice

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Abbreviations

CHC: Central House Committee

CHE: Council for Higher Education

CPS: Campus Protection Services

DASA: Differently Abled Student Association

DHET: Department of Higher Education and Training

DOE: Department of Education

DVC: Deputy Vice Chancellor

EUA; European University Association

HAI's: Historically Advantaged Institutions

HDI's: Historically Disadvantaged Institutions

HE: Higher Education

LGBTIQ: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendering, Intersex, Queer

NEHAWU: National Education Health Allied Workers Union

NSFAS: National Financial Aid Scheme

PAR: Participatory Action Research

PASMA: Pan African Student Movement of Azania

PLA: Participatory Learning and Action

REAP: Rural Education Access Programme

RRA: Rapid Rural Appraisal

RS: Residential Services

SASCO: South African Student Congress

SDS: Student Development and Support

SRC: Student Representative Council

SREP: Skills Resource Exchange Programme

TVET: Technical and Vocational Education and Training

UoT: University of Technology

UWC: University of the Western Cape

Declaration

I declare that '**Social justice and participatory parity: Students' experiences of university residence life at a historically disadvantaged institution in South Africa'**, is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full names: Faeza Khan

Date: 16th May 2019

Signed: _____

Dedication

Of all the gifts that life has to offer my mother was the greatest gift of all. I dedicate my thesis to my mother who no longer walks with us. She taught me the value of education and believed in me and my abilities. She provided unconditional support and encouragement over the years which allowed me to rise above the obstacles and complete this long and emotional journey. Mommy I thank you for your love and dedication and for shaping the person I am today. I will honour your life and lessons always…

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Acknowledgements

Completing my PhD has been a long journey full of self-discovery and learning. At times the journey was lonely and emotionally draining and at times I lost faith in myself and thought I never had it in me to complete this process. I would like to acknowledge and thank the people along the way that helped me, lifted me up and gave me encouragement to continue and find my way.

A huge thank you to my supervisor, Professor Vivienne Bozalek whom I have known for many years now and has become my pillar of strength and support. Thank you Prof for your guidance and your wisdom on this journey.

My husband, Mogamat Rasdien has been an amazing support and has made me countless cups of coffee on those long days and nights and who in his own way let me know that he believes in me and my abilities. Your unending love and support means so much.

I would like to also acknowledge and thank Residential Services more particularly Mr Mark Seale and Gretna Andipatin who gave me chunks of time off work to complete my thesis and provided the encouragement and support. To my ResLife colleagues, in particular Lerato thank you for all you did to hold the fort at a time when I needed to concentrate on completing this project.

My best friend Candice, thank you for your motivation and support. Thank you for being that shoulder to cry on when things was slow and for helping me through some difficult times the past year. You will never know what you mean to me and how much your belief in me encouraged me on this journey.

Thank you to Jenny Wright for patiently editing my thesis and to Nathmee Arnolds for assisting me with the layout. My nephew Zamier Khan always comes to my rescue at the eleventh hour to assist with the finicky detail. I am eternally grateful.
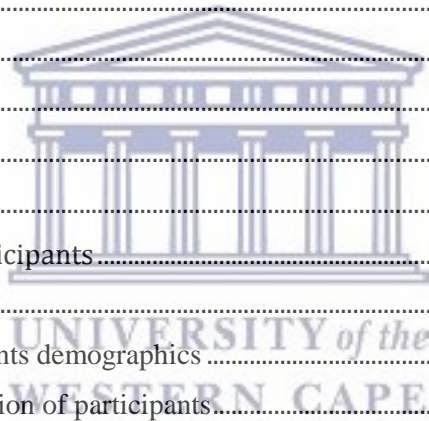
I extend my heartfelt gratitude to all the students that was willing to participate in my research project and who shared their experiences so willingly. I hope this that thesis can go some way in illuminating some of the challenges at residences and creating space for future change.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Personal motivation for undertaking this study

I started my journey in student affairs in January 2012 when I took up the position of Academic Support Coordinator in the Residential Services Department at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The year before, I had spent some time working with social work and nursing students doing clinical supervision and teaching English to Foundation Year nursing students at UWC. My experience in the academic arena at UWC opened my eyes to the challenges that students bring to university and how, for many, this is journey of struggle because of issues beyond their control. Many students struggle because their basic schooling experience does not prepare them for the demands of university. Frequently, students arrive at university with just their bag of clothes, a few Rands in their pocket and the best wishes of their families and communities. Some have no place to stay and no idea how they are going to survive. Many students leave behind unemployed parents or caregivers, children and everything with which they were familiar.

In my first year at Residential Services, I met a student whose story has stuck with me ever since. I will call her Student X. She hailed from the Eastern Cape and arrived at UWC in 2012. Her mother was in a psychiatric institution and the student was in foster care for most of her young life. When she left her foster parents' home to travel to university, they told her that she was not welcome back. She suspected it was because her foster care grant had come to an end and she was occupying a space for another foster child. She had a bursary that provided some food allowance, book allowance, accommodation and tuition fees. Unable to adjust, she found herself drawn to peers that landed her in serious trouble. I received a call from a Pollsmoor Prison social worker to say that she had been caught and sentenced for shoplifting at a local shopping centre. As she had no money to pay the fine, she was incarcerated. After discussion with the Director of Residential Services, it was decided that the university would pay the fine.

In one of my encounters with her following this incident, she described an incredible loneliness and an intense self-loathing because she was so different to other students in her residence. She had no one to call when things got 'rough' and no one but herself on whom to rely. Her troubles did not end there. Her academic standing dropped and she lost her bursary (she did not fail but did not meet the 60% criterion required to keep the bursary) and so she was reliant on

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the National Student Financial Aids Scheme (NSFAS). This reinforced the notion that she was useless. She dabbled in using dagga and eventually became a sex worker to support her habit. She advertised herself on a website and her primary clients were older, foreign national men who used her, dropped her off far from campus and sometime did not pay the fee. Her self-worth plummeted. She was then at risk of failing academically, becoming HIV positive and she was vulnerable to violence by these men who took her to unsavoury places in high risk crime areas. She spoke about how she had had to walk back to campus after she was dumped by one of her clients; and she had no way to complain. As the bottom of her life started to give way, I felt that her motivation to continue was reducing. She attempted suicide a few times by taking an overdose of pills during her stay at residence. She was taken away by an ambulance every time, only to be sent back the next day, with no support in place.

Student X eventually graduated, leaving the university with an undergraduate degree, a diagnosis of being HIV positive, and a criminal record. This story of Student X has stayed with me; and it illustrates the complexity of the lives of many students.

Being granted a space in higher education (HE) is not enough to help students like Student X to succeed when entering the tertiary system from a background of disadvantage. Let down by her parents, foster parents and all the support systems, both in the public sphere and the university, this student found herself with impossible choices. Her story has highlighted for me the great inequity in the higher education (HE) space that takes for granted that students entering the system only have their education as a priority. The Student X story had a bittersweet ending. It made me wonder about what her life would have been like had she enjoyed support and if she had had access to different kinds of resources on her journey. For Student X, the residence was her only home.

Over the years, there have been many stories of many students like Student X who have passed through our doors; and I could not help but feel that the HE system and the university were failing students.

As a social worker, my work has been focused on social justice issues in many different forms. With the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africans were on a euphoric high, expecting that their lives would change because they had gained political freedom. I have realised that words like 'freedom' and 'social justice' are fluid concepts that are interpreted differently depending on the context, the persons with power, and the agenda. Twenty-five years into democracy, most South Africans are disillusioned by the gross injustices that are committed in the name of

justice and the failure to address inequities. Too many policies and interventions have been passed without sufficient consideration of the cost of implementation, only to let down those who have already suffered greatly under the atrocities of apartheid. These concerns led me to focus on this study, which attempts to understand the enablements and constraints of student learning at UWC residences in order to better comprehend students' experiences, and what might be done to work towards a situation where students are able to flourish in HE.

1.2   Situating the study

At the time of undertaking this thesis, the #feesmustfall protest was dominating the HE space in South Africa (Langa, 2017). Under the banner of the #feesmustfall campaign, students had taken issue with the rising cost of tertiary education and were demanding free education for all students. High on the movement's agenda, as part of the students' demands, the lack of adequate, safe and properly resourced student housing was a concern. The student protest took place on the back of the huge inequalities that exist between historically advantaged institutions (HAIs) and historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) as a result of the legacy of apartheid. The violent nature of the student protest across the country bore testimony to the anger of the student masses at the State's failed initiatives to redress inequities in the HE space. Whilst the South African government made provision for student assistance through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), at the time of the protest this assistance came in the form of loans, which meant that, once students graduated, they were heavily indebted. The concern for those students that were dropping out of university was even greater, as they left without any degree and substantial debt. The Ministerial Report on the Review of Student Housing [1](2011) was another indication that the state of student housing in South Africa left much to be desired. For the first time, an in-depth examination of the conditions in which students lived, especially in HDIs, occurred and the subsequent report raised concerns about the lack of bed spaces for university students leaving their home towns in need of accommodation. This report also raised serious concerns about the state of existing accommodation and the lack of basic facilities which would be needed to create an environment suitable for student living and studying.

Literature from the United States of America suggests that student housing plays an integral role in facilitating student success and creating conditions that facilitate student learning (Kuh,

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[1] The Report on the ministerial committee for the review of the provision of student housing at South African universities will be referred to as the Ministerial Report on the Review of Student Housing in the rest of the thesis.

1995; Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, Whitt, & Associates, 2005; Tinto, 1997b, 1999, 2012). Given the huge inequalities between HAIs and HDIs in South Africa, as well as the fact that students in HE come from varying degrees of disadvantage, I was interested in understanding students' experiences locally. South Africans are guilty of relying on data generated in conditions that are dissimilar from their own (with respect to resources, institutional culture, profile of the student body, etc.) and so my study is central in trying to understand what the constraining and enabling conditions are at a local HDI's residence. I chose to focus on the UWC residences due to its long history of challenging disadvantage and providing an intellectual space for those who dared envision a South Africa without apartheid. UWC is also interesting because, in relation to other institutions, it is an interesting space of diversity as it attracts a number of students from different parts of the country and Africa owing to its affordable fees and access policy. The student profile at UWC comprises students from poor, black, disadvantaged communities with almost 69% of students in 2016 using financial aid (University of the Western Cape, 2016a).

There is a paucity of research on understanding students experiences at residences at HDIs in South Africa. If we are to understand how to bring about social justice for students, then understanding their experiences is important to understand what institutional arrangements need to be put in place to facilitate participatory parity. This study will be beneficial in that it will document students experiences at a local HDI residence, thereby contributing to an emerging body of knowledge about how to make relevant social arrangements that could facilitate social justice. By understanding residence conditions that enable or constrain student learning, the study will be raising context-specific issues which are important to address to raise the social esteem of students living and studying at a UWC.

1.3   Problem statement

The structural landscape of Higher Education (HE) in South Africa has changed dramatically since the advent of democracy in 1994. The new structure, according to Bawa (2000), has been described as creating a crisis of identity, trapping HE in the history of apartheid. Despite shifts in policy which considers students as partners in knowledge creation, the HE sector remains plagued by inequality in respect of resources, competency and capacity of staff, and the unequal production of research outputs across institutions (Schreiber, 2012). These inequalities are also reflected in institutional residences in respect of available resources and support structures (DHET, 2011).

The National Plan for Higher Education (DHET, 2001) outlines the importance of producing graduates who are not only knowledge competent but can contribute to the social and economic development of South Africa. Residences play a crucial role in creating environments which promote learning. However, due to the historical inequalities which exist among institutions, participatory parity with regard to the condition in which students live and learn is constrained by economic, cultural and political dimensions. There is much evidence which, although not conclusive (Pike, 1999; Pike, Schroeder, & Berry, 1997), suggests that resident students show higher retention rates than commuter students, making it important to understand how the residence context can produce conditions where optimal learning can take place.

This research study forms parts of a larger National Research Fund (NRF) study entitled *Participatory parity and transformative pedagogies for qualitative outcomes in higher education*, Grant No. 90384 (Bozalek, 2014). The NRF study used Nancy Fraser's (2009) concept of social justice to examine both students' experiences related to participatory parity in achieving qualitative outcomes, as well as higher educators' experiences of using transformative pedagogies to make it possible for students to achieve these outcomes. My thesis contributes to this study through an exploration of the enablements and constraints that residence students experience in being able to participate as peers to achieve qualitative outcomes in education.
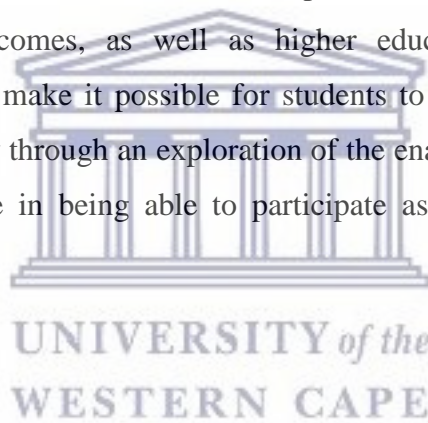
1.4   Aims of the study

The main aim of the research project was to identify the constraints and enablements which impede or enhance residence students' achievement of participatory parity in relation to their ability to study at the University of the Western Cape.

The overall objectives of the study are as follows:

Objectives

1. To explore the economic (resource distribution), cultural (status recognition) and political (sense of belonging and inclusion) dimensions which contribute to the achievement of participatory with regard to student learning at the residences of the University of the Western Cape.

2. To make recommendations for promoting institutional arrangements which would enhance and promote participatory parity relating to student learning at and beyond UWC residences.

Research questions

The main research question is:

What constraints and enablements impede or enhance residence students' achievement of participatory parity in respect of their learning at the University of the Western Cape?

Sub–questions

- How do economic, cultural and political constraints and enablements influence student's abilities to participate as equals in relation to their learning at UWC residences?
- What affirmative and transformative strategies can be recommended to improve participatory parity in respect of residence students' learning?

1.5   Research design

This study employs a participatory action research (PAR) design. The need for this study arises due to the inequities which exist in HE, particularly between HAIs and HDIs (Badat, 2010; Bozalek, 2011; Soudien, 2016). As a result of the disparities that exist within these institutions, the ability of students to achieve participatory parity in relation to their learning is largely affected by resources available to them, whether their social status enjoys social esteem and the possibility of having their voices heard and represented. PAR required me to embrace a different research approach with different assumptions and values to an orthodox research design. According to Van der Riet (2008), participatory research is an umbrella term for different methods of participatory inquiry. Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) research has its roots in Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) where research and participation are linked to action and learning (Chambers, 2007). Participatory research departs from dominant ideologies which place blame for social problems on the individual instead of examining social issues from a political, social and economic perspective (Bozalek, 2011). Participatory research includes a number of techniques, such as visual representation, photo-voice methods, mapping, timelines, etc. It can also include semi-structured interviews (Van der Riet, 2008), as is the case in my study. The expression of knowledge is therefore not limited to written or spoken words

but includes the use of symbols, drawings and photos. Participatory research has transformative potential for a few reasons: it actively involves participants in the research process; both the researcher and the participants own the research process; and the researchers access local participants' knowledge and build on what they already know (Van der Riet, 2008). Through the activities of PLA (in my study, the River of Life, Community Mapping, Photovoice and semi-structured interviews), participants were able to understand their own experiences whilst sharing with other participants and drawing similarities between their experiences, as well as understanding difference in respect of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, etc. As noted in the opening paragraphs of this chapter I work in Residential Services, the department that care takes residences at UWC. As an employee within the residential system, I was intimately familiar with the conditions under which students live and study and the findings which was expressed by participants through the use of the PLA tools referred to above, formed part of my experience of working at Residential Services at UWC and therefore together with the participant participated in the construction of knowledge which emerged from this study. Whilst the findings which emerged from the study was useful to the participants in helping them understand how their experiences are similar to other participants and influenced by issues such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation etc. the findings could be applied to other HDI's in similar contexts.
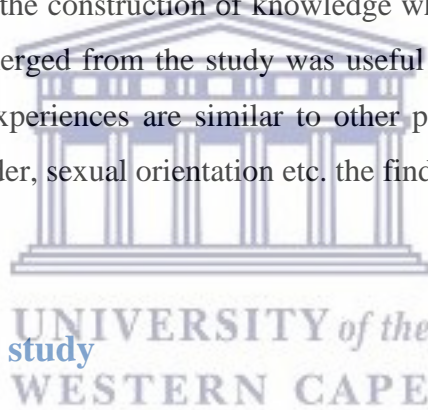
1.6   Significance of the study

There is a dearth of information about student residences and what might contribute towards creating environments that promote student learning, particularly in the South African context. This study focuses on one South African university residence in order to understand in some depth students' experiences of living there and what economic, cultural and political factors constrain or enable their ability to learn. Located within Nancy Fraser's framework, this study attempts to contribute to an understanding of social injustice within the HE sector, in particular within student housing at a HDI. Using drawing, symbols, photos and images as part of my PAR design, I explore participants' narratives, investigating how they interpret and make sense of their world. The use of Fraser's (2008) trivalent theory of social justice became the lens through which data were viewed and interpreted. The study makes recommendations to the University, the Residential Services Department and the DHET to implement social arrangements which could bring about participatory parity to enable students to participate on a par with their peers. The findings of the study suggest that social arrangements to bring about

participatory parity need to be transformative in order to change the underlying social structures. It would be necessary to recognise and address difference, redistribute resources appropriately and ensure representation and belonging to all who are invited into the HE sector as students in South Africa.

1.7   Constraints and limitations of the study

It is widely accepted that the purpose of qualitative research is not to test hypotheses but to design meaningful questions to explore a social phenomenon (Carlson, Siegal, & Falck, 1995). In addition, it is often the only means of gathering information about the way people view their worlds, and make sense of their actions and behaviours. Therefore, it should be noted that this approach and the findings of this study is particular to UWC residences but has applicability other HDI institutions.

This study was an in-depth look at a selection of participants using individual interviews, focus groups, Photovoice and the PLA techniques of River of Life and Community Mapping. It focused solely on UWC residences and drew participants from residences located on and off the university premises. Findings relate particularly to the UWC residential context but the study makes use of Fraser's theory on social justice as a lens to make sense of the data which could be applied to a residential setting in a higher education context.

The first part of data collection included searching through the UWC archives to obtain data regarding the history of residences. These archives often lacked dates, so it was difficult to ascertain chronological timelines and substitute for missing information. Consequently, verification of information had to be conducted with staff members that have worked within residences for since the 1980's to ensure reliability of information. Even the retired staff members with whom I spoke had problems with total accuracy around the timeline of events. This information was further verified by consulting available articles on UWC through the years.

1.8   Definitions

Participatory parity: The ability to interact with peers with on an equal footing in social life (Fraser, 2008).

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs): "Any institution that provides HE on a full-time, part-time or distance basis and which is – (a) merged, established or deemed to be established as a public higher education institution (HEI); (b) declared as a public HEI; or (c) registered or provisionally registered as a private HEI (Higher Education Act, No. 101 of 1997)" (Hay & Fourie, 2002, p.30). In South Africa, HEIs can be stratified along two lines: those which were historically advantaged during the apartheid era and would be classified formerly as White[2] universities, such as the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch; and those that were historically disadvantaged during the apartheid era and were known formerly as 'Black or 'Coloured universities, such as the University of the Western Cape. In 2005, the South African Government merged Cape Technikon (which, until 1987, enrolled white students only) and Peninsula Technikon (which, until 1987, enrolled Coloured students only) and formed the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (Hay & Fourie, 2002).

Constraints: Refers to the limitations, restrictions or challenges for students with respect to their learning.

Enablements: Refers to those factors which make it possible or assist students with respect to their learning.

Participatory Learning and Action Techniques (PLA): An approach for learning and engaging with communities that uses a repertoire of participatory and visual method to collect and analyse data in a collaborative process (Thomas, 2007).

Social justice: For Nancy Fraser (2008; 2009), the ability to participate on an equal footing as full partners in social interaction with others (participatory parity) is the goal of social justice. For this to be possible, there needs to be a redistribution of resources (economic), a recognition of status (cultural), a feeling of being included (social belonging) and having representation (political).

Photovoice: A participatory digital storytelling method using photography as a medium to allow participants to express their views on issues of importance. Participants are usually given basic training in photography and are asked to take photos of relevance to them. The

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[2] The Population Registration Act of 1950 required that every South African citizen be categorised according to their racial characteristics as part of the system of apartheid. *The Population Registration Act* (1950) No.30 (SA). The Group Areas Act (No. 41) of 1950 was aimed at segregating South African citizens according to race. People were forced to move into areas that the apartheid government classified for Black, Indian, Coloured and White.

participants develop a narrative for the photo and this provides important information on how to take action around particular issues (Foster-Fishman, Mortensen, Berkowitz, Nowell, & Lichty, 2013).

1.9   Chapter outline

Chapter 2 explains an in-depth context of the study and provides an overview of student housing in South Africa, followed by a brief overview of the history of residences at UWC, focusing on issues that have affected residences since their inception. The chapter also gives an account of the crisis in student housing, including the role of the #feesmustfall campaign.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework used for the study, which is Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional view of social justice. The chapter locates the framework of social justice within the HE sector and, in particular, student residences. It unpacks the economic, cultural and economic dimensions and how these affect the achievement of participatory parity, a central concept in the achievement of social justice. The chapter discusses the differences between affirmative and transformative strategies and attempts to locate each of these strategies within each of the dimensions referred to earlier.

Chapter 4 outlines my methodological journey and presents an argument for the use of a PAR design and PLA tools. It describes the research process and the selection of participants for the project. The analysis of data using Fraser's theoretical framework is explained. I also discuss reflexivity and the ethical considerations for the study.

Chapter 5 is the first chapter which deals with the findings of the study. This chapter provides a description of the participants and gives an account of their personal circumstances prior to attending UWC. It focuses on their academic journey and discusses why they chose to study at UWC.   The findings in the following three chapters have been arranged using Nancy Fraser's (2007,2008) dimensions and will be divided into the economic dimension (chapter 6), the cultural and political dimension (chapter 7) and a discussion of affirmative and transformative strategies (chapter 8).

Chapter 6 focuses on the economic dimension and the way in which residence students' learning is enhanced or constrained by resources. The chapter uses data from the Photovoice project, the River of Life, and Community Mapping exercises to illuminate these constraints and enablements.

Chapter 7 focuses firstly on the cultural dimension and highlights issues such as language, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation and mental health as constraining factors that impede participant's ability to achieve social esteem. The chapter also deals with the political dimension and reflects on issues of representation and misframing of students.

Chapter 8 discusses and explains affirmative and transformative strategies for addressing the three dimensions in a university setting and provides a detailed discussion of each dimension from an affirmative and transformative approach.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions of the study and provides recommendations for creating social arrangements that can facilitate participatory parity to the different university departments, as well as to the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).

Chapter Two: Contextual background to the study

2.1   Introduction

As enrolment rates increase at universities, a growing number of students need safe and appropriately resourced student housing to succeed in their studies.   According to the Ministerial Report on the Review of Student Housing in South Africa student enrolment in the residential university system in South Africa has increased exponentially over the last decade, with enrolment for residences reaching 535,433 in 2010 and increasing to 538,210 in 2011. Enrolments were expected to grow at a rate of about 2% (Cooper, 2015; Cooper & Subotsky, 2011; DHET, 2011, 2015).   In 2016 the DHET documented that 957837 students were enrolled across the 26 public HEIs (DHET, 2018).   The number of beds available at residential universities in 2010 totalled 107,598, which comprised of 20% of total enrolment (DHET, 2011). Internationally about 50% of students' lives at home or with family members however in Africa due to the high levels of poverty and home environments that are unconducive to learning the majority of students require student accommodation (Gopal & Van Niekerk, 2018).   Presently there is a shortage of student housing that provides a conducive environment for learning, is safe and clean and provides support to ensure that student's developmental and learning needs are met. As a result, students take longer to complete their degrees and, in some cases, also drop out (McGhie, 2012).

This chapter establishes a context by locating the study within the University of the Western Cape (UWC). It highlights the importance of the Ministerial Review of Student Housing in South Africa as the first coordinated research that provided a realistic picture of the State of student housing in the country. The chapter details a history of residence and some of the issues that have existed for students through the years. It also discusses the wave of student protest under the banner of #feesmustfall and locates student housing within this debate.

2.2   Ministerial Report on the Review of Student Housing

In 2010, the then Minister of Higher Education, Dr Blade Nzimande, commissioned a report into the state of student housing in South Africa. Issues of access, affordability, governance and inclusion were raised as some of the concerns related to student housing in South Africa. The increase in the demand for student housing gave rise to the need to examine the current

situation and make recommendations for future change. The paucity of research into student accommodation in South Africa was highlighted by the Ministerial Report on the Review on Student Housing (DHET, 2011). With the mergers and amalgamations of universities as a strategy to bring about equity in the HE space (discussed on page 20) , there was very little understanding of the actual state of student housing in South Africa prior to this review (DHET, 2011).

From the report, it became apparent that students were being forced to live in appalling conditions at some universities:

> The lack of sufficient and adequate on-campus housing is resulting in overcrowding, jeopardising students' academic endeavours and creating significant health and safety risks … However, the conditions under which students are being housed in some university-leased buildings can only be described as squalid (DHET, 2011, p. 18).

The ministerial report concluded that there was a backlog of almost 200,000 student beds in public higher education in 2010. Addressing the shortage in student beds would require an investment of R82.5 billion. This excludes the costs for the refurbishment and modernisation of existing student housing infrastructure (DHET, 2011). At the time of compiling the report in 2011, there were more females in university accommodation than males. Nationally, only 5.3% of residence students were first years. Some kind of financial assistance was provided for 71% of residence students, either through bursaries or the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS).

The increase in demand for student housing both on-campus and off-campus resulted in a large number of illegal occupants in rooms (squatting) and consequently placing strain on already limited resources and pressure on old infrastructure of buildings. The lack of policy to regulate student housing in South Africa had contributed to the horrendous conditions of university residences and private accommodation. Some university residences lacked proper infrastructure, had poor sanitation facilities and students were forced to live, cook and study within their living spaces. The Commission further found that off-campus student accommodation was largely unplanned and reactive to the growing need. Often this off – campus accommodation spaces presented with complicated and even legally questionable lease agreements that placed the university at risk and not the private service provider. The off-campus accommodation was located in the worst and most unsafe parts of downtown metropolitan areas or in rural areas at a distance from campuses. Often, too, students, whether

in on- or off-campus accommodation which was provided through the university or accessed privately by the student, went hungry or lived on inadequate and unbalanced meals with very little nutritional value.

These findings support those of the Rural Education Access Programme (REAP) report commissioned in 2008 which concluded that, as cited by students and staff, financial poverty, leading to hunger, was one of the leading factors that resulted in students not being able to study (Jones, Coetzee, Bailey, & Wickham, 2008). (Breier, 2009; Nyamapfene & Letseka, 1995) concluded similar findings in two separate studies which examined factors leading to the high rates of attrition at South African public universities. Financial problems are still a bleak reality for many students. In the UWC 2016 submission to the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education and Training, of the 21,548 students registered for the 2016 academic year, 14,800 had sought financial clearance and were unable to pay the registration fee and upfront payment requirements in order to register. This means that 69% of students already presented with financial difficulty at registration (University of the Western Cape, 2016b).

The Ministerial Commission further established that some on-campus student residences were mismanaged and in some instances there was no or little form of any governance. The lack of staff training to enable them to effectively fulfil their roles resulted in ineffectual practices and in some cases complete inaction. As a result university residence management was merely duplicating a cycle of incompetence and this prevented students from developing and flourishing academically.

The report also notes that "residences located on university campuses are much more than bricks and mortar: they are living social communities that can either advance or detract from the shared university and societal goals" (DHET, 2011, p.35). These residence communities are a microcosm of the larger society and reflect a range of social and economic class structures that exist in society that includes racism, gender based and sexual orientation related violence. (DHET, 2011).

Student residences contribute to student success if they are safe and promote an environment where learning can take place (Kuh et al., 2005; Kuh, Schuh, & Whitt, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). This research study is intended to contribute to an understanding of what the enabling and constraining factors are for students who live in residence, as it highlights

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students' experiences and examines those experiences from the perspective of Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional framework for achieving social justice.

2.3   University of the Western Cape (UWC)

UWC is one of four public higher education institutions in the Western Cape and is the focus of this research study. Established as a university to service the Coloured[3] community, UWC's legacy has its roots in the system of apartheid. Apartheid affected higher education institutions (HEIs) in several ways (Badat, 2011). Not only did the apartheid system divide universities into separate population groups, it also limited the kinds of programmes that they could offer and restricted the funding and resources in favour of White universities (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). Budgets that were allocated to HDIs were closely monitored and all expenditure needed to be approved by the apartheid State and unspent funds were returned at the end of each financial year. This meant that HDIs were not able to accumulate reserve funds (Bozelek & Boughey, 2012). Most HDIs were located in the more rural outlying areas with the exception of UWC and this meant that the rural HDIs were less likely to attract highly qualified staff and school leavers who were more attracted to the universities in the urban areas(Boughey & Mckenna, 2011). HAIs on the other hand were given financial and administrative control over their funds and how it was spent, what tuition fees to charge students, which staff they would like to appoint and how to invest the surplus funds. Post-apartheid policy focussed largely on the massification of higher education as a strategy to increase access and enrolment rates. In the 1990s, South African HEIs showed a sharp increase in the rates of enrolment of African students in historically White technikons and in the apartheid-era Coloured and Indian universities, whilst historically White universities experienced a marginal increase in enrolment of African students (Cooper, 2015). During the period between 2000 and 2005, the HE landscape changed dramatically with mergers between institutions reducing the number of HE institutions from 36 to 23 in an attempt to transform the HE sector (Cooper, 2015). Post 2000 there was a decrease in enrolment of African students at UCT, from 21% in 2000 to 19%

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[3] The Population Registration Act (No. 30) of 1950 required that every South African citizen be categorised according to their racial characteristics as part of the system of apartheid. The Group Areas Act (No. 41) of 1950 was aimed at segregating South African citizens according to race. People were forced to move into areas that the apartheid government classified for Black, Indian, Coloured and White citizens. The apartheid State allocated resources in favour of White South Africans while marginalising Indian, Coloured and Black South Africans. South Africans' identity was highly racialised and every effort was made by the apartheid State to make non-White South Africans feel inferior and ostracised. Despite the advent of democracy, South African citizens self-identify with these racialised identities. In an effort to redress the inequalities of apartheid, racialised identities are given preference in respect of resources.

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in 2008; Coloured enrolment rose from 13% to 15%; Indian enrolment rose from 6% to 7%; and White enrolment fell from 45% to 39% (Cooper, 2015). By 2012, Universities of North West, Johannesburg, Free State, Nelson Mandela and Rhodes had a clear majority of African students from South Africa descent, whilst at UWC, the majority of enrolments were Coloured students (Cooper, 2015). Cooper's (2015) analysis of student enrolment shows a skewed transformation of HE institutions; and he further posits that this has increased inequalities amongst institutions in respect of access and resource distribution. Currently, UWC remains a Black university, with Coloured, African and Indian students collectively constituting more than 90 % of the population (University of the Western Cape, 2016a). The student population by gender is skewed in favour of female students, representing approximately 60% of the overall total (University of the Western Cape, 2016a).

2.4   History of UWC

In 1959, Parliament adopted legislation allowing for the establishment of the University College of the Western Cape as a constituent college of the University of South Africa for people classified as 'Coloured' (University of the Western Cape, 2013). The first group of 166 students enrolled in 1960. At that time the offer to study was limited to training for lower to middle level positions in schools, the civil service and other institutions designed to serve a separated Coloured community (Thomas, 2010). The institution gained university status and was able to award its own degrees in 1970. The university offered degrees in most of the basic Natural Sciences, Humanities, Law and Arts. The establishment of the University of the Western Cape was part of a well-orchestrated apartheid plan to segregate communities. In 1975, the first rector was appointed, namely Professor Richard van der Ross (Lalu & Murray, 2012).

Throughout the 1960s, students at UWC stood ambivalent toward the institution, not knowing whether to embrace it or reject it, and whether or not to accept an institutionally approved SRC. It was a time of consciousness-raising for Coloured students who, on the one hand, grappled with white power and on the other grappled with the notion of Black Consciousness (Thomas, 2010). In 1970, UWC suspended student Desmond Demas for not wearing a tie to lectures. His act of defiance broke the strict dress code which forced male students to wear ties and dress formally; likewise, female students were prohibited from wearing pants. This was highly racialized in nature as this was not the expectation from students at HAIs. Demas, like other students, was frustrated by the restrictive dress code enforced by the university and decided to

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protest. With the Demas tie-affair, students found that they could beat the 'system' if they organised; that they could win; moreover, it emboldened them and "changed the political atmosphere to one of defiance"(Thomas, 2010). This undercurrent of dissatisfaction moved UWC students to a place of readiness to experiment with assertive forms of activism, activism that involved a new vocabulary and new modes of protest (Thomas, 2010). In 1973, students decided to protest and walked off campus in rejection of apartheid education. Following this, in 1975, students decided to march against the opening of the Coloured People's Representative Council (Lalu & Murray, 2013).

In 1976, thousands of school learners from Soweto in Johannesburg mobilised and marched in protest against the government making Afrikaans a compulsory medium of instruction alongside English as a further strategy to entrench the ideology of apartheid. En route to Orlando Stadium in Johannesburg, the police force fired live ammunition at the crowds, leading to a devastating loss of life. When the 1976 Soweto Uprising occurred, students at UWC began in earnest to analyse the socio-political situation in South Africa. On 29 July 1976, the first mass meeting was held at UWC and became the turning point for the university and especially for the students who decided to boycott classes to demonstrate their support for the Soweto Uprising (Thomas, 2010). The rise of the philosophy of Black Consciousness became part of the ideology behind the protest and UWC students started engaging with local communities on the Cape Flats where the poor living conditions of Coloured people reflected the outcomes of segregation, the ultimate aim of apartheid engineering. During the two-month boycott of classes in 1976, much tension emerged between those students who were part of the boycott and those who wished to return to classes. Many students attending UWC originated from poor communities and completing their degrees was their opportunity for a better life. Students faced the dichotomy of prioritising their individual situations or acting for the greater good. As the consciousness of students grew, they took their debates to the community and there, too, they were faced with opposition from older Coloured community members who had been indoctrinated to accept the status quo without challenge. Emerging from this era were many promising student political leaders in the form of Jakes Gerwel, Cheryl Carolus, Cecil Esau and Wilmot James, amongst others, who were instrumental in shaping the events which unfolded during the next decade leading to the onset of democracy.

In 1982, UWC took a bold stance and reshaped its mission statement to reflect its intention to provide an anti-racist university education for all South Africans (UWC Archives, 1982). This act of revising its mission statement was the university's official declaration that it will provide

non-racial education that aimed at the development of the poor communities in South Africa. In keeping with this ethos, the university admitted Black African students in defiance of the government policy (Barnett, 2007). During this period, UWC presented a picture of a university struggling on two fronts: how to democratise the University; and how to do this without being financially crippled by an apartheid government for doing so. Student composition remained largely working class and Coloured, as institutional attempts to diversify were systematically thwarted by apartheid powers of the day (February, 2016). In 1987, Professor Jakes Gerwel was inaugurated as Vice-Chancellor and he declared the university as the intellectual home for the democratic left (Lalu & Murray, 2013). In 1987, the State froze enrolment numbers, resulting in serious financial losses for the university which continued to enrol African students for study. The government subsidy only covered Coloured and Indian students for study and therefore there was a high degree of non-payment of fees by African students who were not covered by the government subsidy. In 1989, the Minister of Education, F. W. de Klerk declared that UWC subsidies would depend on the conduct of its students and staff. As a result, UWC funding was drastically cut in 1989, even though this was declared unlawful by the courts (February, 2016).

By the end of apartheid, HDIs exhibited the following characteristics: they were located in isolated rural or urban peripheries (which remains the case); they had poorly developed educational facilities and stunted infrastructural and administrative capacity; they offered a narrow range of academic programmes clustered in non-science and teaching-related fields at lower qualification levels; and they drew the majority of their students from disadvantaged backgrounds (Leibowitz, 2012). This has significant implications for the achievement of equity within the higher education arena and HDIs located in rural settings specifically in respect of facilities and infrastructure, staffing and research capacity, and the academic offering to potential students, making urban university more attractive for school leavers and staff. Whilst historically and presently most HDIs are located in rural or peri-urban settings UWC is located in the heart of an urban setting on the Cape Flats Western Cape. Driven by the suffering of local communities where many students hailed from, UWC non-racial, development agenda was realised. This stance taken by the institution resulted in its ability to attract international funding to drive the anti-apartheid agenda which was not the case for many other HDIs that were located in the more rural parts of South Africa (Lalu & Murray,2013).

Following the unbanning of the South African anti-apartheid movements in 1990, UWC became the natural home for academics and other intellectuals returning from exile. Student

numbers rose to approximately 15 000 at this stage. There was a growing expectation that the democratic order would bring new support to historically black universities, both because they accommodated the majority of disadvantaged students and because they were in urgent need of resources to address the inequities of the past.

However, the period 1994 – 2000 was extremely difficult for UWC. As a result of the institution's alignment with the liberation cause, it lost large numbers of its intellectual core to political and public leadership positions in the new democracy (Tapscott, Slembrouch, Pokpas, Ridge & Ridge, 2014,p.15). This included the then Vice-Chancellor, Professor Jakes Gerwel, who was appointed as Director-General in President Mandela's office. The loss of academic leadership particularly affected the institution's ability to maintain a growing postgraduate and research profile. Despite the fact that the University's fees were already amongst the lowest in the country, UWC in 1995 heeded the Minister of Education's call to suspend fee increases and to allow indigent students to register without paying. This resulted in rising student debt with no assistance forthcoming from the State. At this time, UWC's student numbers also dropped by almost a third to less than 10 000 students which aggravated the financial problems. In 1998 UWC was insolvent due to its liabilities exceeding assets by at least three times. The University obtained a qualified audit report. In 1998 the situation eventually resulted in 41 academics and almost 300 non-academic staff, being retrenched.

In November 2001 Prof Brian O'Connell was appointed as UWC's Vice-Chancellor. The challenges the institution faced at that point were serious and included that: UWC was financially bankrupt, student numbers were unsustainably low, public confidence in the institution was very low, and the university community was fractured and without a common vision. At this time in the country the Ministry of Education was considering strategies to start addressing the inequalities which existed between HAIs and HDIs and commissioned the National Working Group to advise on the restructuring of higher education in South Africa. On 31 January 2002, the then Minister of Education, Prof Kader Asmal, released the report of the National Working Group advising on the restructuring of higher education in South Africa (Department of Education, 2002). The National Working Group's (NWG) recommended that universities merge as a strategy to address the inequalities. They further recommended that UWC was to merge with the "Peninsula Technikon to form one unitary comprehensive institution" (Department of Education 2002: Executive Summary, item 7.41). Later in the report it also states, in terms of UWC, that

"a large debt accumulated and has plunged the University into a precarious financial position. The NWG understands that it might take a decade for the university to reach financial stability again, provided that favourable circumstances prevail. This means that the university would have to cope with financial uncertainty of a serious nature for the foreseeable future. This uncertainty would, without doubt, also be an ever-present source of potential instability in other respects" (Department of Education 2002: item 3.7.3).

In the end UWC was not merged and the process of rebuilding the institution continued. In March 2005, based on its Institutional Operating Plan (IOP) 2004 – 2009, UWC was recapitalised by the state to the extent of R170.3 million.

In cases where HEI's were merged unfortunately, the amalgamation did not achieve the desired intentions of redistributing resources and creating greater access for previously marginalised students, as noted by Cooper (2015). Instead, student attrition rates in South Africa were and still are of grave concern. Letseka and Cosser (2009) report that, of the 120,000 students enrolled in South African higher education in 2000, 36,000 (30%) dropped out in their first year of study. A further 24,000 (20%) dropped out during their second and third years of study. Of the remaining 60,000 (50%), fewer than half (22%) graduated within the specified three-year period. The Council on Higher Education (2013) confirms Letseka and Cosser's (2009) findings and further reports that, after examining statistics of students entering HE in 2006, they noted that only 35% of students graduated within the five year period; and an overall estimated 55% will never graduate even if allowances are made for them to complete their studies. Of the 35% of student that graduated within the five year period were enrolled for a three year degree.

2.5   History of UWC residences

When UWC was established in 1960, the university was housed in a nearby school until the first buildings were erected on the campus. In 1965, the first male hostel was built, accommodating just over 100 male students. In the 1970s, the Rector Richard van der Ross, in anticipation of receiving autonomy, began making submissions to the Minister of Coloured Relations for the introduction of new buildings to accommodate students' needs (Van der Ross, 1970). In 1972/3 the male hostel was extended and a female hostel was built (unknown author, 1972, UWC Archives).

In accordance with the university's defiance campaign rejecting apartheid policies, the first African students were admitted to residence in 1982. In a letter from the Department of Coloured Relations in that year, the university was cautioned against the dangers of "mixing races" through the admission of African students to UWC (see UWC Archives in reference list). In 1987, the four cluster residences were built; and, in 1988, the residences were officially renamed after the struggle heroes in honour of their contribution towards democracy. The cluster residences were named after Basil February,[4] Coline Williams,[5] Ruth First,[6] and Eduardo Do Santos.[7] The old male and female hostels built in the 1960s and 1970s were renamed Cassinga[8] and Cecil Esau[9] that same year. In 1987, the university experienced a crisis in student housing and the Allan Boesak[10] residence was built as a temporary solution to the students' housing problem. The Allan Boesak residence consisted of prefabricated buildings erected to accommodate students. At this juncture, the university also made use of the Nico Malan residence which was off campus in Heideveld[11] particularly to house the nursing students. In 1987, the university costs for sharing space was R120 per month per person and R150 per person in a single space. The university ran its own dining halls and an average meal for breakfast cost R2 while an average dinner meal cost R4. In 1987, a memorandum was sent to the University Planning unit by Mr Patterson, a university employee, outlining his concern regarding the need to increase residence spaces. Mr Patterson, on the instruction of Rector Prof. Gerwel, investigated the viability of purchasing land in the surrounding Belhar area to accommodate students by creating a UWC live-in community. The concern was around the cost for such a construction and a private development was already an idea that the university

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[4] Basil February is a struggle hero who lost his life in his struggle against Apartheid. He was killed in a roadblock en route to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). February was the first Coloured MK Guerrilla to be trained in Africa.

[5] Coline Williams was a struggle hero who lost her life when a limpet mine which Robbie Waterwich and herself intended to set off at the Athlone court prematurely detonated. She died in 1989.

[6] Ruth First was a South African anti-apartheid activist who was killed by a parcel bomb in Mozambique where she lived during her exile from South Africa.

[7] Eduardo dos Santos is an Angolan politician who has been President of Angola since 1979. As President, José Eduardo dos Santos is also the commander in chief of the Angolan Armed Forces

[8] The Battle of Cassinga, Cassinga Raid or Kassinga Massacre was a controversial South African airborne attack on a South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) military base at the former town of Cassinga, Angola, on 4 May 1978.

[9] Cecil Esau was an apartheid struggle hero who was arrested in 1986 for acts of terrorism against the apartheid state and was arrested and spent time in prison on Robben Island.

[10] Allan Aubrey Boesak is a South African Dutch Reformed Church cleric and politician and anti-apartheid activist. He was sentenced to prison for fraud in 1999 but was subsequently granted an official pardon and reinstated as a cleric in late 2004.

[11] Heideveld is a "Coloured" township which was created by the 1950 Group Areas Act which categorised communities based on their racial grouping.

was considering (Patterson, 1987, UWC Archives). In 1989, the first university-owned off-campus residence was built in Belhar and was named Hector Peterson[12] Residence.

As the demand for residence accommodation increased, the University hired residences off campus; and in the early 1990s, the Mitchells Plain Residence, Samafho Lodge in Gugulethu, and the Khayelitsha Residence were acquired. In 1991 the university accepted the first two disabled students who were placed in Coline Williams residence (unknown author, 1991, UWC Archives). Despite the demand for residence accommodation in the early 1990s, in 1992, the university 2spaces. The student enrolment statistics had decreased due to poor matriculation results, students not qualifying for university entrance criteria, and because many could not afford university fees. The university at this point predicted no significant increase in the enrolment numbers for the 1993 academic year (Registrar, 1993, UWC Archives). According to Cooper (2000) in the early 1990's UWC saw an increase in the enrolment of African students from 13% to 58% and a decrease in Coloured students enrolment from 84% to 37%. He attributes these numbers to the fact that many Coloured students sought entrance into historically White universities where they could now study for professions which were they had limited access to during the apartheid rule.

As a result, the Mitchells Plain, Somafho Lodge and Khayelitsha residences were closed. In 1992, the university concluded a long lease agreement with Gorvalla Lodge (which is in Kasselsvlei Road, en route to Bellville) which is still currently one of the university residences. At this point, many students could not register due to outstanding fees. In 1993, the university officially opened Chris Hani Residence and Liberty Residence. The Disa Hof off-campus residence was leased in 2005 and serves as a residence largely for the Dentistry and nursing students due to its proximity to Tygerberg Hospital, where the Dentistry Faculty is located.

2.6   Kovacs

Due to the shortage of residences and the fact that, in 2009, UWC was only providing accommodation for 20% of the student population, the university decided to embark on a public private partnership with a private company called Kovacs (Luescher & Klemenčič, 2016). Kovacs was to build a new complex on the UWC campus and would be responsible for the operations of the residences until 2050, after which the residences would be handed over to the

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[12] Hector Peterson was a South African schoolboy who was shot and killed during the Soweto uprising when police opened fire on school learners protesting against the enforcement of teaching in Afrikaans.

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University (Mugume & Leuscher, 2015). Presently, all running costs of the Kovacs Residence, as well as all profits, go into the coffers of Kovacs.

The first phase of construction started in 2011 and the first phase of accommodation was opened to students in the 2012 academic year. Upon completion in 2014, Kovacs Residence had 1,100 bed spaces. The residence fee for Kovacs in 2017 ranges from R41,024 to R44,480 per annum (Kovacs, 2013). At the end of 2011, the SRC conducted research into the residence fee for the new residence. They found that the average residence fee at UWC was R15,000, whilst Kovacs was charging R30,000. The students were advocating that UWC subsidise the students who could not afford this fee. In 2011, students protested against the high fees for Kovacs (Mugume & Luescher, 2015). In March 2012, the university management sent an email to all UWC students stating that the cost of the Kovacs Residence had been reduced from R30,000 to R24,000. However, to date, Kovacs remains more expensive than other UWC residences. Students at Kovacs also pay for additional services as the use of laundry facilities and are fined for breaking residence rules (Kovacs, 2013). This is a decision which has been contested by the students since the beginning of the project in 2012 and presently remains a contested matter for students (Mugame & Luescher, 2015).

Mabizela (2005) states that public private partnerships within the higher education arena is not a new phenomenon in South Africa resulting in the corporatization of higher education. He argues that public private partnerships have taken on various forms through the years from increasing infrastructure and administrative support, to partnerships around tuition and the franchising of certain learning programmes. He argues that public private partnerships have very clear benefits in that it increases resources and brings both capital and expertise together. This notion is supported by Moja (2019) who further contends that the higher education sector should develop its own partnership models that deal with a different currency: knowledge. She argues that public-private partnerships should centre on the production, transfer and use of knowledge for social and economic development. Fombad (2013) cautions against accountability challenges within private public partnerships. She argues that often public consultation is lacking in the formation of these partnerships alienating the community as was the case of KOVACS at UWC. The lack of transparency is another accountability challenge and often the terms of the partnership is not known to all affected. This opens the doors to corruption and limits competition, allowing the private company to dominate the market- in this case the provision of student accommodation at higher cost to the student. Often the private partner core focus is on expanding their business interest which adds to the idea that higher

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education has become another form of business where the making of profit is often the key outcome of these public private partnerships.

2.7   Issues at UWC residences in the 1980s and 1990s

The UWC archives contain a July 1986 memorandum written by the students to the Rector of UWC. There, they detail students' grievances regarding their experiences on campus. The memorandum, entitled "Discrimination on campus", claimed that African students were experiencing difficulties in acquiring accommodation in residences. They felt that Coloured students were given preference, while African students travelling from Eastern Cape, Namibia and Transvaal were deprived of accommodation. The students were proposing the construction of more hostels and recommended that accommodation be provided on the basis of need on a "first-come, first-served basis". The issue of bursaries for African students was also raised as a concern: the students felt that the university management was not doing much to advocate and lobby for this. Another key issue raised by the students in this memorandum was the issue of language. Many lectures were conducted in Afrikaans and this led to a high failure rate for African students (Registrar, 1993, UWC Archives). The students were requesting that two classes be offered – one in English and the other Afrikaans – so that all students could benefit. The memorandum also spoke about the discriminatory behaviour of Coloured students towards African students and cited an incident at the Khayelitsha Residence where a Coloured female student refused to share with an African students due to "Cultural Shock". The memorandum also stated that administrative and catering staff were impatient with African students and they were made to feel as if "it was a privilege for them to study at UWC". The students were calling for workshops on anti-discriminatory practice. Further to this, they claimed that students that failed or were pregnant lost their accommodation. Preference was given to unmarried students and newly matriculated students, thereby discriminating against the older student. The students also spoke about initiation activities (the type of activities were not described) at residences and claimed that these practices created division among the student body. The memorandum was signed by a small group of African students.

Issues cited in Minutes of the Resident Committee Meeting (n.d.) found in the UWC Archives suggest that alcohol abuse, leading to violent outbursts, were common amongst students, particularly over weekends. 'Squatting' (illegal occupancy) was another issue of concern for the university. Given the limited number of residence spaces and many students' inability to pay for these due to a lack of bursaries and financial aid, squatting was the only option for those

who came from other parts of the country. Another factor which emerged from minutes of meetings and notes in the UWC archives during the late 1980s and 1990s was the existence of regional factions – this played itself out with students who came from Upington, for example, would fight with students from Port Elizabeth. These differences could have been political or ideological. Sexual harassment and sexual assault cases were also noted in the minutes. The introduction of the Barn[13] in the late 1980s provided more safety for students who wanted to socialise without making themselves vulnerable by going off campus. However, this also made female students more vulnerable and they were often attacked on the way home from the Barn (Minutes of the Resident Committee Meeting, n.d).

2.8   UWC residences at present

UWC currently has eleven residences, eight on-campus and three off-campus. The residences accommodate 3,302 students. Of these spaces, 691 are reserved for first years, whilst 2,611 are reserved for senior students for the 2019 academic year. The cost of residence accommodation ranges from R14,850 to R24,000 per year, depending on whether it is a shared space or a single space. Ablutions are shared. Most residences have communal kitchens. All residences have TV rooms and laundry facilities. Presently, there is one major dining hall facility situated at the Chris Hani Residence which services the entire residence community. During the #feesmustfall protest in 2015, the other Dining Hall at the Reslife Centre was vandalised and the coffee shop burnt down and looted. The company running the catering for UWC residences (COMPASS) could not sustain the losses and was forced to close down. The university has not appointed another service provider as the building is still not secure. For 2019, 7,029 applications were received from prospective and returning students seeking residence. UWC residence admission policy has the following criteria:

- Student must have received a valid study offer from faculty
- Student must demonstrate good academic standing
- Student must live outside the 60km radius from the university
- Student must demonstrate some interest and involvement in co-curricular activity
- Returning student must have an exemplary disciplinary record.

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[13] The Barn is the only licensed pub on campus where students can purchase alcohol and take away food. The Barn also offers recreational activities in the form of music concerts and party-like events over weekends.

Residential Services is the department responsible for residences. This department is divided into three units. Figure 2.1 outlines the functions of each unit:
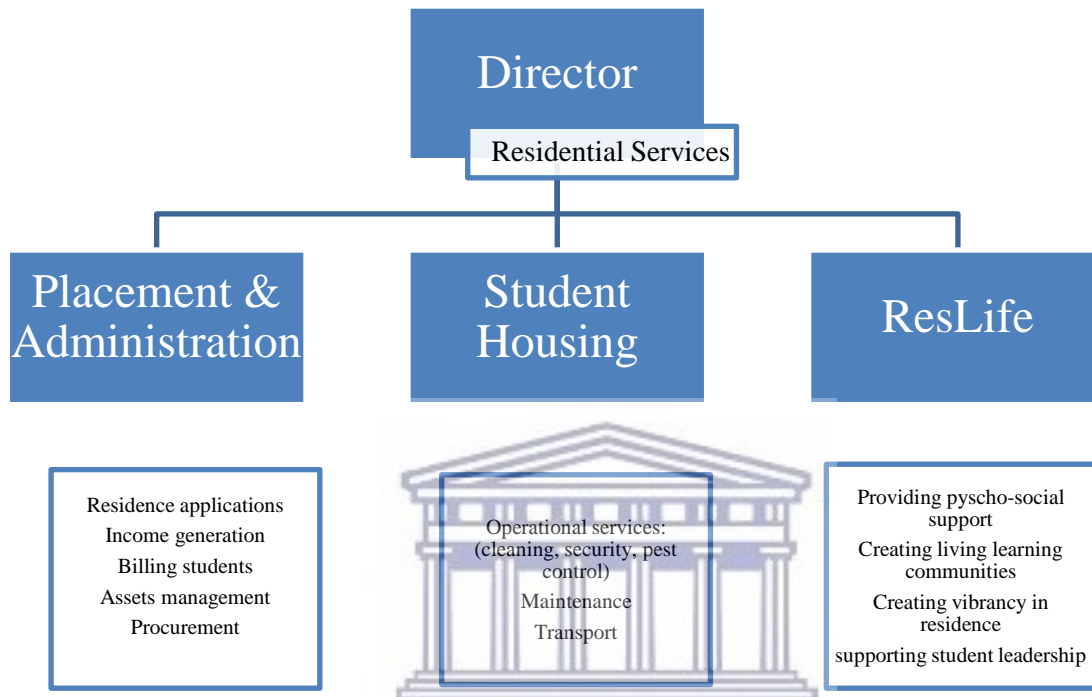
Figure 2.1. Functions of units servicing residences at UWC

2.9   Residence life and 'living learning' programmes

UWC Residential Services underwent an extensive restructuring process in 2010 in an effort to align itself with three strategic goals of the University's Institutional Operating Plan (IOP) that focussed on the holistic student experience and the creation of co-curricular opportunities (Goal 1), creating vibrant change agents and fostering leadership skills (Goal 8) for students. The current structure outlined in Figure 2.1 was the end result of the restructuring process which was concluded in 2012, creating a Division of ResLife. The ResLife programmes are premised on Tinto's (1997a, 2012) theory of student retention as it relates to the holistic student experience and the provision of support services to create conducive learning environments. The ResLife Model borrows from a wide range of examples present within the US and UK higher education systems. These models are based on the work of Tinto (1997a, 2012) which purports that students in residence show higher retention rates than day or commuter students.

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The success of the Tinto model is based on the premise that sufficient resources exist to provide programmes which address students' needs holistically and provide sufficient support interventions to assist if there any factors which are impeding student learning. Typically, residences are organised according to a 'living learning' community. Such a community is made up of people who live together and who are working towards the completion of their academic project. Residence students share common academic goals, collaborate to draw on individual strengths and actively promote learning opportunities. An example of a living learning community would be placing all law students in one residence and organising all learning activities to consolidate learning that starts in the classroom. All academic initiatives are accredited by the respective faculty and count towards the students' overall credits for their course. There is thus an integration between the learning that takes place within the classroom and the learning that takes places within the residential space.

The wholesale transportation of these models into the South African context could be seen as problematic, as the context is very different in post-apartheid HEIs which are very diverse and unequally positioned. What is more problematic is the assumption that these programmes can merely be imported and applied to this context. The diversity of the student populations in these HEIs is ignored and the context from which they come is not fully understood. These imported programmes from international contexts such as the US or the UK purport to address the success and retention of students but cannot adequately address the worrying rates of attrition at UWC, caused by numerous resource, recognition and representational constraints on participatory parity. In a study conducted by UWC's Academic Planning Unit, students that entered the system in 2010 were tracked until they exited in 2016. This study revealed that only 19% of students completed their degrees in the regulated time. This study further indicated a 33% attrition rate at UWC (Brown, 2017).   International programming models are based on a set of well-developed existing resources and a fees structure in which the student bears the costs of financing of the programme. As evidenced by the #feesmustfall campaign, the increasing costs of higher education in the country forms the cornerstone of the student protests. In addition to this, the students in the US models have themselves bought into the model and the ethos of the programme. This is largely due to the fact that, prior to the restructuring of Residential Services, development programmes were limited and not fully organised. The US/UK models also rely heavily on a collaborative partnership between residences and faculties (Tinto, 1997a), which is also a relationship that is still in its infancy at UWC. In many of these models, academic staff members are staff members within the living learning

communities and live within the residences. This is an important component of continuing education beyond the scope of the classroom (Tinto, 2012). Due to the limited space and state of the residences at UWC, however, this model is hardly a foreseeable reality, due to the limited resources available at the university. Further to this, within the US/UK models, the academic components completed within the residence spaces are fully accredited and form an integral part of the assessment system for the particular course. At UWC, the argument about why residence students should require special additional assistance is still very much part of the debate with faculty. The lack of buy-in or political will from the university executive at UWC is another stumbling block in the realisation of the US/UK Model. Currently, the financial budget for ResLife Programme is siphoned off the general Residential Services budget and any deficit is covered from the income which the Department raises by letting out residence spaces for vacation accommodation or conferencing accommodation.

2.10 UWC Co-Curricular Record Policy

At UWC the introduction of the Co-Curricular Record Policy (C2013.05) in 2013 has been the university's attempt to provide students with the opportunity for holistic learning and development experience at the university. This initiative is seen as a critical strategy to provide skills development, education and learning experiences which improves the student's standing in relation to the job market. The Co-curricular Record Policy makes provision for a co-curricular transcript which is a formal certification and captures all co-curricular activities that the student engaged in over the course of their study at UWC. The co-curricular transcript is made available to students upon graduation and is evidence of all graduate attributes they are competent in as a result of their participation in the co-curricular activities. The Co-Curricular Record Policy, in my observation as an employee within the Reslife unit, whilst seen as creating development opportunities for students, appears to burden already overburdened students to find time to participate in yet another activity which does not fall within their academic schedule.

According to Brown (2017) from the Academic Planning Unit at UWC, the university's admission policy allows for Admission Point Scores of as low as 27 points for certain courses. At most higher education institutions, the student is assessed according to their admission point score (APS). This means that the student's matric marks (preliminary and final marks) are assessed according to the specific course requirements at the institution. The
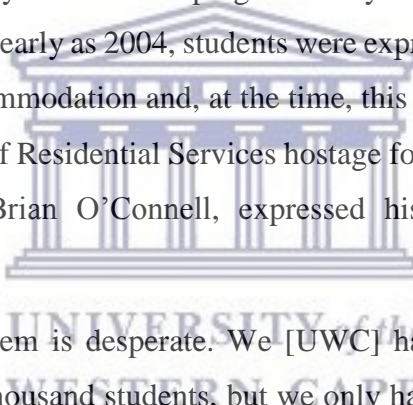
percentages of the top six matric subjects are converted with a point system deciding if the student qualifies for the applied course. The longitudinal study undertaken by this unit reflects that students who enter university with scores of 37 and lower are more likely to drop out of university. The university finds itself in a dilemma in that, whilst its intention is to provide access to marginalised students, the very criterion which lowers the standard of entry into university is also a key indicator in student attrition. Since 2004 the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) has been providing funding for universities as part of their strategy to improve "equity in access and outcomes" (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015, p.7). These programmes target those students who have achieved university exemption but did not meet the course requirements as set out by universities. The programmes seek to provide additional support to ensure that the students are ready for the mainstream academic programme (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015). Extended Curricular Programmes (ECPs) and Foundation Programmes may have some success but attrition statistics are suggesting that not enough is being done to sustain these students through the years of study that are required to complete a degree. With the odds already stacked against them – they have to compete with students who are in the mainstream programmes (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015) – student time in my observation becomes a great factor when considering the co-curricular transcript. Students are currently struggling to balance the academic project. Under these conditions, to make time for co-curricular activity and to bear the burden of the co-curricular transcript (which is dependent on the student's application to have their co-curricular experiences accredited) may, in the long term, become more of an obstacle than a mechanism to document these students' co-curricular achievements.

Inkelas and Soldner (2011) caution that, while international literature on living learning programmes makes them appear like the ideal undergraduate educational intervention, there is little agreement about what living learning programmes should do, little insight as to how they should be run, and little evidence that they are always effective in the goals and objectives they are ostensibly created to achieve. Few practical definitions of living learning programmes and concepts exist but a void in understanding has created "a somewhat Wild West scenario" (Inkelas & Soldner, 2011, p. 30). In a communication with the Ministerial Committee on the Review of Student Housing, Professor Karen Inkelas commented that "living learning programs are not well-studied" and current definitions are "vague and misleading at best". She pointed out that "staffing and physical space research/assessment on living learning programs are nearly non-existent", and called for "living learning professionals to band together and

create a definitive definition of living learning programs" (Inkelas, 2010,p.25). Another huge issue for students at UWC was the conclusion of the public-private partnership with Kovacs which, apart from the provision of accommodation space, provides no other support or developmental opportunities for the students that live there (Luescher & , Klemenčič, 2017).

2.11 Current issues at residences

The student housing crisis has made the media headlines several times over the past few years. On 9 May 2017, the University of the Western Cape was featured in *Eyewitness News* (EWN) in a report that highlighted the accommodation crisis at the institution (Brandt, 2017). The article, one of many, sheds light on the plight of 35 students who were currently living in the partially burnt down building at ResLife, claiming that they were too poor to access accommodation elsewhere. On 20 February 2016, the *Weekend Argus* carried a similar story emphasising the plight of many students sleeping in library halls, computer laboratories and parking lots (Fengu, 2017). As early as 2004, students were expressing their unhappiness about the shortage of residence accommodation and, at the time, this eventually culminated in some students holding the Director of Residential Services hostage for a few hours. The former Vice Chancellor of UWC, Prof Brian O'Connell, expressed his concern about the lack of accommodation at UWC:

> The scale of the problem is desperate. We [UWC] have thrown open the doors of learning for nineteen thousand students, but we only have [student housing] place for three thousand two hundred. Local landlords demand high rentals, and NSFAS [the National Student Financial Aid Scheme] funding is totally inadequate; and this accommodation is often appalling. We can't have any campus programmes after four in the afternoon because of the dangers our students, many of whom are from the poorest of the poor communities of Khayelitsha and beyond, face while travelling. The past continues to linger with us. (DHET, 2011)

The dearth of accommodation described in this chapter is not the only issue. Current accommodation[14] at UWC is in dire need of maintenance and refurbishment. Despite Residential Services attempts to refurbish residences by improving bathrooms and creating cooking facilities, the rising cost of utilities and general operations makes it impossible for the

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[14] The researcher is currently employed at UWC within the ResLife Department and bears first-hand knowledge of the current situation at residence.

upkeep of regular maintenance. As a result, students have to contend with rising mould in rooms, poor bathroom conditions and, at the off-campus residences, the room size is barely big enough for the co-habitation of two students. Reliable Wi-Fi is a constant problem at both on-campus and off- campus residences. This is essential in enabling students' access to online resources for study. The Wi-Fi was the first equipment to be attacked by protesting students during the 2015/2016 #feesmustfall protests (discussed in detail in section 2.12) and the subsequent restoration process has rendered the Wi-Fi unreliable. Whilst each residence has a computer laboratory, some computers are not operational and are certainly not sufficient to meet the number of students in need. Recreation spaces within residences are very limited. Each residence has a TV room equipped with a TV, a pool table and some board games. However, this does not create a vibrant environment for the students who often resort to the Barn for entertainment, sometimes leading to abuse of alcohol and the onset of other social issues (Shefer, Strebel, Ngabaza & Clowes, 2018). The situation for students that are differently abled is equally inadequate and does not optimally meet their special needs to get around campus and access learning spaces. In a report compiled by the Differently Abled Student Association (DASA) in 2016, the risks and dangers within residences and campus at large were clearly pointed out and the University was requested to address these urgently. The student organisation reported the University to the Human Rights Commission in 2016 in an attempt to get the university to address their basic needs urgently.
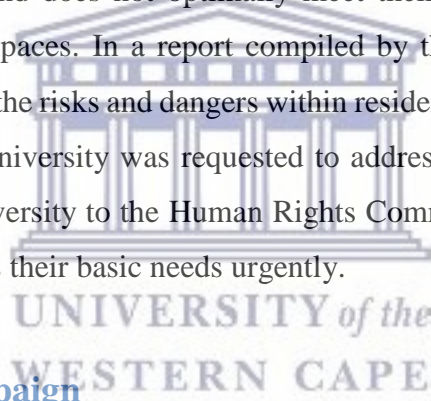
2.12   #feesmustfall campaign

The student protest formed the backdrop to this study in its initial stages and it is therefore important to reflect upon and contextualise the issues of inequality affecting participatory parity regarding student learning and student success. The student protest changed the landscape of higher education and highlighted the fact that, despite twenty-five years of transition and democracy, the legacy of apartheid still plagues those who are most disadvantaged.

Student-led protests gained impetus in 2015/16 and rapidly spread across the country. The #feesmustfall movement created much dialogue and debate around fee increases in higher education (Langa, 2017). Students were also demanding decolonised education and a transformation of the universities to address the skewed racial and gender inequalities in respect of staffing and the insourcing of general workers. The #feesmustfall movement started protests peacefully and garnered the support of academics and other stakeholders. The movement was

explicit: the rising costs of higher education was unaffordable for the majority of poor Black students.

In October 2015, the first student protests broke out at UWC. That year had been rather tumultuous and had started with the #Rhodesmustfall campaign in March at the University of Cape Town. Students were protesting to remove the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, which represented South Africa's history of colonialism and imperialism (Laurore, 2016). This movement was essentially calling for the decolonisation of education in South Africa. On 14 October 2015, the University of Witwatersrand took their ongoing call for the lowering of fees to the streets under the banner #Witsfeesmustfall. UWC, still busy with SRC elections at the time, were slow to join the national protests and only joined almost a week later. Students started the protest by calling for a mass meeting following the shutting down of classes and the closing down of operations at the university. On Friday 23 October 2015, UWC students took to the streets and marched on Robert Sobukwe Road in the direction of the airport. They were cut off by police just before they entered the road leading towards the N2 highway and the airport. Students were teargassed and sent running away for shelter from the police. On this very day, President Jacob Zuma announced that there would be a 0% increase in fees for 2016. Despite this small victory for students, the struggle continued with the ongoing call for free education for all students. During the months of November 2015 UWC experienced some extremely violent episodes.

In October 2016, the Pan African Student Movement of Azania (PASMA)[15] won the SRC elections by a landslide. There was much talk and trepidation about what could follow. PASMA claimed that the South African Student Congress (SASCO)[16] led SRC of 2015 did not represent the needs of the students. The newly elected PASMA SRC had a lot to live up to and this was cause for great concern as their plan of action was not known to the university management. On 17 October 2016, the SRC invited the UWC university executive management to a meeting to address the student concerns and their 40 demands. The meeting was attended by the Rector and the Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Student Support and Development (DVC: SDS) and a few other officials. There were many claims that the security

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[15] The Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania is a revolutionary student movement born at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa.
[16] The South African Students Congress is a South African student organisation which was founded in September 1991 at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, through the merger of the South African National Student Congress and the National Union of South African Students.

staff which had been brought onto campus to maintain order were sexually assaulting the female cleaning staff and the students. The Rector and DVC were marched out of the student centre towards Campus Protection Services (CPS). On 18 October, CPS found petrol bombs on campus. On 19 October, violence erupted on campus. Several buildings were set alight, including the ResLife building and the residence administration building. Later that week, the Cassinga computer labs were burnt down. Once again, Wi-Fi was cut in the residences by the protestors. The university decided to take examinations off campus. Under tight security, students left campus to write examinations. When the violence erupted on campus, this time around the police took a different stance. They were more aggressive and went into residence to pull students out of their rooms. Many of the approximately 25 students arrested claimed to be innocent bystanders.

The Centre for Violence and Reconciliation conducted a study in 2017 with key members from the #feesmustfall leadership at UWC. The notion of free decolonised education was explored with student leaders. It was established that "decolonised Afrocentric education" goes beyond "fees falling" according to student leaders; it speaks to genuine inclusivity, such as access to and utilisation of land (Langa, 2017, p. 45). In a social and political context of student protests, 'being black' is considered a threat and thus a target for State violence (Langa, 2017). Seale and Fitzgerald (2017) purport that the university management is caught in a double bind situation whereby they simultaneously endorse the student's demands but battle against the impact of often undirected militancy and inappropriate violence.

2.13   Conclusion

This research study took place at a time when UWC was acutely aware of the lack of appropriate student accommodation. The need for student accommodation was at a critical point. Many students reported that they were robbed while walking to and from the university. The Ministerial Review of Student Housing in South Africa (2011) alerted the higher education sector to the deplorable state of student housing in the country. Not only is accommodation insufficient to support the growing number of students who are in need, the current infrastructure is inadequate and, in some contexts, dangerous and hazardous to students' health. HDIs do not have the resources required for the implementation of international models such as those from the US/UK of providing student accommodation, nor are these imported models appropriate, given the huge transformation issues still plaguing the higher education sector. My research project is designed to address these debates and concerns in that it explores the

constraints and enablements for residence students to achieve participatory parity regarding their learning. This chapter has outlined some of the key issues within the current context of UWC which present challenges to the achievement of participatory parity in respect of student learning. The next chapter outlines Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional view of social justice which is the theoretical framework used in this study.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

3.1   Setting the context

Nancy Fraser, a feminist political philosopher, has developed a normative framework for thinking about social justice issues. Central to her understanding of social justice is the concept of participatory parity and whether social arrangements enable or hinder one's ability to participate on an equal footing with others in particular circumstances (Fraser, 2009). In order to achieve justice and create an environment where people can participate as equals in social interaction, undoing institutionalised impediments that prevent equal participation in society is a justice requirement (Fraser, 2009).

In South Africa, the HE sector has been adversely affected by the legacy of apartheid (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). Issues of race, class and gender have been used to discriminate and exclude people from accessing resources during the apartheid regime (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2014). The HE arena was a fiercely contested space during the apartheid era and inclusivity has been a major concern for South Africa since the first democratic elections (Soudien, 2010). Soudien (2010) reported that historically advantaged universities (HAIs) (former 'White' universities) are still privileged with respect to resources both human and material and enjoy a heightened status locally and internationally. Importantly for this research project, the disparity in resources is also evident with respect to student housing. HAIs enjoy well-maintained facilities with living environments that are supportive of the academic project. For example, at Stellenbosch University, Dunn-Coetzee and Fourie-Malherbe (2017) describe the Listen, Live and Learn Project at residences which targets senior students by providing accommodation and offering experiential learning opportunities seeking to build on students' leaderships skills and their ability to embrace diversity. Twenty-eight houses are currently in operation using this model; and they are supported by dedicated staff and resources to develop students as change agents (Dunn-Coetzee & Fourie-Malherbe, 2017). Each house, which accommodates approximately eight students of diverse backgrounds, hosts twelve dialogues about topical issues for the year. Each house undertakes a community project to develop and inculcate in students the desired Stellenbosch graduate attributes: having an enquiring mind; being an engaged citizen; being a dynamic professional; and becoming a well-rounded individual. This is one example of a project aimed at creating a conducive learning environment within HAIs using resources and designing facilities to support learning and change. In contrast to this,

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student residences within HDIs are poorly maintained and the provision of adequate facilities such, as Wi-Fi, computer laboratories, adequate study halls and appropriate recreational spaces, are sorely lacking or in need of refurbishment. Apart from the appalling state of the student residences, the lack of sufficient student housing is a crisis in many HDIs which, in the main, attract students who are dependent on the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and who come largely from disadvantaged rural and urban communities across the country. According to the NSFAS Annual Report for the 2016 academic year, the organisation funded 225,950 students at 26 public universities and 225,557 students at 50 TVET Colleges[17] across the country (DHET, 2017). The number of funded students has increased by 9% to 451,507 in 2017, compared with 414,949 in the 2015 academic year (DHET, 2017). The inadequate schooling system which ill-prepares the majority of students for higher education means that students do not meet the minimum requirements (point system) as set out by universities. HAIs have higher point systems which exclude non-academic subjects such as Life Orientation (Badat, 2011). 65% of South African students are functionally illiterate and perform below standard on a range of international assessment tests (DOE, 2005). According to Badat (2010), students from middle class backgrounds are more concentrated at HAIs whilst those from rural poor and working class contexts are concentrated at HDIs, further suggesting that equity of opportunity is influenced by race and class. This supports Cooper's (2015) contention (discussed in Chapter Two) about the skewed transformation of HEIs and middle class students being located at HAIs.

The HDI students are further exposed to situations of crime and violence as many seek accommodation in the surrounding communities which are plagued with a plethora of social ills and are often dangerous and violent. These tenuous living conditions have a fundamental impact on students' ability to complete and succeed in their academic project. A study conducted with 73 South African students noted that the theme of violence and trauma emerged quite significantly as one of the factors which influenced the outcome and the experience of students at a HE institution (Case, Marshall, McKenna, & Mogashana, 2018). Clowes, Shefer, and Ngabaza (2017) studied data from a cohort of third and final year students in a research

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[17] TVET stands for Technical Vocational Education and Training. These colleges provide training in a range of careers, from office administration, tourism and hospitality to primary agriculture, primary health, transport and logistics, information technology, computer science amongst other. These colleges are ideal for students that is more practical and not academically strong. The TVET College provides both theoretical and practical training and allows the student to pursue a career or trade.

module in the Women's and Gender Studies course at UWC. This data spoke clearly to students feeling unsafe and disempowered in various spaces across the UWC campus, including residences, affecting their ability to function effectively in the academic project and take advantage of extra-mural opportunities. In another article using the same data set, it was highlighted that historical social inequalities based on race, class and gender continue to shape students' experiences in the higher education sector, perpetuating the growing inequalities in society (Shefer, Strebel, Ngabaza, & Clowes, 2018).

In relation to student learning, participatory parity is both constrained and enabled by economic, cultural and political dimensions and this research study seeks to explore these dimensions in an effort to develop a deeper understanding of how the enablements could be amplified and the constraints be addressed to achieve participatory parity, creating conditions which support student learning in the residences at UWC. By creating an enabling environment where the social arrangements provide adequate resources, address issues of difference and discrimination, allow students to feel empowered and encourage the freedom to think and speak, institutional arrangements promoting learning conditions for the attainment of student success could be improved.

3.2   A three-dimensional view of social justice

Participatory parity is influenced by social arrangements which impact on the distribution of resources (social or economic dimensions), whether the perceived attributes of individuals, groups or institutions are valued or devalued (cultural dimension), as well as whether people are included or excluded from the learning context (political dimension) (Fraser, 2008). For social justice to be achieved, all three dimensions need to be addressed to promote participatory parity. Firstly, the distribution of material resources must enable all students to interact equally with others in social interactions (economic dimension). Secondly, the status order must reflect respect for the perceived attributes (race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, etc.) of students and must ensure conditions where all are able to achieve social esteem (cultural dimension). Thirdly, all social actors must have access to a political voice to influence decisions that affect them (political dimension). This third political dimension was added at a later stage, as Fraser (2008, 2009) considered the effects of globalisation on the nation States and its impact on social justice concerns. Globalisation and the use of social media has resulted in justice concerns transcending spatial boundaries.   The internet has resulted in instant communication and the world can be informed about social issues the minute they take place.

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The addition of the third dimension takes into account the fact that justice claims can no longer simply be resolved through nation States, as some issues have far reaching consequences for people across the world. An example of this would be refugees who cross South African borders in search of a better life and an escape from political instability but are then excluded from benefits in South Africa and subjected to other social issues which keep them vulnerable.

The three dimensions in which social injustices may occur will now be discussed in greater detail.

3.2.1. The economic dimension

The first dimension of (Fraser, 2008b) framework considers what she calls the 'what' of social justice. In the economic dimension, social justice is concerned with economic constraints which impede students' ability to participate fully in academic and social life. According to Fraser (2007b), economic constraints result in students being subjected to distributive injustice. Here the social justice issue is concerned with the maldistribution of rights, resources and opportunities which impede the students' ability to participate as equals with their peers in university life and, by implication, to achieve academic success. In these resource-constrained situations which result from deprivation, exploitation, marginalisation or disparity of income, labour and access to leisure time, participatory parity is impeded. An important factor to consider with respect to student life and the achievement of participatory parity is the issue of time. Many students at HDIs have to work in part time jobs to sustain themselves and assist with the support of their families, leaving little time for actual studying and almost no time for extracurricular activities which could support the development of their graduate attributes. Each year thousands of students leave South African rural communities to pursue a degree at a tertiary institution. Many rural families are unable to cater for their basic survival needs when coming to university. Often these students are dependent on the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) and or lack thereof, in processing these applications. In a Statement issued by (Mabotha, 2017) of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), it was noted that NSFAS support of students at universities and colleges from poor and lower income families grew twelvefold, from R 1.755-billion in 2007 to R 22.307-billion in 2016. According to UWC's Financial Aid Department, 7,144 students were recipients of NSFAS or NSFAS administered aid for 2017 prior to the announcement of free education in South Africa (University of the Western Cape, 2017). The revised NSFAS administration system which has been piloted at a few universities since 2012 has centralised applications, resulting in students

no longer able to apply to their own HEI for funding. The central system has increased the volume of applications and resulted in delays in processing millions of applications. On 3 August 2018, the Minister of Higher Education, Ms Naledi Pandor, announced that NSFAS applications for the 2019 academic year would be suspended until the backlog of applications had been cleared. This leaves poor residence students in dire circumstances, as familial support for many students is not a viable.

In a study conducted by Van den Berg and Raubenheimer (2015) at the University of Free State, it was found that 61% of students on the campus reported that they experienced food insecurity. At UWC, it was found that 70% of students were food insecure during the first three months of being at a university residence (Mogatosi, 2018). At a recent National Colloquium on access to food for tertiary students, Remoinelwe Mogatosi from UWC indicated that a 2017 survey revealed that at least 3% of students were forced into sex work to pay for food. She further emphasised that "when NSFAS does not work students are more hungry" (Mogatosi, 2018). At the same colloquium, Dr Lucia Meko from the University of Free State indicated that more African students and more male students were insecure at the Free State Campus. Results of a study done with residence students at UWC showed that most of the students on NSFAS reported that, despite having financial aid, they were still vulnerable to food insecurity, particularly at the beginning of the first and second semesters, as this aid often arrived late (Mogatsoi, 2018). These sentiments were previously echoed by (Mdepa & Tshwulla, 2012) who found there to be a general lack of funding for student support. They reported that, by the end of the first semester, most students' food allowances were depleted, leaving them vulnerable and unable to concentrate on their studies. In another study completed by the European University Association (EUA), a majority of the students from selected African universities who completed the questionnaire responded 'Yes 'to a question about whether a lack of resources was the main barrier to access to higher education (Association European University, 2010). Students' inability to access food is one example of maldistribution, where insufficient economic resources impede their ability to participate as equals in student life and achieve academic excellence. (Munro, Quayle, Simpson, & Barnsley, 2013) found that students are more likely to experience hunger at the end of a term near examination time. Financial aid recipients experienced greater vulnerable to food insecurity when compared with their non-financial aid counterparts.

From these examples, it can be seen that a limited but growing body of research literature exists with respect to food insecurity at South African universities. Despite this limited scope, the research in this area raises critical concerns.

In addressing factors that affect the academic performance of Black students from disadvantaged backgrounds in South Africa, (Jama, Mapesela, & Beylefeld, 2009) have noted the disadvantages of not having access to basic necessities such as food, clothes, and accommodation. A lack of adequate accommodation, the inability to purchase books, and difficulties in acquiring food all prevent students from participating as equals to their peers in relation to their ability to attain graduate attributes and could therefore result in academic failure. In many contexts, HE fails to recognise that many poor students find themselves in positions where they are also breadwinners or they have to contribute to paid and unpaid labour to maintain their family members, in addition to studying (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012). Despite its claims to accommodate diversity, the HE system remains premised on the underlying assumption that all students are the same – where the normative student is the middle class white male who has no responsibilities and who is able to focus primarily on his academic career (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012). Time is therefore an essential resource to which many students at HDI do not have access, because they have competing priorities such as working to survive and supporting family, leaving little time for study and co-curricular activities. Given the prevalence of student hunger at universities already discussed (Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010; Makwela, 2018; Munro et al., 2013), available additional resources to pay for extra-mural activities, such as sport, or the freedom to purchase equipment to participate in other leisure and recreational activities such as photography, etc., is not possible for many students. Many are unable to afford basic cell phone airtime and data to enable them to engage on social media platforms (such as Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat) and online learning platforms, which are increasingly necessary to engage adequately with their studies. The lack of resources and time, as well as additional responsibilities, limits these students' ability to explore healthy recreational activities. For many students at UWC residences, the lack of resources such as transport also limits the extent to which they can participate in broader civic life and activities (Shefer, etal, 2018). The lack of resources thus limits them from adequately engaging in formal and informal learning at residences.

3.2.2. Cultural dimension

Fraser's (2000) cultural dimension is concerned with how perceived attributes are valued or devalued. Students are denied the status of being a full partner in social interaction and are prevented from participating as peers in social life as a result of institutionalised patterns of cultural esteem that value the attributes of one group over another, in relation to race, class, gender, ability, sexual orientation or ethnicity. When such patterns of disrespect and disesteem are institutionalised, they prevent parity of participation much in the same way as distributive inequalities do. According to Fraser (2000, p11),

> To redress this injustice still requires politics of recognition, but in the "status model" this is no longer reduced to a question of identity: rather it means a politics aimed at overcoming subordination by establishing the misrecognised party as a full member of society, capable of participating on par with the rest.

In some cases, misrecognition is codified in formal law. For example, in South Africa during the apartheid era, those people categorised as black under the apartheid regime were misrecognised due to their race and ethnicity. Legislation prevented the mixing of races and black people were not only relegated to townships but were not allowed in any way or form to be recognised as a full South Africa citizens. The influence of apartheid on black South Africans was profound. Cultural racism which endorses the supremacy of white values and beliefs resulted in misrecognition of black people viewed under apartheid as inferior. A study conducted by Bozalek (2004), which analysed students' accounts of their families using a family-in-community profile assignment, cited many accounts by students of how they and their family members were misrecognised. The research recounted reports from students about how their family members gave up their African surnames and rituals so that they could pass for Coloured, as the apartheid government despised 'bantu people' (Bozalek, 2004). Under apartheid, Black people were recipients of 'bantu education' which schooled them for becoming labourers with the sole purpose of servicing the needs of the apartheid government and entrenching white supremacy. Indigenous knowledge was discouraged by the apartheid system and many Black people were subjected to denying a part of their cultural heritage in an effort to escape the wrath of the apartheid enforcers.

An example of misrecognition in the university context is students who are ostracised and humiliated because of their sexual orientation at residences. This prevents them from participating in student life (Hames, 2007). In some instances, students report that they are

humiliated by other students when using the bathroom facilities; they suffer emotional abuse due to derogatory name calling; and they are excluded from participating in general residence activities (Matthyse,2017). In October 2012, UWC made headline news when a group of gay students was brutally attacked in the residences (Davids, 2012, p. 2). These students were walking to residence when they were subjected to hate speech and derogatory name calling by other students; they were called by words such as "moffies, faggots and izistabane" and the verbal attack ended in a violent incident. These students' experiences were further misrecognised by the media when the *News 24* online (2012) suggested that the gay students were drunk, unruly and insulting. Whilst the university purportedly values diversity, there is no formal intervention on the part of the institution that mitigates these experiences for students who do not subscribe to the dominant heterosexual orientation. Such misrecognition, according to Fraser (2000), constitutes a form of institutionalised subordination and is thus a serious violation of justice. In a study conducted at a South African university campus 18 in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals that self-identified as gay, lesbian or bi-sexual (Munyuki, Vincent & Mayeza, 2018). These participants identified their campus residences as prime places where homosexual students experience harassment, discrimination and even physical or sexual violence (Munyuki et al, 2018). This misrecognition undermines basic self-respect and self-worth necessary to empower individuals to develop a sense of agency needed to participate in public and private life. Another form of misrecognition is evident in how students' subordinated knowledge is not valued in the formal university curriculum. This sparked fierce debate during the #feesmustfall and the #Rhodesmustfall campaigns which also called for the decolonisation of education. According to Leibowitz (2016), decolonisation raises issues about the relationship between power, knowledge and learning. She goes further to say that decolonisation is a complex process that requires an examination of how knowledge, with its underlying assumptions, values and symbols, is constructed and transmitted within a university. It requires an interrogation of how some people's subjugated knowledge is valued, affirmed and celebrated, whilst that of others is excluded and hidden (Leibowitz, 2016).

3.2.3. Political dimension

Fraser (2008, 2009) moved beyond the original two-dimensional framework to include a third political dimension. This dimension was developed in response to the need to move to a post-Westphalian view which goes beyond the focus of the nation-State as a frame to one which acknowledges globalisation. This dimension allows us to consider how injustices perpetrated

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by transnational powers and predator States impact citizens across geographical locations (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012). The political dimension establishes the criteria for who belongs and who counts as a citizen. It determines who has a voice and who will be included or excluded from the circle of those actors entitled to a just distribution and recognition (Fraser, 2009). The political dimension sets out measures for resolving contests in both the economic and cultural dimensions and tells us who can make claims for distribution and recognition and how such claims are to be decided upon (Fraser, 2009). The political dimension is therefore concerned with representation. It focuses on who should be represented in justice claims, who should be included or excluded from these claims and whether those affected have equal voice to ensure that their opinions are fairly represented.

If representation is a key element of the political dimension then the injustice arising from this is misrepresentation. Misrepresentation occurs when political boundaries function to deny some people the possibility of participating on a par with others in social interaction (Fraser, 2007b). Fraser (2009) goes further to elaborate that there are two kinds of misrepresentation. The first she calls ordinary-political misrepresentation, which speaks to whether students are able to influence decisions which directly affect their lives, for example, whether they are have organised student representation in the form of a Student Representative Council (SRC) and whether they are freely able to participate in social movements of their choice. To relate this to what happened in 2015, South African students took to the streets across the country to protest over the annual above inflation fee increase (related to a declining State subsidy to universities and an overall above-inflation fee increase on the costs of higher education) (Case et al., 2018). This protest took place under the banner of #feesmustfall. The #feesmustfall campaign, at face value, was about fees, outsourced workers and the decolonisation of the higher education curriculum. However, as (Vandeyar & Mohale, 2017) argue, at the core of the student protests were the huge inequalities in the higher education system and the lack of transformation and access to tertiary education. During 2010, in an attempt to respond to the insufficient residence accommodation, UWC entered into a public-private partnership with a commercial company, Kovacs. It was agreed that Kovacs would fund the cost of building a residence to provide 1,500 additional bed spaces to UWC students. Kovacs would be allowed to manage the new residence (named Kovacs Village) for a period of 25 years, after which the residence would be handed back to the university. Despite student representation at the time of building Kovacs Village, the university management undermined the students' views and concerns and entered into the public-private partnership (Mugume & Leuscher, 2015). Student concerns were mainly around

the affordability of the new residence for potential students, as the costs excluded NSFAS and NSFAS administered bursary students. The 2015 UWC #feesmustfall campaign demands outlined students' dissatisfaction with the lack of decent and safe student housing and students' outrage at the fact that Kovacs Village was charging almost R50,000 per annum. During the student protests in 2015 and 2016, UWC residences became the headquarters of the #feesmustfall campaign. In an effort to make their voices heard and show the power of students standing in solidarity, many residences were vandalised, assets destroyed through fire and buildings set alight. The anger of the students could be felt – the more the university clamped down on the protesters and tried to suppress their voices, the angrier students became. At the end of 2017, the then President Jacob Zuma announced free education(discussed in-depth in section 6.2) for the poor and working class (Areff & Spies, 2017). This was seen by some as an important milestone for students as issues of historical debt of university fees, lack of safe and resourced student housing was still some of the issues that they still wanted addressed.

The second level of misrepresentation is concerned with boundary setting. Injustices arise when boundaries are incorrectly drawn to exclude students from participating at all in student life. This, according to Fraser (2009), is when misrepresentation takes on a deeper form of injustice which she calls misframing. The frame defines who has a claim for justice and who does not, when considering matters of distribution, recognition and ordinary political representation. When a group of people are excluded from even being considered as claimants for social justice, then a serious injustice occurs. The excluded group have no rights even to challenge the injustices that are committed against them. Fraser's (2009, p.26) "all affected principle" means that everyone who is affected by a particular social structure or institution could be claimants of social justice. People's collective justice claims are thus not dependent on geographical location, but on common claims against structures that affect them. According to Fraser (2009, p. 24), they come together through

> … their co-imbrication in a common structural or institutional framework, which sets the ground rules that govern their social interaction, thereby shaping their respective life possibilities of advantage and disadvantage.

This implies that all students who have left their homes to come to university and have not been fortunate enough to get into residence also form part of the 'who' and have a claim for justice, for they are outside the existing frame and their opinions about conditions of residences or development opportunities for residence students are not even considered by the university

and higher education. Examples of groups of claimants of social justice against structures that harm them, and who have applied this 'all affected principle' across State-territorial boundaries or higher educational contexts, could be all university students in need of student accommodation to complete their academic project, or all foreign students from African countries who are excluded from South African grants and have to pay higher education tuition fees upfront. In addition to this foreign students have many issues with the Department of Home Affairs in respect of visa applications. Bozalek and Boughey (2012) consider whether higher education itself is an appropriate frame to think about social justice and suggest instead that the entire education system should be seen as being socially unjust, due to its problematic nature.

In addition to the call for free education as part of the #feesmustfall campaign, the state of residences and the lack of available safe and secure student accommodation was another issue raised by the students (2015 #feesmustfall campaign demands). Students' anger was directed towards Residential Services, the department charged with overseeing the facilities, processing applications and providing student development and support initiatives. Residential Services is tasked with carrying out the university mandate of taking care of the residences but, at the same time, has no power to decide on budgetary allocations, building new residences or even upgrading and maintaining existing ones. The frame in this situation is incorrectly identified as the Department of Residential Services, as the provision for adequate student housing is the responsibility of the University, with the assistance of the National Department of Higher Education and Training. By allowing the Residential Services Department to be seen as the frame, the University abdicates responsibility and allows unfair criticism to be levelled by the students against a department that has no power to effect change. Similarly the student #feesmustfall protests were levelled at the university management and only really in 2016 students called upon the Department of Higher Education and Training to provide free education. Historically Advantaged Institutions (HAI's) residences boast well-maintained facilities, with adequate study halls, computer laboratories and recreational spaces. The focus on the student experience is backed by sufficient resources, both material and human, and students are encouraged through innovative programming that support learning. One of the possible reasons for HAI's accumulation of financial resources is that the funding model of former 'White universities' allowed for the creation of wealth by allowing these universities to manage their own funds. They were allowed to invest money for long-term returns, thereby building capital reserves, unlike their counterparts whose budgets were managed by the Higher

Education Department and who had to return leftover money to the HE Department at the end of the financial year (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). As a result, in the late 1990s, many HDIs were facing bankruptcy as they had never been encouraged to learn how to manage their own finances and create capital reserves. Currently, HDIs are still on the back foot in respect of capital reserves and resources. This situation is not assisted by the current funding model for universities which focuses on increasing enrolment numbers without considering that these institutions require a greater investment in capital than HAIs. The calculation of student input numbers under the New Funding Framework relies heavily on the weighted number of students at an institution; the latter an area that received a number of critics as many HAIs are still more attractive to students due to its proximity to urban centres and availability of resources (Styger, 2014). Drivers for output remain graduates and research output. Research output consists of journal articles, conference proceedings and books and chapters in books. The amount per unit of research had a large increase and some universities seized the opportunity to become more productive in research in order to generate the maximum income. This has the potential of dividing the higher education sector into two groups; some focusing more on research activities and others more focused on teaching activities (Styger, 2014).

Bozalek and Boughey (2012) highlight how South Africa HDIs experience low throughput and poor graduation rates. These problems are generally attributed to the individual institution rather than acknowledging the unequal playing fields and the disparities in the schools of origin where students are not adequately prepared for universities. Rather than examining the education system in the country as the correct frame for understanding how this system is currently failing to prepare students for tertiary education, the individual HDI's teaching practices and staff are blamed for the low throughput and graduation rates. This is another example of misframing higher education in South Africa. In her book, *Scales of Justice*, Fraser (2009) states that feminist claims for redistribution and recognition are linked to struggles to change the frame. The slogan, 'Women's rights are human rights', unites feminists across the world, linking struggles with local patriarchal practices to campaigns to reform international law. In the case of gender justice, Fraser (2009) contends that claims for recognition and distribution cannot proceed unless the frame is considered. Without transforming patriarchal practices which are institutionalised and entrenched in all systems including, amongst others, the family, religious bodies, community practices and the political sphere, no real social justice can take place.

3.3.   A three-dimensional theory of justice – against reductionism

Fraser (2009) emphasises that all three conditions are necessary for participatory parity to be achieved and one cannot be reduced to the other. In her book with Axel Honneth (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), Fraser notes that justice theorists often see redistribution and recognition as mutually exclusive alternatives. She goes further to identify that distribution theorists, as well as recognition theorists, have not succeeded in adequately subsuming the concerns of the other. In her earlier work, Fraser (2003) proposed that a two-dimensional concept of justice is necessary as it treats distribution and recognition as distinct perspectives without reducing either dimension to the other. She encompasses both of them within an overarching framework. Later in her work, as stated, Fraser (2008, 2009) added the third dimension of justice which speaks to the political sphere (representation), discussed earlier in the chapter. To illuminate the inefficiencies presented by distribution and recognition theories to achieve social justice, Fraser cites the example of gender exploitation where woman in the workplace get paid less for doing the same work as men. Whilst this can be seen as an economic inequality, at the root cause of this issue is the fact that women are not valued in the workplace and are seen as making a lesser contribution to the labour market than men. Distribution theorists recognised the economic inequality and proposed a form of justice that addresses this aspect, leaving intact the very system that perpetuates patriarchy and the oppression of women. Recognition theorists identify the status of women and the consequences of patriarchy as the key issue. Fraser (2003) claims that neither a distributive nor recognition approach will ensure that social justice will be achieved and proposed instead a two-dimensional and later a three-dimensional form of social justice as a normative framework for considering social justice issues. An example of this would be the plight of refugee woman who are vulnerable because they are excluded from services (misframing) as they are not South African. They are subjected to patriarchal value systems within their own communities; and they often experience domestic violence and sexual exploitation (cultural). Because of these conditions, they have to engage in poorly paid work, such as domestic work, to help their families to survive (economic). Addressing the issues of refugee woman and offering solutions which would allow these women to act on par with others in social interaction would require an understanding of the problem from the perspective of all three dimensions.

3.4. Affirmative and transformative approaches

According to Fraser (2008), the lack of participatory parity with respect to the economic dimension (maldistribution), the cultural dimension (misrecognition), and the political dimension (misrepresentation), can be addressed from either an affirmative or transformative set of social arrangements. Affirmative strategies for redressing social injustice aim to correct inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying social structures that generate them (Fraser, 2003). Transformative strategies, on the other hand, aim to correct unjust outcomes by restructuring the underlying framework which gives rise to the social injustice (Fraser, 2003). Simply stated, affirmative strategies target end outcomes of social arrangements, whilst transformative strategies address the root causes of injustices.

In the case of distributive justice, an affirmative strategy, according to Fraser (2003), would be a liberal welfare State redressing maldistribution through income transfers. This approach seeks to give the poor a share of the resources through income transfer, whilst leaving intact the underlying economic structure responsible for the rise in poverty. At the HE level, providing free education to all students who cannot afford it would be another example of an affirmative strategy, as this approach implies a means test and could still result in those getting free education being ostracised. Considering the situation of the lack of safe, decent student housing which was raised as a major concern in the first ever Ministerial Housing Review in 2011, an example of an affirmative strategy to address this injustice is the State making possible the payment of student accommodation through the NSFAS. This is an affirmative strategy because it makes student housing possible for those who qualify for financial aid whilst it does not address the reasons why there is a shortage of student housing, especially at HDIs. An example of a transformative strategy to address distributive justice, as expressed by Fraser (2003), would be to transform the underlying framework that is responsible for poverty. A transformative strategy would interrogate the division of labour, the forms of ownership and other economic structures of an economic system for the purposes of replacing it with a more equitable system. With technology-enhanced pedagogical practices, a transformative way of addressing this constraint would be to ensure that the institution install Wi-Fi routers into the classrooms and residence halls and repair all broken computer equipment in computer laboratories. The expectation would be that, at all times, students would be given access to Wi-Fi facilities for their studies (Bozalek, 2017). Using the examples cited previously regarding the lack of adequate student housing, a transformative strategy to address the question of adequate student housing would be to address the funding model as set out by the DHET and

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redress the historical legacy which prevented HDIs from accumulating reserve funding during the apartheid era (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). This would be regarded as transformative in that it would address the legacy of disadvantage and provide a funding model that would acknowledge the gap and seek to implement strategies to level the playing fields between those advantaged and those disadvantaged by apartheid. A transformative strategy would therefore require dismantling of the current economic system which is a meta-level system largely not in the power of Universities or the DHET to control. Similarly, with respect to misrecognition, an affirmative strategy to redress the disrespect of a devalued group would be to revalue the identity of this group, not trouble the notion of identity. At UWC, there is a growing community of students that subscribe to an alternative sexual identity to the dominant heterosexual identity. This cohort of students is often ostracised and belittled by fellow students due to prejudice and religious beliefs that impose a moral judgment on any sexual identity other than the dominant one. An affirmative strategy to address this injustice would be to attempt to revalue persons with alternative sexual identities by creating campaigns that appeal to the creation of a culture of tolerance. Whilst this strategy may make other students aware of the rights of students from the LGBTIQ community, it doesn't address the dominant cultural patterns which normalise heterosexual identity. A transformative approach would require a de-reifying of identities and replacing the dominance of master dichotomies, such as black and white, gay or straight, with a de-centred cluster of differences that does not promote separatism but interaction across difference (Fraser, 2003).

Whilst transformative strategies may be difficult to achieve, according to Fraser, they are preferable and will foster solidarity. Affirmative strategies have two major drawbacks. The first is that, when they are being applied to misrecognition, they tend to concretise collective identities, pressurising individuals to conform to a particular type of group, discouraging difference. Secondly, affirmative strategies, when applied to maldistribution, may provoke a backlash of misrecognition. Using the example given earlier, income transfers to the poor as a way of addressing maldistribution is also at risk of intensifying misrecognition. Poor people are usually stigmatised for being poor and reliant on public assistance programmes. At UWC residences, the Skills Resource and Exchange Programme is a food security programme that targets those students who have no financial resources to support themselves. Whilst the programme itself is Residential Services' attempt to provide financial assistance to struggling students as an affirmative strategy to address hunger, those very students feel stigmatised coming to ResLife to access the programme. This is because it is well known that students who

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are in need seek assistance from the ResLife office and so will be regarded as poor and therefore have a lower status than other students who are seen as more financially independent.

Central to the political dimension, according to Fraser (2008, 2009), is the concept of representation. When students no longer have a voice with respect to the issues which affect their academic pathways, then an injustice occurs as they are being affected by misrepresentation. The #feesmustfall campaign was a direct action resulting in students protesting for a platform to raise, amongst other issues, their demands for free and decolonised education. Central to the campaign was the issue that students could not afford university or residence fees, despite years of protesting and dialogue with university management. The students at UWC and other universities took to the streets to protest for their demands to be met. In 2015, the government, using an affirmative strategy, announced that there would be a 0% increase in fees for the 2016 academic year. This was considered an affirmative strategy as it was designed not to add to the financial burden of students; however, it did nothing to address the matter of why tertiary education was unaffordable to most students. Whilst students saw this as a small victory, they were still not satisfied. After much protest again in 2016, the State announced in 2017 that university would be free for all working class and poor students. This can be seen as another affirmative strategy on the part of the government, who, instead of investigating and overhauling the entire country's education and economic system, decided that free education would bring justice to those who cannot afford tertiary education.

Despite the fact that qualifying students would get fee-free education, the levels of hunger and poverty, lack of student housing and readiness for tertiary education are still serious issues. A transformative strategy to address the issues of student fees would have been to revisit and revise the funding model for universities in South Africa as it currently does nothing to address the gaps left by the legacy of apartheid. A transformative approach would have dismantled the already flawed educational system, starting from the level of basic education, to ensure equity of resources, curriculum structure, and the preparedness level of learners in relation to school readiness. It would also need to acknowledge that free education alone is not enough to ensure academic success and issues of food security, health care, safe and affordable housing are all important dimension and part of a transformative approach to address the affordability and accessibility of education.

3.5 Fraser's seven normative principles for evaluating affirmative and transformative strategies

Fraser (1994) argues that the concept of gender equity is either seen from an equality perspective where equality implies treating women like men, or a difference perspective which means treating women differently from men. Arguments against the equality perspective emphasise that this theory presupposes male as the norm whilst the difference perspective reinforces existing stereotypes and confines women within existing gender divisions (Fraser, 1994). Fraser (1994) concluded that neither equality nor difference is a workable conception of gender equity.

Fraser (1994) is of the opinion that there needs to be a vision for the achievement of gender equality and then a set of standards or principles for evaluating proposals that suggest a way of achieving gender justice. Consequently, she put forward a set of seven distinct normative principles which could be useful as a tool to evaluate proposals. Whilst Fraser conceived of these seven normative principles as a way of evaluating gender equity proposals, the principles are a useful tool to examine general strategies from an affirmative and transformative perspective to assess whether appropriate social arrangements have been put in place to achieve participatory parity. It is important to note that these principles preceded the three dimensions of social justice. Later in this chapter, I will link the principles to the dimensions to show how Fraser's earlier thinking manifested in, firstly, the two-dimensional and then three-dimensional view of social justice. Further to this, the seven principles are useful tools to monitor the extent to which participatory parity is possible. I will discuss these seven principles here.

1. **The Antipoverty principle**: The strategy must relieve suffering brought about by unmet basic needs. Given the extent of hunger amongst South African university students (Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010; Munro et al, 2013), strategies with a strong antipoverty principle that do not isolate, stigmatise or target poor students specifically, will go a long way to address issues of maldistribution. This strategy implies that all students must have universal access to relief around food security – so perhaps all residence students have meal plans in a dining hall which forms part of all students stay at residences and is charged as part of the residence fee.

2. **The Anti-exploitation principle:** Antipoverty strategies are crucial in that they prevent exploitation of vulnerable people (Fraser, 1994). Many female students find themselves in positions where they are forced to live with abusive boyfriends, trading sexual

favours for a place to stay and food to eat (Clowes, Shefer, Fouten, Vergnani, & Jacobs, 2009). Exploitation can occur on three levels: at the level of the family where students are dependent on abusive or authoritarian fathers; at the level of employers or supervisors where students have to take on poorly paid jobs or even sex work in order to survive; and at the level of the State or university, where officials have the power to decide how soon and if they will provide assistance to students. The goal of the strategy should try and prevent dependence on all three levels.

3. **The Income Equality principle**: This principle speaks to the caring work done by many female students who themselves may be parents. The caring work is seen as invisible labour and part of the role of women in society. The assumption that the male breadwinner will support the family is flawed in that it is based on the assumption that men will distribute resources equally and that they are not perpetrators of violence in their relationship with their partners and children (Bozalek, 2004, p. 168). In 2014 in South Africa 37,6% of female headed households experience poverty as they are largely responsible for the caring work when their male counterpart decides to leave the home (Nwosu & Ndinda, 2018). Strategies aimed at equality should take cognisance of the hidden caring work that female students partake in and how this prejudices their ability to earn an income.

4. **The Leisure Time Equality principle**: Women find themselves in positions where they are constantly performing a double shift – looking after the children, siblings or family members while men only do a single shift, meaning that women also suffer from time poverty (Fraser, 1990). For female students, this burden is even heavier as they have to fit into their busy schedule time to focus on their academic project. An affirmative approach to addressing time poverty would be to acknowledge the roles that female students perform and to factor into their schedule, time for leisure. This, however, does not contest the fact that caring for children, siblings or family members is seen as women's duty and does nothing to shift the roles men take on in society. A transformative strategy would shift the caring roles to include men, so that caring is not seen solely as a woman's duty, thereby freeing up leisure time for females.

5. **The Equality of Respect principle**: This principle rules out social arrangements that objectify and deprecate women, even if these arrangements prevent poverty and exploitation and even if they equalise income and leisure time (Fraser, 1994). Women's personhood must be respected and women's work must be recognised. Women add value to all spheres of society and they must not be trivialised or ignored.

6. **The Anti-marginalisation principle**: Fraser (1994) argues that, even if all the preceding principles are satisfied, women could still be marginalised and trapped within the domestic sphere. Strategies must ensure that women are able to participate in all spheres of life – employment, leisure, politics and civil society associations. To this end, necessary conditions for women's participation must be provided for – day care, elder care, and provision for breastfeeding. Female students are not able to bring children to stay in residence, meaning that many who give birth are forced to leave young children with family members, often in other provinces, or they have to move out of residences if they wish to keep their babies with them. Strategies must acknowledge all realities of women.

7. **The Anti-androcentrism principle**: Fraser (1994) argues that, even if all the above principles are fulfilled, there is still a risk that the androcentric view (that men's current life patterns represent the norm and that women must adjust to this) can exist. This is unacceptable. The HE environment already assumes that the average student is white, middle class and male and so excludes all female students and those who are not white and middle class (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012). The HE systems built on androcentric views should be restructured to acknowledge and welcome human beings who bear children and care for relatives, treating them as ideal typical participants, not exceptions. Figure 3.2 below is a diagrammatic representation of how the principles linked to Frasers three dimensions.
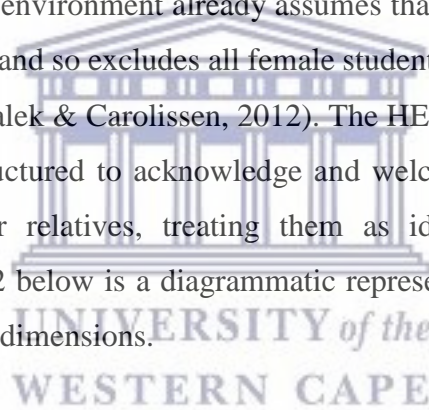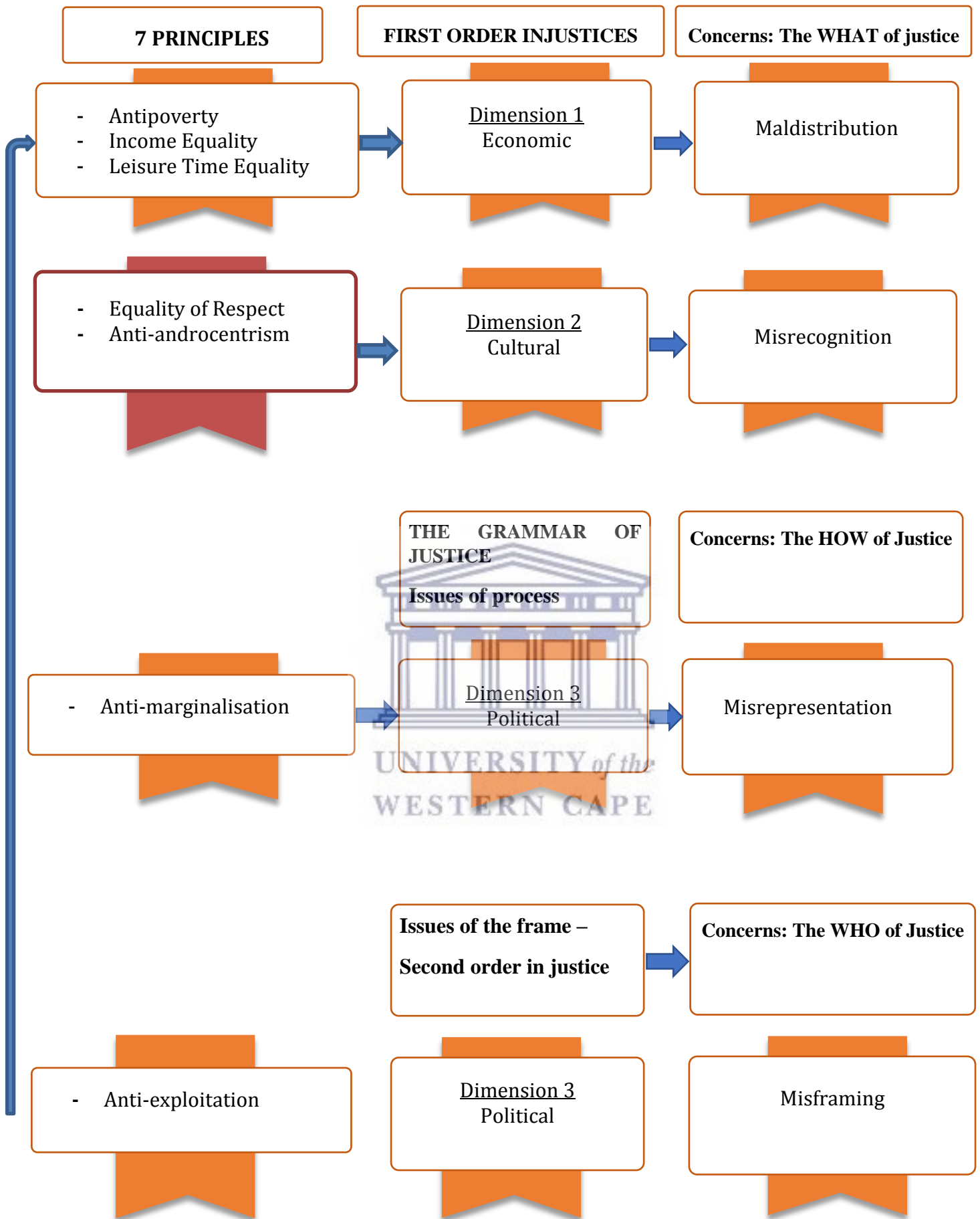
Figure 3.2: Diagrammatic representation of how the 7 principles relate to the 3 dimensions

3.6. Application of social justice theory to study

Figure 3.2 attempts to link Fraser's earlier thinking about the normative principles to evaluate gender equality with her three dimensions of social justice needed to attain participatory parity. The Anti-poverty, Income Equality and Leisure Time Equality principles link to Fraser's economic dimension. Fraser (1994) states that if unmet basic needs exist, caring work of women is not recognised and women still find themselves in positions where they are performing a double shift because caring work is unvalued, unpaid and misrecognised, so gender equality is unattainable. This links to the economic dimension in which maldistribution results in social actors not being able to participate on a par with each other in social interaction. The Equality of Respect and Anti-androcentrism principles link to the cultural dimension, as women can be misrecognised if men's view of the world is seen as the norm (Anti-androcentrism) to which women must adjust, and social arrangements still depreciate and objectify woman (Equality of Respect). The Anti-marginalisation principle links to the third dimension (political). If women are still trapped in the domestic sphere and are not able to participate in social interaction fully with men, then they are misrepresented. The Anti-exploitation principle links to second order justice issues of misframing where, for example, non-residence students are excluded from residence because they do not qualify for admission as they do not fulfil the policy criteria; but then they are exploited because they engage in sex work to survive or are exploited by abusive boyfriends and are illegal occupants in these rooms.

3.7   Conclusion

Residences play an important role in providing conditions that are conducive to student learning. According to (Yuval-Davis, 2006), a student who is engaged and invested and feels a sense of belonging in a university community will perform much better academically than a student who feels isolated. (Jones et al., 2008) maintain that a well-resourced residential context which provides developmental opportunities to all students has an influential impact on academic development and learning. Issues of resources, whose voices are recognised within the residential space, who is included and who is excluded, and who has a voice to determine policy and change, have a substantial impact on how students will adjust, feel that they belong and eventually learn.

Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice provides the framework through which the constraints and enablements affecting students living in residences can be identified. Using the three

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dimensions (economic, cultural and political) to analyse the constraints and enablements that are experienced by residence students at UWC can lead to a deeper understanding of how to address the constraints which impede and augment the enablements which enhance students ability to learn. Examining potential strategies from affirmative and transformative perspectives will provide a lens through which the development of guidelines for UWC residences can be examined. Fraser's (1994) seven normative principles provide a set of criteria by which potential affirmative and transformative strategies can be assessed to ensure that the set of social arrangements that are being recommended allow students to interact are on a par with their peers in all social interaction, thereby working towards participatory parity.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1   Introduction

The preceding chapters have outlined in detail the current situation in the HE sector and some of the transformational issues which persist in the post-apartheid era, giving rise to significant inequities between HAIs and HDIs (Badat, 2010; Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Soudien, 2016). The disparities between institutions creates social justice implications for those students that enter the HE sector in search of a tertiary qualification. In Chapter Three, I discussed Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional theory for social justice and made an argument for the use of the theory in my study. Central to this theory of social justice is the concept of participatory parity which allows students to participate with one another on an equal footing (Fraser, 2009). Participatory parity is influenced by three dimensions, namely economic, cultural and political (discussed at length in the chapter three). To achieve social justice, social arrangements must be put in place that mitigate the disparities that arise within these three dimensions (Fraser, 2003, 2008, 2009). This chapter outlines my methodological journey and makes an argument for the use of a participatory action research (PAR) design. It includes an explication of the research setting, the research and data collection process and discusses the Participatory Learning Action (PLA) tools used in the study. Importantly, this chapter also discusses the data analysis process and how the theoretical concepts of Nancy Fraser provide the framework for analysis. It addresses issues of reflexivity and outlines some of the ethical considerations of the study.

4.2   Rationale for choosing a participatory action research design

The appropriateness of the research design needs to be decided on by the context, purpose and nature of the research study in question. Other considerations include the personal role of the researcher, the knowledge discovered and the knowledge being constructed (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008). I chose to use a PAR design for this study because this approach allows for participants to engage with their own knowledge and those of others in a critically reflective manner in partnership with the researcher to support the creation of new knowledge (Bozalek & Biersteker, 2010; Van der Riet, 2008). PAR was developed in Africa and South America in the 1970s by third world activists and academics (Chambers, 2006). An important element of

http://etd.uwc.ac.za/

a participatory research design is that participants are regarded as having agency and are not just seen as objects in a study. Through collaborative efforts, participants work with the researcher to conceptualise their own life stories from their own perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The PAR approach emphasises social investigation, education, and action, with the ultimate goal being improvement in the lives of those who are involved in the research process (Yeich & Levine, 1992). PAR should inspire change by empowering participants to become change agents in their communities where they are able to identify problems within the economic, social and political structures (Chambers, 2006).

Whilst this research study will not yield immediate relief for the participants who participated, as some of them would have completed their studies, it has the potential to raise social justice issues and improve the conditions of residences to enhance student learning. PAR does not locate problems within individuals, but rather in societal structures (Van Der Riet, 2008), which is in keeping with Fraser's theory on social justice. This is important in this study because student failure is often ascribed to a student's lack of personal motivation, intellectual difficulties or insufficient career advice sought. Eschewing an individualist, pathologising approach, this study locates student learning difficulties in terms of economic, cultural and political dimensions. As this study is positioned within a social justice framework, PAR is an appropriate approach: it addresses issues of power and knowledge creation; it has at its core empowerment as a goal; and it focuses on indigenous local knowledge to bring about solutions to local problems.

4.3   Research design

PAR is centrally concerned with the relationship between knowledge and power (Bozalek & Biersteker, 2010). Participatory research methodologies provide platforms to reduce the subject-object power relations that are usually present in traditional forms of research (Healy, 2005; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). According to Van der Riet (2008, p. 550), transformative social justice concerns are fundamental to the participatory research approach. The essence of the research agenda is the creation of change in the living conditions of people, as well as ensuring that participants themselves are empowered through the research process. The research process therefore starts with local knowledge and is built on the premise that local people understand intimately the conditions which affect their lives. Thinking-with the work of Nussbaum (1995, 2000) and Sen (1984, 1995), Bozalek (2011) argues that it is possible too that local people perpetuate oppressive cultural practices that disadvantage them and which

thus challenge their own flourishing. For example, students who identify with a sexual orientation that does not form part of the dominant heterosexual culture are seen as different and often experience stigma and degradation and so they tend to internalise abject subjectivities themselves. Using the work of Okin (1995), Bozalek (2011, p. 470) states that a "committed outsider" in the research process, for example, the researcher, has the ability to identify the oppressive or questionable practices of those participants who are part of the culture that is being investigated. This concept is important to my research study because, as a researcher, I switched between being an insider as I work within the Department of Residential Services, although at fraught times of student protests against management, I could also have been viewed by residence students as an outsider (I reflect on my own role as a researcher in section 4.9 of this chapter)

Being conscious of power and position in relation to peers is an important outcome of PAR. This research study used PLA techniques, such as Photovoice, the River of Life, Community Mapping and semi-structured individual interviews as part of the PAR design (these tools are explicated in detail later in the chapter). These research tools enabled participants to interrogate their residence environment, examine their life trajectory and identify for themselves the enabling and constraining factors that impacted on their learning within the residence context. In this research study, participants came from differing degrees of disadvantage and privilege. By reflecting on their own life experiences through the use of the research tools, opportunities for participants to share their experiences within the focus group settings (this will also be further explained in relation to the research process later in this chapter) allowed them to reflect critically on themselves and the experience of other participants. Bozalek and Biersteker (2010) contend that these opportunities present participants with platforms to develop an understanding that they can possibly occupy positions of both privilege and disadvantage. During the discussions around participants' River of Life drawings during the research process, the quality of basic education emerged as an important factor that determined how prepared students were for HE. Participants who had attended rural schools with poor infra-structure were able to understand why they had struggled with adjustment to first year, whilst those participants who had attended more affluent schools could see what resources they had experienced that had advantaged them and prepared them for HE. This process was an important part of the research process, as it allowed for participants to be critical and to understand themselves in relation to their peers and consequently examine their own shifting positions of advantage and disadvantage.

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Using Tronto's (1993) notion of privileged irresponsibility, Bozalek (2011, p. 473) highlights that it is possible for those participants who are privileged by social arrangements to make use of others to meet their needs, without acknowledging this. An example of privileged irresponsibility which is pertinent to my study would be those male students who occupy a room in residence taking in a female student for sex and domestic duties. In my research study, through listening to one another's experiences, participants were confronted with their own complicity in privileged irresponsibility. The process of sharing and critically discussing experiences through the PLA techniques provided an opportunity for students to realise the importance of interrogating their own actions and taken-for-granted experiences in order to refrain from perpetuating social injustices in their community.

4.4   Research setting

The University of the Western Cape was selected as the research site. I obtained permission from the Senate Higher Degrees Committee at the university to conduct this research. I obtained permission from the Registrar to conduct research with students and also wrote to the Director of Residential Services for permission to conduct research at the student residence specifically.

The University of the Western Cape opened its doors to the first 166 students in 1960 (University of the Western Cape, 2013). As a product of the apartheid regime, the university was founded to serve so-called 'Coloured' people of the Western Cape and to produce a labour force which could service the Coloured community. During the 1970s, 80s and 90s, UWC played an integral role in the struggle to end apartheid, as explained in detail in the contextual chapter (Lalu & Murray, 2012). Although rich in struggle history, UWC, like many other HEIs that were created by the apartheid regime, is characterised by a lack of resources, infrastructure and funding reserves. UWC has eleven residences, eight on campus and three off campus. In total, the UWC residences provide 3,202 bed spaces. The total UWC population was 22,443 at the time of the study (University of the Western Cape, 2017).

Of the 3,302 bed spaces, 691 are allocated to first years whilst a smaller number are reserved for postgraduate students. Located on campus is Kovacs, which, as explained in previous chapters, is a private residence which does not belong to the university and which was constructed as part of a public-private partnership (see Chapter Two for a fuller discussion on this).

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UWC's Residential Services Department is not responsible for admissions to this residence and Kovacs currently supplies an additional 1,500 bed spaces. UWC residences house a diverse student cohort. The RS Admissions Policy cites the following criteria which make students eligible for consideration for residence:

- They must not reside within a 60 km radius from the university
- They must have a clean disciplinary record
- They must be in good academic standing

Student ratios are determined by the Institutional Planner who decides what the current enrolment targets are for the various faculties for the given academic year. Residence intake mirrors these targets. Students with extraordinary circumstances are able to make a special appeal to the Residential Services Department for accommodation. These extraordinary circumstances usually relate to their personal and home situation which makes it impossible for any learning to take place there. With this in mind, the majority of students who live in residences hail from other provinces and more outlying areas in the Western Cape. The residences also house a cohort of foreign national students registered for either undergraduate or postgraduate degrees.

4.5. Participant selection

The participants in this study were selected through a purposeful sampling method. During purposeful sampling, the researcher selects a sample that will result in the most pertinent information. According to (Patton, 2002), purposeful sampling is a non-random method of sampling where the researcher selects 'information-rich' cases for in-depth investigation. Forty participants were selected for this study. The only criteria for selection were that they had to be registered UWC students and also had to be living in the student residences. For the first focus group, I used the group of Development Officers (12 students – entire Development Officer population) who worked within my office. They were all postgraduate students, 8 PhD

students and 4 Master's. The Development Officers represented the Community Health Sciences Faculty (5), Arts Faculty (1), Science Faculty (3), Economic Management and Sciences Faculty (3). The Development Officers were between 22 and 40 years and comprised of 7 male and 5 female students. For the second focus group, I approached other student structures within the ResLife Office by sending them an email invitation to participate in the study. I sent an email to about 50 students across the structures representing various year levels. I selected these twelve students based on convenience and their availability. These students were between the ages of 18 and 22 years and comprised of 4 males and 8 females. For the third and fourth focus groups, I randomly selected students from first to fourth year across the residences by consulting the Residence database and sent them an email in which I invited interested students to respond and reserved a space for themselves in the focus group. The third and fourth focus groups attracted eight students each, thus 16 students in total. At the beginning of the focus group, I explained to the students that the data collection was going to take place over a period of time and consequently students were asked for commitment to attend the Photovoice workshops so that they could participate in the process. Students in the study were thus voluntary participants.

For ethical reasons, I also explained to students that they could choose to exit the study at any point should they no longer want to participate. The necessary information sheet about the research was given to the students and each participant completed a consent form (Appendix one). Students were given no monetary compensation but a meal was provided at every workshop; and towards the end of the process, each student that participated was given a gigabyte of data as a way of thanking them for their time.

The information below summarises the demographics of the participants:

Gender of participants

18
22

■ Male ■ Female
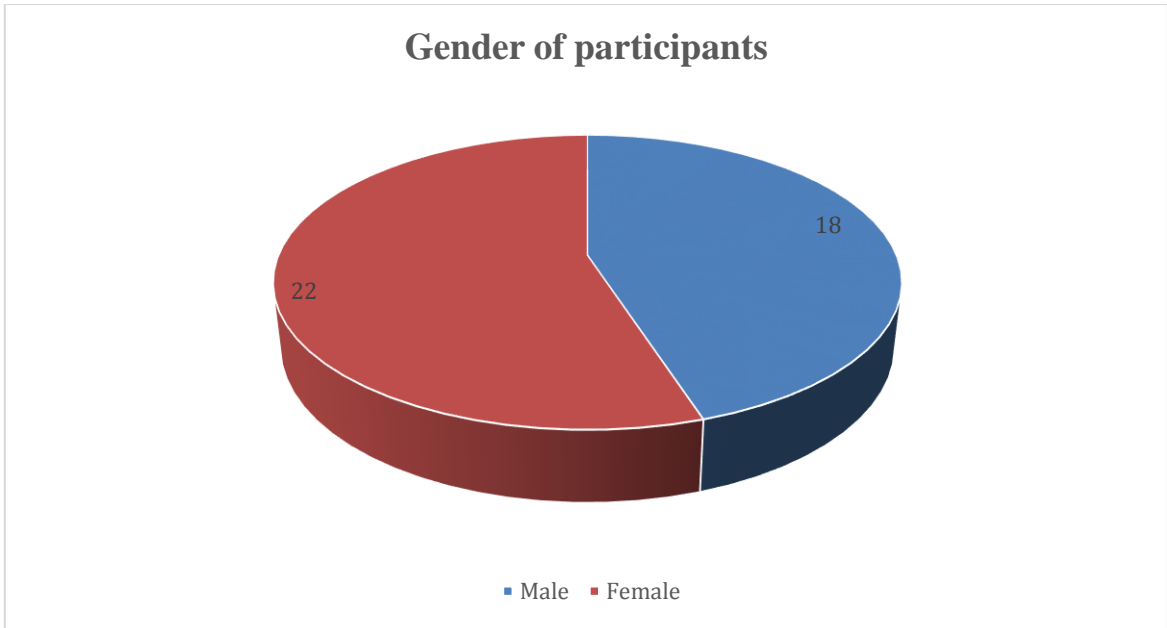
Figure 4.3: Gender breakdown of all participants

Age of participants

35

30

25

20

15

10

5

0

| 18- 21 years | 22-30 years | 30-40 years | 40 + |

5   30   3   2

■ Age of Participants
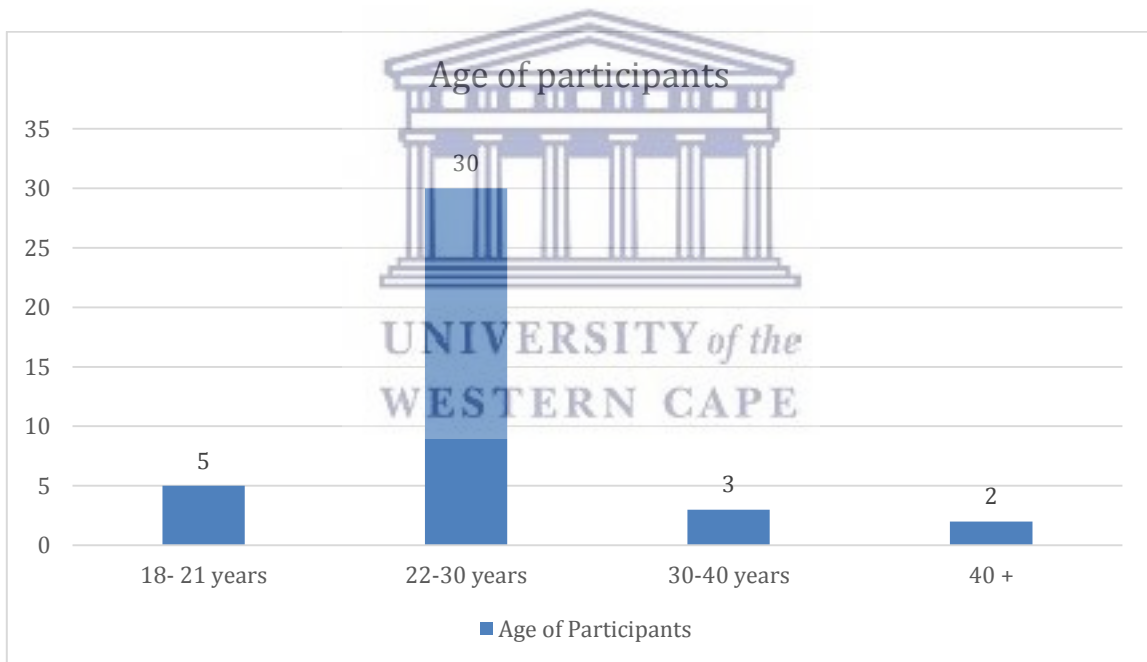
Figure 4.4: Age profile of all participants

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Country	No. of participants
South Africa	27
Zimbabwe	6
Cameroon	5
Botswana	1
Tanzania	1

Table 4.1: Country of origin

Coloured	**4**
Black African	**23**

Table 4.2: South African race categories

4.6 Research process

I collected the data from 2016 to 2018. Initially, I decided to use only the Development Officers as participants in my research: they are the most senior students whose role is to implement academic and psychosocial interventions to support students who live at residences. However, after my first focus group, I realised the benefits of broadening the research sample to include all students who live in residence. The idea of using a cross-section of students meant that a variety of perspectives was possible, with students ranging across different year levels and different faculties. In total, forty students participated in this research study.

In March 2016, a focus group was conducted with twelve students. Each participant was asked to draw their own River of Life and a Community Map of the residence in which they resided, denoting the spaces and resources they experienced as enabling or constraining for their learning (see instructions given to research participants later in this chapter in section 4.7.). Each person was given an opportunity to discuss their drawings in a focus group. At a second occasion in April 2016, the same group of students was invited to a workshop to help them understand Photovoice methodology to empower them with skills to participate in the Photovoice project. In August 2016, a second focus group was held following the same methodology and process as the first focus group, where participants were asked to complete

their River of Life and Community Maps. This focus group also comprised 12 students representing different student structures across residences. In September 2016, another Photovoice workshop was held with the group of students from the second focus group. No other interaction with students was possible as the #feesmustfall protests resumed shortly after this. In March 2017 a third focus group was conducted with eight students, followed by a Photovoice workshop in April 2017. The final focus group was held in August 2017; and a Photovoice workshop was held with that cohort of students in September of the same year. In early 2018, I conducted 20 individual interviews with a selection of the participants that had participated in the focus groups during the preceding years. A Photovoice exhibition was also hosted in 2018. The Photovoice exhibition was planned jointly with representation of all the research participants. All residence students and relevant decision makers were invited to see the Photovoice exhibition. The research tools, including the Photovoice exhibition, will enjoy a broader discussion later in this chapter. The figure below summarises the data collection process:

9 March 2016	→	6 April 2016	→	6 May 2016
Focus Group 1:12		Photovoice workshop: 12		Photos and narrative are submitted by participants
River of Life		Photovoice Methodology		
Community Map				

3 August 2016	→	7 September 2016	→	7 October 2016
Focus Group 1:12		Photovoice Workshop: 12		Photos and narrative are submitted by participants
River of Life		Photovoice Methodology		
Community Map				

8 March 2017	→	5 April 2017	→	3 May 2017
Focus Group 1:8		Photovoice workshop: 8		Photos and narrative are submitted by participants
River of Life		Photovoice Methodology		
Community Map				

10 August 2017	→	6 September 2017	→	4 October 2017
Focus Group 1:8		Photovoice workshop: 8		Photos and narrative are submitted by participants
River of Life		Photovoice Methodology		
Community Map				

Feb. – May 2018		6 – 10th August 2018
20 individual interviews		Photo exhibition at residence

Figure 4.5. Data Collection Process

In 2017, after much searching for information about the history of residences, I requested access to the archives of the university from the Registrar. Once permission was granted, I contacted the person in charge of the archives and explained my purpose. All information that contained the words "residence" and "hostel" was located and I spent time reading through the documents to understand how residences at UWC had evolved and what some of the issues were at the time.

4.7   Description of the data collection tools

Participatory Learning and Action (PLA), Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) represent a family of approaches to social research that have become popular in development practice in response to a disenchantment of more traditional forms of research such as questionnaire surveys (Chambers, 2006). "A coalescence of methods which include timelines, mapping and diagramming, transect walks and observations, semi-structured interviews came under the umbrella term Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA)" (Chambers, 2007). PAR developed from RRA when it felt that local people should be the foci of the research process (Pillay, 2015). PLA, championed by Robert Chambers in 1995, was conceived as a broader term which includes similar and related processes, not limited to rural areas. The term 'PLA' denotes that research is for action and not only for appraisal (Chambers, 2007).

The PLA techniques used in the study were the River of Life, Community Mapping, Photovoice and semi-structured interviews. Students were invited to attend a focus group meeting where the research was discussed and explained, consent forms (Appendix one) were filled in and the PLA techniques were undertaken, with feedback and discussions taking place in the groups after the drawings were completed. Each focus group took three to four hours to complete their task and four focus groups were held with a total of forty participants (see data collection process for details).

4.7.1 PLA tool: River of Life

The River of Life, which is one of the PLA timeline tools, was used in this study. Timelines show events in the lives of people that are important to them (International HIV/AIDS Alliances, 2006). This is a powerful data collection tool which has the potential of providing an opportunity for students to view critically their understandings of social issues by exposing

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them to the differential impact that these issues have had on their own lives and those of their peers (Bozalek & Biersteker, 2010). During the first part of the focus group, the student were given the following instructions:

> Using the newsprint, crayons and colour markers provided, draw your River of Life.
>
> - Focus on your academic journey specifically
> - Using symbols, drawings and words, depict your achievements and highlights as well as your challenges that you may have encountered along your way.

The River is a representation of an individual's life and, like the river, life also makes twists and turns which are symbolic of their challenges and achievements. In a focus group, the students were asked to share and reflect on their drawings. (The consent forms requested permission to record the group session.) The focus group provided an opportunity for students to listen to their peers' experiences and an opportunity to challenge one another, thereby deepening their knowledge and developing their ability to be reflexive, particularly in relation to understanding marginalisation and privilege (Bozalek & Biersteker, 2010).

4.7.2 PLA tool: Community Map

In this part of the participatory process, the students were given the following instructions:

> Using the newsprint, crayons and colour markers provided:
>
> - Draw a map of your residence community.
> - Highlight on your map using words, symbols or drawings what resources or issues in your community have had an enabling effect on your learning at residence.
> - Highlight what resources or issues in your community have had a constraining effect on your learning at residence.

The Community Mapping technique provided students with an opportunity to understand the resource constraints in their community and make connections with their own sense of power and privilege in relation to resources. By listening to one another sharing their Community Maps, students were able gain insight into their peers' experiences. Issues raised from sharing of the Community Maps also spoke to various markers of difference and the focus group

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presented an opportunity for students to consider feelings of inferiority and privilege, as well as social esteem, which might or might not have been similar to their own experience. According to Bozalek et al. (2014), these PLA techniques are useful for providing students with space to express themselves in relation to their experiences of marginalisation and privilege. The goal was to provide an opportunity for students to externalise issues – in other words, to regard them in the complexity of their socio-political context rather than seeing them solely as personally or internally generated. In the discussions, students raised the issue of deficits in resources which impeded their ability to learn and highlighted that some research participants were better off than others in this respect – alerting them to positions of disadvantage and privilege. Under these shifting positionalities between disadvantage and privilege, participants deepened their own consciousness and were encouraged to think more critically within their community.

4.7.3 Photovoice project

Photovoice is designed to create opportunities for those who are marginalised to participate actively in enhancing their communities by giving them a chance to tell their stories and have their voices heard (Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock, & Havelock, 2009). In Photovoice projects, individuals are equipped with cameras so they can create photographic evidence and symbolic representations to help others see the world through their eyes (Foster-Fishman, Mortensen, Berkowitz, Nowell, & Lichty, 2013). The actions taken through Photovoice, that is, taking photographs and writing or telling stories about the photographs, are empowering to those engaging with them. If community members feel empowered, they are likely to possess greater authority to advocate for an improved quality of life for themselves and for other members of their communities. In this study, the Photovoice exhibition was a tool which was used for students to advocate for an improvement in their situations. A selection of photo images and narratives was made to showcase some of the issues at residences that required redress. Decision-makers and other residence students were invited to view the exhibition. Whilst no concrete change has yet arisen as a direct result of the exhibition, awareness of students' concerns has been raised.

Photovoice requires that community members assume multiple roles during the process (Wang, 2006). As Photovoice participants, individuals share ideas and concerns about their experiences and their community. They also capture photographic evidence so the role of photographer is another role assumed by the participants (Palibroda et al., 2009). Additionally, participants take

on the role of co-researchers with responsibilities around setting research goals, data collection, data analysis and sharing research findings (Palibroda et al., 2009). The Photovoice technique gives students agency and is a powerful tool for advocacy.

Photovoice equips students with skills so that they can express themselves through images and words that hold meaning in relation to their lives and experiences (Foster-Fishman et al., 2013). Allowing students to choose their photo images and ascribe their own meaning to these is in itself an empowering experience (Wang, 2006).

After attending the first focus group session where the two PLA techniques were used, a date was agreed upon for the next phase of data collection. A week before the agreed upon dates for the Photovoice workshop, I sent reminders to all students and confirmed the time and venue. On the day of the workshop, I organised a meal for each participant. The purpose of the three-hour workshop was to 'unpack' Photovoice methodology and the fundamental principles behind it. As professional cameras were an expensive resource, I agreed with the students that they would use their cellular phone cameras. Fortunately, all students that participated had cellular phones with a camera facility. It was also agreed with participants in these workshops that a space would be created to display the images and narratives so that key decision-makers could start to understand student's experiences. I showed participants examples of other Photovoice images and the narratives that people attached to them.

The following instructions were given to students at the end of the Photovoice workshop:

Using your cell phone camera, walk around your residence, consider the drawings of your River of Life and Community Map and take photos of all the things/issues/resources that you think enable or constrain your ability to learn at residence. Please submit your 4 best images. The images can be abstract as discussed in the workshop or can be of an actual issue or resource constraining or enabling your learning. Each image must be accompanied by a narrative which explains the significance of the image to you.

At the end of the workshop I agreed with the group that a month would be given to complete this process and all images and narratives had to be submitted on the agreed upon dates. In total, four Photovoice workshops were held (see the data collection process discussed earlier) with a total of 40 participants.

Choosing data from each of the Photovoice workshops

Eight students and I (two representatives from each workshop) selected the best photos and narratives to display in a Photovoice exhibition. In this way, I was able to ensure that the students themselves could choose the images which they felt best represented the overall issues. One hundred images and narratives were received. In total, the best 40 images was selected by the representatives selected from each workshop taking into account the clarity of the image and its accompanying narrative. These 40 chosen images were made into posters for display. From 6 to 10 August 2018, the exhibition was hosted at various points in the residences to raise awareness of students' experience. This exhibition enjoyed the support of Residential Services which assisted in printing the posters and obtaining the necessary resources to realise the exhibition. Various role players were notified to visit the exhibition.

The exhibition raised awareness about student concerns about the factors that were impeding their ability to learn. Whilst decision-makers were invited, few attended and nothing concrete has come from the event. However, the positive outcome of the exhibition was the acknowledgement from other students that they shared similar sentiments about what the exhibiting students were communicating.

4.7.3 Semi-structured individual interviews

According to Van der Riet (2008, p. 551), "semi-structured interviews are part of the range of techniques used in PAR". The purpose of the research interview is to explore the views, experiences and beliefs around specific issues (e.g., identifying constraints at residence). The nature of PAR allows for the researcher to seek deeper truths while aiming "to study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them" (Van der Riet, 2008, p.740). The researchers aspire to uncover the world through another's eyes, in a discovery and exploratory process that is deeply experienced. The findings features the individual's feelings, views, and patterns that are revealed without control or manipulation from the researcher (Leininger, 1985). This research study used a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 3). When designing an interview schedule, it is important to ask questions that are likely to provide as much information about the social phenomenon as possible and that are also able to address the aims and objectives of the research (Pillay, 2015). In a qualitative interview, good questions should be open-ended (i.e., require more than a yes/no answer), neutral, sensitive and understandable

(Van der Riet, 2008). It is usually best to start with questions that participants can answer easily and then proceed to more difficult or sensitive topics. This can help put participants at ease, and the experience often generates rich data that subsequently develops the interview further (Gill, Steward, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008).

I reviewed some of the themes which were starting to emerge from the River of Life, Community Maps and Photovoice narratives and images and then designed open-ended questions to explore students' experiences in greater depth. Given that students alluded to their experiences of being misrecognised in various ways at residence, I asked more in-depth questions regarding views about sexual orientation, being differently abled, being a foreign national, issues of safety, gender and class related issues. These questions were designed to ascertain a deeper understanding of how students constructed their knowledge and experiences of these issues. From February to May 2018, I contacted students who had alluded to being misrecognised during the first phase of data collection, when information was gleaned through the PLA techniques. I asked them whether they would be interested in participating in an individual interview. Twenty individual interviews were conducted. Each interview was an hour in duration and was scheduled at a time which was convenient to the individual student. Permission was obtained to audio-record the interviews.

4.7.4 Field Notes

I borrowed the idea of using field notes from the ethnographic research process that emphasises the importance of field notes to document emerging ideas through the process and to make comments on the research process (Angrosino, 2007). As I had a dual role in this research study as both employee and researcher, the field notes helped me to be reflexive and take cognisance of important considerations as they emerged. For this reason, I documented my experiences of the focus groups and interviews immediately after they took place. An example of a field note entry which I wrote after the Photovoice workshop is shown here.

Example of a field note entry

Date: 7 September 2016

I have just completed the Photovoice workshop to help the participants understand more about process of taking photos and writing narratives. I am exhausted. This workshop was harder than the last one. Maybe it's because these students are younger and less mature? I am feeling a dynamic with the students that was different from before. I think the

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#feesmustfall campaign is certainly a factor. At this point everyone is suspicious of everyone else not sure what to expect. Residential Services is a key focus of student demands. I think students find it hard to separate me as the Living Learning Coordinator and the researcher for the project. I have to work harder to gain trust. I do think that the fact that students understand that I do not work within the Placement Division sets me apart. I fully support and understand why students are asking for free decolonised education. I am not always sure that I understand the violence and intimidation and damage to property has taken place last year was necessary as I see first-hand how it affects students especially those who have nowhere else to go to because they live far and their parents cannot afford to bring them home. The smell of the second #feesmustfall protest is on the horizon – when, where and how it will start is not fully known yet. But I feel it in the air – I feel it the rumbling amidst the students and I know that it is just a matter of time. I feel it when I ask those awkward questions in the group, the looks that students give each other and then the silence until one brave soul in the group decides that I have done enough to gain their trust and they whisper about the rumours … As a staff member I never feel safe … as a researcher I am always happy to be able to engage with the students and provide support.

The field notes mainly assisted me to give expression to my feelings and perceptions that were evoked within the workshop, often through observations of group dynamics and body language of participants as we discussed the issues which emerged from their River of Life and Community Map exercise. This was useful, as it allowed me to pick up on the underlying issues that could possibly emerge from my brokering of two roles within the research process.

4.8 Data analysis

All focus group discussions and semi-structured individual interviews were transcribed. I used Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional theory on social justice to assist in grouping the data into economic, cultural and political dimensions. According to Jackson & Mazzei (2013, p. 261), thinking with data, or using data to think with theory, allows for knowledge to be opened up and proliferated rather than simplified. They suggest that data analysis should not happen in a mechanical way through means of coding and assigning of themes, as this does little to examine the complexities of people's experiences (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). Examining data without context or free of theoretical concepts limits so-called data analysis and inhibits the inclusion of unthought-of data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). Jackson & Mazzei (2013) use the phrase,

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"plugging in", which refers to the process of thinking about the theory in relation to the data and vice versa, resulting in the creation of chaos out of which new knowledge is realised. In the middle of co-reading multiple texts, the doing is not to create meaning but to show how an assemblage is made or how thinking occurs. Thinking with theory, according to Jackson & Mazzei (2013) is to move from one assemblage to another; asking different analytic questions, flowing from concepts that are entangled with theory and philosophy, producing interminable potentials for plugging in.

Fraser's (2008) three-dimensional theory provided a theoretical framework which I used to interrogate the data, allowing me to make sense of it and arrange it within the dimensions. Fraser contends that all three dimensions influence another but none of the dimensions are reducible to the others (Fraser, 2009). Whilst streamlining the data into each dimension, it became apparent that maldistribution has misrecognition effects and misrecognition could also lead to misframing. The River of Life and Community Map drawings of the participants were used to illustrate the dimensions and to provide a visual representation of the participants' experiences. Each drawing was accompanied by the narrative of the participant and my focus in this instance was on how the participant interpreted the drawings and pictures. In trying to make sense of the data I read the transcriptions over and over again, sometimes partially in relation to a dimension or completely to understand what the participants experience had been. I then read and reflected on Fraser's theory and thought about the data in relation to the theory and the three dimensions. This enabled me to come up with sub categories within each dimension. The continuous reading of the transcribed data and then thinking about it within the framework of Fraser illuminated the sub categories for me and allowed me to see the data in the theory and the theory in the data. This according to Jackson & Mazzei (2013) is an important part of creating new knowledge. They state that re-reading the theory and then the data prevents the researcher from merely creating themes but allows room for the researcher to look at the nuances within the experiences of the participants as part of the knowledge making process. An important part of the data analysis process was reviewing the data whilst it was being collected to ensure that the research objectives were being met and to discover gaps in the data so that further investigation could be possible. A key characteristic of using PLA techniques is that data collection takes place over an extended period of time (Pillay, 2015). Consequently, I reviewed the data transcripts from the focus groups, and the narratives of students from the Photovoice project to assist in developing my interview schedule to illuminate gaps and areas that needed further exploration. The data obtained from the individual

interviews were analysed along the same lines as the data from the focus groups and narratives described above and were arranged within Fraser's theoretical framework of economic, cultural and political dimensions. The findings were then triangulated using relevant field notes, direct quotes from individual responses, drawings and photos images to verify and illuminate the overall findings.

4.9 Reflexivity

Conducting qualitative research and particularly fieldwork changes a researcher in many ways. Through reflexivity, researchers acknowledge the changes brought about in themselves as a result of the research process and how these changes have affected the research process. The journey of discovering how researchers shape and how they are shaped by the research process and output is an iterative and empowering process (Willig, 2013,p.30). Reflexivity as a process is introspection on the role of subjectivity in the research process. It is a continuous process of reflection by researchers on their values (Parahoo, 2006) and of recognising, examining, and understanding how their "social background, location and assumptions affect their research practice" (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 17). The key to reflexivity is "to make the relationship between and the influence of the researcher and the participants explicit". This process determines the filters through which researchers are working (Lather, 2004), including the "specific ways in which our own agenda affects the research at all points in the research process" (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 17). However, this does not mean limiting what one can know about social realities.

I was acutely aware of the power relations that existed between the participants and me; and this was further complicated by the fact that I was also an employee within a department at a time when the department in which I worked was targeted during the #feesmustfall protests. I consider it important for the reader to note, in the context of this study, that I am currently employed within the Department of Residential Services, so I assumed a dual role of researcher and employee. (Cui, 2012) finds that the "insider and outsider" positions require continual discovery and negotiation during the research process. Denzin et al. (2008) note that the researcher brings more than one self to the research process – as in this case where I was employee, researcher and student.

Reflecting on my earlier discussion, I found that being a committed outsider allowed me to help participants to reflect critically on their own experiences of power, privilege and

privileged irresponsibility (Bozalek, 2011). It also allowed me to examine critically my own position with respect to being an employee, a researcher and a student (a discussion I will return to later in this chapter when considering reflexivity).

I was careful not to include participants who had been direct recipients of my counselling services or academic support services, as this would have been a conflict of interests. During the research process, I tried very deliberately to be upfront about my dual role, both within the RS department as well as in my role as a researcher. This helped the participants to understand that I would not be defending department policies or services nor furthering a departmental agenda but rather that I was interested in their subjective experiences of living at residence. I was sensitive to how I asked probing questions and always set the context for why I was interested in learning more about their experiences, especially where it related to the protests and students' views about this.

The researcher's positionality does not exist outside of the research process, nor does it completely determine the latter. Instead, this must be seen as a dialogue – challenging perspectives and assumptions, both about the social world and the researcher herself (Parahoo, 2006). This enriches the research process and its outcomes. Being an employee provided me with insight into the departmental thinking and rationalisation of decisions; and being a researcher allowed me to understand the impact of those decisions on the lives of the students. Through the research process, I was conscious of my feelings towards the data which were emerging from the study. The field notes were useful to assist in allowing me to document my feelings and help me understand how they affected the research process. Reflecting back on the research process, I feel that I was able to establish trust with the participants by being honest about my position and role and not standing in judgement of participants who had differing views about issues. At the same time, I tried to create a climate in the group discussions which allowed participants to challenge each other and for me to ask questions which could spark critical thinking or alternative views about issues, especially around sexual orientation, mental health, gender, sexual violence and the rights of foreign national students. Participants had varying views on these issues – some steeped in myth and stereotypes; and parts of the group discussions were about challenging these misconceptions, either by me or by other participants. Some male participants were also extremely patriarchal in their views towards women and the roles they take on in society. At times during the group discussions, I was challenged by male participants on my views. For example, during a discussion about mental health and men, one of the participants said that men do not need counselling, as women are the weaker sex. Men

deal with issues in different ways and sometimes seeking help from traditional healers is better for men than talking about issues in ways which do not help them. In this instance, I challenged the notion of women being the weaker sex and allowed other males to get involved in the discussion to support the notion that counselling is gender-blind.

Willig (2013, p. 30) also speaks about epistemological reflexivity which refers to the reflexivity process that "encourages us to reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that we have made in the course of the research, and it helps us to think about the implications of such assumptions for the research and its findings". I have therefore taken time to reflect and consider how the construction of the research question, the chosen design of the study, and the method of data analysis have constructed the research findings. An additional consideration is to what extent these methodological underpinnings and assumptions would have given rise to a different understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. (Gilgun, 2010) suggests that researchers would do well to write, reflect upon and discuss their personal and professional interpretations throughout the research process, as it creates an awareness and an honest approach to their research, as well as the reporting thereof. This is where I found the field notes and discussions with my supervisor to be a useful space to help me make sense of the methodology and to ensure that the research aims and objectives were being met. I chose to use Nancy Fraser's trivalent theory of social justice. The theory was also useful in helping me shape my thoughts about the emerging data and allowed me to reflect on my own bias about the emerging issues. For example, I have worked very hard to examine and be conscious of my own feelings regarding issues of class, gender and race. Often students see me as a middle class, Indian woman and immediately take on a set of assumptions about my position of privilege. My reality however is very different as I grew up in a conservative Muslim home where resources were few. I was the first woman in my family to pursue an education over marriage and children; and I experienced strain over the years for my progressive views of women and the caring roles into which they are tied. Presently I still constantly fight the ongoing battle of balance around being a wife, mother, student and employee. This research has raised some of these issues for me as some of the participants have related similar challenges that they have dealt with or have encountered.

Theory was instrumental in shifting my thoughts about social justice. For example, the notion that some students need more specific resources or interventions to achieve parity of participation allowed me to think about social justice from a different perspective. As a social

worker, which is my professional qualification, one is often faced with the individual client and sees the impact of inadequate social arrangements on achieving equality of participation. Fraser's theoretical framework shifted my thinking to a more macro level focus for thinking about social justice and the complexity of the impact of social injustice on the lives of people.

4.10 Trustworthiness

To maintain high trustworthiness in a qualitative study, (Lincoln & Guba, 1999) suggest criteria to ensure valid interpretation of data: truth value, transferability and dependability. Truth value is concerned with the accuracy and truthfulness of the findings (De Vos, Delport, Fouche, & Strydom, 2013). A valid study should demonstrate what actually exists and a valid instrument should actually measure what it intends to measure. In this study, as a researcher, I defined the parameters of the study and clearly described the participants with whom I engaged, namely residence students at UWC. Transferability refers to the whether the findings of the research can be transferred from a specific context or case to another (De Vos et al., 2013). In qualitative research, transferability often poses a challenge, as the research is concerned with sensitive human subject matter. To ensure transferability, I have clearly defined the theoretical parameters of this study to show how data collection and analysis can be guided by concepts. The use of Nancy Fraser's framework on social justice has thus been a major influence in the way the data was analysed and structured. Dependability is concerned with whether the research topic is well documented, logical and audited. To ensure dependability in this study, I ensured that all audio recordings were transcribed. All images and drawings that emerged from the PLA data collection were used in their original forms and the meaning that was ascribed to these drawings (River of Life and Community Map) was discussed in the focus groups and carefully transcribed. The photo images and narratives produced by the Photovoice project were also carefully selected and used in their original forms. From time to time, I also endeavoured to check the emerging themes with the participants who participated in the research study to ensure that I had captured the data correctly. With regard to the Photovoice exhibition, a representation from each focus group was present and we collaboratively chose the images and narratives we used in the exhibition. The group chose images that were of good quality for reproduction in the form of a poster but also those that were most common and spoke to the issues experienced by students.

4.11 Ethical considerations

Permission to conduct this study was obtained from the University of the Western Cape Senate Research and Ethics Committee. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of the Western Cape Senate Research Committee for the PLA techniques and Photovoice sections of this research as part of the larger National Research Funding Project. (Participatory parity and transformative pedagogies for qualitative outcomes in higher education – Registration Number 14/9/1). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I contacted the University's Registrar to request permission to conduct research with the students. The University Residential Services Director was also contacted to secure permission for the research to be conducted at residence.

I also have a moral obligation to consider the right of the participants (Streubert-Speziale & Carpenter, 2003). All participants of this research study were required to give informed consent to participate in the study. Informed consent, according to De Vos et al. (2013), is important for safeguarding the participant by giving them information on what the research project is about. A consent form (Appendix one), detailing the research aims, process and expectations from the side of the participants, was drafted. The consent form also emphasised that any group discussions emerging from PLA exercises and Photovoice discussion would be anonymised. The study recruited participants on a voluntary basis, so, at any point, they could decide to withdraw from participating in the study. The anonymity of the participants was addressed in the consent form, where it was stated that the identity of the participants would be protected and only known to me.

After each focus group, I marked each River of Life, Community Map and Photovoice image and narrative with a code which captured the initial of the participant, together with the date, e.g., MM9:3:16. I decided to do this because I wanted to be able to identify each participant for the individual interviews which took place, depending on the issues which emerged from the first process. All data were stored securely and confidentially.

The purpose of using the PLA techniques and Photovoice as research tools was to enable the participants to gain new skills and insights into their own situations so that they could make conscious efforts to improve their life conditions. As I am a social worker by profession, I was able to contain any emotions which might have been evoked during the research activities and refer the participants for further counselling.

No monetary rewards were offered for participation in this research study and this was made clear to all participants. A meal was provided at every focus group session and Photovoice

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workshop. A gig of data was sent to each participants to thank them for their time and participation.

The findings of the study will be shared with all participants.

4.12 Limitations of the *study*

(Atieno, 2009) recognises that there are a number of limitations to qualitative research. In qualitative research, no attempt is made to assign frequencies to features which are identified in the data; rather, all data is examined for potential themes (Atieno, 2009). Qualitative analysis allows for fine distinctions to be drawn because it is not necessary to get the data into a finite number of classifications. The main disadvantage of qualitative approaches is that the findings cannot be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analyses can. This is because the findings of the research are not tested to discover whether they are statistically significant or due to chance. In addition to this qualitative studies come from entirely different ontological spaces and the form of the data differs in that quantitative data produces numbers whilst qualitative data describes or interprets experiences.

One of the key limitations of the PAR method is that it is time and resource intensive, and involves a high degree of personal investment with the participants on the part of the researcher (Mackenzie, Tan, Hoverman, & Baldwin, 2012). This is evident in the extended duration of time for data collection which required the development of close working relationships with participants. As this process aims to balance the power between the researcher and the participants, I had to be careful to ensure that all participants felt fully informed and also learnt some skills as part of the research process. At the end of each focus group workshop, two representatives from each group were chosen by the participants themselves. They were then entrusted by their peers to choose the photo images and narratives which eventually became part of the Photovoice exhibition.

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter provided an outline of the methodological journey that I undertook in this study. It set out to demonstrate why a PAR approach using particular PLA techniques was the best methodology for this study. The key elements of a PLA approach is that it is democratic, anti-discriminatory and requires the researcher to be constantly aware of the power in the

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researcher's relationship with the research participants. The research process entailed a complex array of activities which included teaching skills, collecting data, analysing and sharing data. This chapter also provided an outline of the research process followed and highlighted how participants were selected. It provided an in-depth discussion of the different research data collection tools and discussed how these tools were used during the research process.

The data analysis process was outlined. This process involved using Fraser's three-dimensional theoretical framework to identify themes emerging from the PLA drawings, photo images, narratives, focus group discussions and individual interviews. Finally, the chapter described issues of reflexivity in the research process. Given that using PLA techniques requires that participants feel empowered throughout the process, it was important for me to understand and be conscious of my footprint on the research process, my relationship with the participants, the theoretical framework, assumptions and how all these issues necessarily affected and helped create the research findings.

The next chapter will provide a more descriptive overview of the participants and some of their personal journeys prior to their arrival at UWC.

Chapter Five: Locating the participants

5.1   Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the participants in respect of their demographic data and gives some context of their personal circumstances through discussion of the River of Life data. This would include significant events in their lives, as well as childhood highlights and challenges. The River of Life also touches on participants' schooling experience and attempts to trace their academic journey from primary school to their choice of a university.

5.2   Summary of the participants demographics

The demographics of the participants were discussed in-depth in chapter 4 section 4.5. This section provides a brief summary of data presented in section 4.5. All participants who were engaged in the study were registered students during the years 2016, 2017 and 2018 and they were living at UWC residences. Forty students participated, 22 females and 18 males. Of these 40 students, 27 students were from South Africa, 6 from Zimbabwe, 5 from Cameroon, 1 from Botswana and 1 from Tanzania. Of the 27 South African students that participated, 4 were Coloured and 23 were African. In South Africa, they were further identified as coming mainly from rural areas in the Eastern and Western Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo, with the exception of those students from Gauteng who came from urban townships such as Soweto, Katlehong, Thembisa and Diepsloot. The majority of the participants fell within the age category of 22 to 30 years which is the typical age for senior undergraduate and postgraduate students. Three students were over 30 years, whilst two were older than 40 years and these older students are typically referred to as non-traditional students (February, 2016).

5.3   Personal contextual situation of participants

The River of Life exercise provided the researcher with an opportunity to obtain a snapshot view of the lives of the participants. It provided a glimpse into some of their personal challenges and highlights which had affected their academic journey prior to university. The section below captures some of the challenges experienced by the participants.

5.4   Constraints present prior to attending university

The following constraints emerged from the data:

5.4.1   Death of a significant person
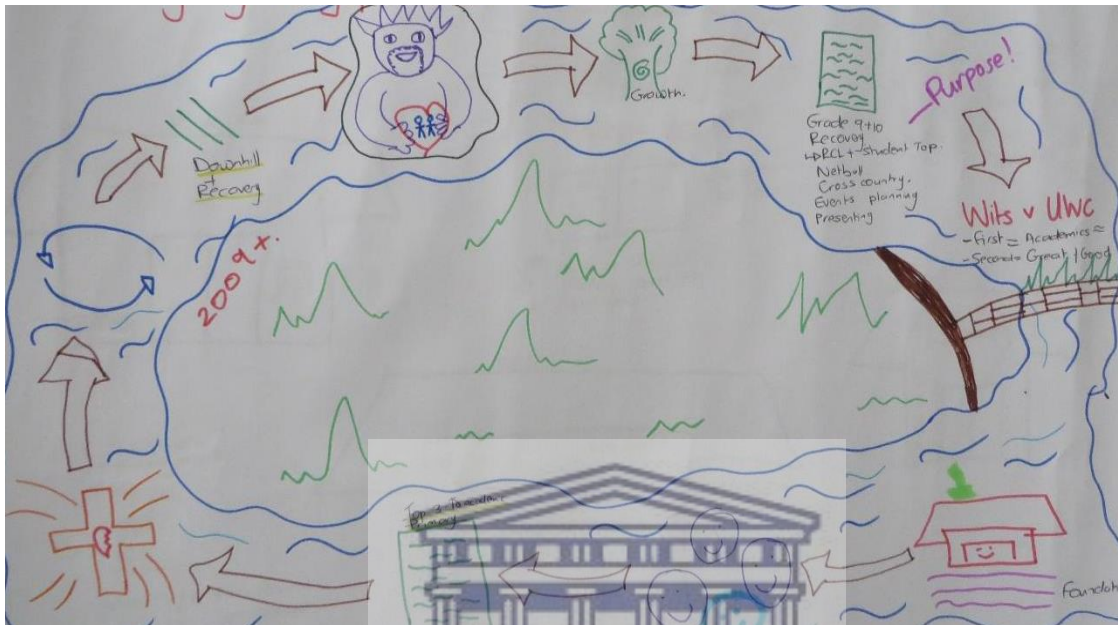
Figure 5.6: River of Life drawing

A common theme in each of the participants' life was the loss of a significant person early on in their lives. Of the 40 participants, 30 indicated that they had lost a caregiver in the form of a grandparent, parent, aunt or uncle who was responsible for their wellbeing and support. This dramatically affected the quality of their lives and many of them reported that they were unable to focus on their academic tasks, as shared in these accounts of three participants:

> *One of the greatest challenges I faced was in 2005 with the death of my grandmother someone who raised me in my younger years (toddler) and that was a very challenging time and that also affected my marks, I didn't want to study, or wasn't inspired and I didn't feel engaged in my books[18].*

> *I then went to primary school in 1999 which is when I started my Gr1 and this is also the year my grandmother passed away and I actually had to go to another school because there was nobody to look after me any longer so I had to move schools so that I could be close to my great grandmother who looked after me after school.*

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[18] All italicised narratives in this thesis are direct quotations from the original transcripts of the participants.

In 2012 I was in matric writing trial exam my mum passed away this was challenging and difficult for me because I was not coping at school because I had all the responsibilities of the funeral. I didn't study to the best of my ability because I was facing a lot at that time. My brother is the oldest but he is very quiet and I am the talkative one so I had to do everything but the teachers were encouraging me at school because they knew I had the ability to achieve and they were supporting me financially like the food at home.

The loss of a caregiver resulted in the participants' physical welfare being compromised and added further burdens to an already dire situation of poverty. With reference to the narrative of the River of Life in Figure 5.6, when the participant lost his mother, his father could not cope with the parenting and the physical care of him and his siblings. The father was struggling with his own grief. The church intervened and, according to the participant this saved his family and kept them together.

Parental support plays a key role in a student's academic achievement and the loss of a caregiver can have a negative impact on the student's academic project (Coyne & Beckman, 2012). Most of the research participants reported that they had lost interest in their academic work and their school performance had suffered. The unresolved loss of a parent can extend into adulthood as adolescents that experience bereavement may lack adequate emotional development (Coyne & Beckman, 2012). The participants that experienced such a loss reported that the death of their caregiver dramatically altered the quality of their lives with respect to the material resources they enjoyed and the feeling of being emotionally supported and loved by a significant other.

Another phenomenon that emerged from the data is that many of the students (15) were in fact raised by their grandparents, often because their parents worked in urban centres and the children were left to be cared for and schooled in the rural areas. In South Africa, many grandparents from black families find themselves in the caring roles and grandmothers are viewed as "Africa's newest mothers" (Nkosinathi & Mtshali, 2015). On the African continent, African families are embedded in circumstances that are characterised by long-standing poverty, economic fragility and the impact of HIV/AIDS, leaving the support and care of children to the older family members. Often when the grandparents die, the children are either passed onto other family members or become the concern of the State. In this particular study,

those participants that had lost their grandparents (15) went to live with an aunt or uncle and reported feeling like an additional burden to a family which was also plagued by poverty as is evidenced by an excerpt from one of the participants:

My aunt took me in when my granny died .... I never fitted into her family and there was never enough to go around so I always ended up having nothing .... wearing my cousin's old clothes ... even though my aunt got a grant for us I never benefitted from it ....

In South Africa, just over one fifth (21%) of children, or 3.7 million, do not live with either of their parents and in most cases live with other family members- most usually grandparents (Nkosinathi & Mtshali, 2015). The responsibility for child care and financial support falls on the female members of the family or the grandmother (Nkosinathi & Mtshali, 2015). These children, according to the Children's Institute (2016), are largely dependent on the Child Support Grant for survival. This grant is insufficient to provide for the needs of a growing child, resulting in many children living below the poverty food line, which has been determined as being R415 per month as opposed to R410, the current value of the Child Support Grant as per 1 October 2018 (Hall & Richter, 2018).

5.4.2 Quality of the high school experience

Due to the legacy of apartheid, inequalities are deeply rooted within the education system. The lack of adequate infrastructure, decent and safe facilities, teaching resources, such as textbooks, computers, internet, library, etc., make teaching and learning particularly challenging, especially for schools in the more rural parts of South Africa (Khumalo & Mji, 2014). Infrastructure forms an important part of the learning and teaching environment as it enables students and teachers to access a wide range of tools, services and resources to support learning and teaching. For example the use of computers could be useful for teaching, learning and administrative purposes. However, in the context of a lack of electricity, the virtues of information technology are rendered useless. Even if technology is available, the lack of literacy practices needed to benefit from the technology also presents challenges to teaching and learning (Boughey & Mckenna, 2011). The lack of resources is a critical factor in education because it may negatively affect the learning and teaching processes within the classroom. It is reported that a lack of facilities and under-resourced schools are directly associated with the academic failure of learners (Lolwana, 2004). Factors influencing rural

learners' academic success have been identified as poor infrastructure, poverty, and a lack of supportive academic discourse (Banda & Kirunda, 2005). To illustrate how the physical environment affects learning, the lack of sanitation in a school will act as a barrier to learning even if infrastructure backlogs of classrooms are addressed. (Dryden & Vos, 2005). The realities of rural life in respect of poverty, lack of facilities and infrastructure also plays a negative role in attracting qualified teachers to rural schools (Anyanwu, 2016).

Having a negative experience at high school was a common theme which emerged in just over 60% (25) of the participants' accounts. Figure 7 represents the River of Life of one of the participants who depicted and described his secondary school experience as a 'prison'.
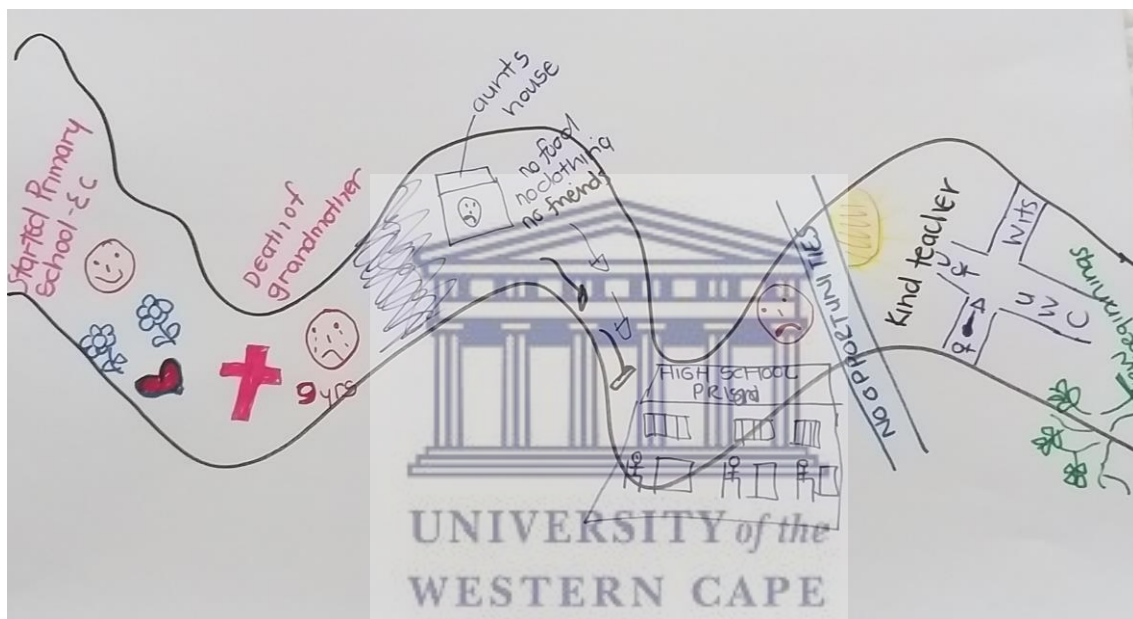
Figure 5.7: River of Life drawing

> *I persevered through primary school and in 2007 I started at Southfield High school we also called it Southview State prison which is why I show a sort of prison type of symbol because we had armed security guards, dompass[19] system you had to actually show your dompass when you entered so the system was crazy almost like a prison apartheid system. One of the things about this school is that made me not work as hard in the initial years as there was the lack of incentive /awards/prizes any sort of acknowledgement by the school. Our dompass had 3 columns so if you did something wrong then they would mark your dompass and if they marked it 3 times then you couldn't enter the school without your parents so they would check it at the gate to see*

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[19] During apartheid Black South Africans were forced to carry a pass book with them to prove their identify and where they could live and work. This became known as the dompas and was another symbol of apartheid oppression.

if your book is marked and that's why it felt like a prison. Every move was monitored so we had crazy issues whereby if you didn't do your homework the way your teacher wanted they would mark your dompass. Sometimes they would wrongly mark you ... They called it a communication book because they say that's how they communicate with the parents.

The school appeared to instil discipline in learners by reinforcing fear amongst them. South View High School is in Lenasia in Gauteng and has been plagued with issues of substance abuse, amongst other issues amongst learners. In 2016, a *YouTube* video went viral displaying learners that were obviously drunk in school toilets.

This particular participant felt unvalued and unappreciated at the school by the so-called security and disciplinary measures put in place. This system made him feel worthless and this affected his ability to belong and achieve academically. (Kuh, 1995) student engagement model suggests that a student's academic and personal-social engagement is predictive of their academic outcome. This model places emphasis on the student's sense of feeling valued and belonging to the institution and this is strongly related to the academic success of students.

The participant also spoke about the lack of incentives to make learners want to participate and excel at the school. Another participant spoke of how hard she worked to be part of the top ten students in high school, as only they were taken to visit universities and explore career options:

In April 2011 matric year we had just received our marks for the first term and they called out the top 10 students. So my name was not only there but it was on top so we had this invite from universities for open days and they only called the top 10 students to attend and they used to organise transport for us.

Another participant felt that her high school did not prepare her for university as they were 'spoon-fed':

High school did not prepare me for Varsity at all not even close because high school is nothing compared to varsity, in high school you get spoon-fed everything if your assignment is not in the teacher will listen and beg you to hand it in whereas in university if you don't hand it in that lecturer is not going to care because you just another number. You need to be responsible for yourself basically.

(Pym & Kapp, 2013) study acknowledges that, although students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds gain admission to university, they experience a crisis of confidence and self-

esteem which influences their sense of belonging in the new environment. Thomas (2002) suggests that, in order for all students to be fully engaged in educational practices at university, they have to feel a strong sense of belonging. He adds that researchers involved in student engagement debates need to be mindful of students' ethnicity, age, gender, socio-economic status and backgrounds. (Kuh, 2008) adds that student engagement research is inclined to not acknowledge cultural and other diversity markers; and suggests that in order to cater for diversity an appropriate institutional culture that promotes quality engagement is necessary. In South Africa this is particularly relevant as many students entering university emerge from a schooling system which is fraught with inequalities.

This sentiment was echoed by another participant who related her experience of completing Grades One to Nine in a school in the Eastern Cape and then transitioned to a school in the Western Cape. She said:

> *In 2010 I came to the Western Cape to start Gr10-12. This was very difficult and painful to me because at the Eastern Cape I spoke everything in Xhosa and we also received a report without writing exams in the Eastern Cape, that's why when I came here it was very difficult and challenging for me because Coloured people and teachers taught us everything in English so English and Maths were very difficult for me. On my first day at school the teacher asked who is here from the Eastern Cape and I was the only one and they were saying that I am going to make it difficult for them because of the adaption and I was shy to even answer questions in class because I felt so afraid to do anything but I kept pushing on and practicing and I met people who could help me.*

The disparities in the schooling system between provinces is extremely concerning and this participant felt that the education she received from her school in the Eastern Cape placed her at a great disadvantage. She was not prepared to receive education in English and was unfamiliar with the process of writing exams. She struggled with Mathematics because she had missed the fundamental foundations of the subject taught in earlier grades. This meant that she lacked confidence, felt inferior and was painfully aware that she was taught by Coloured teachers who had little faith in her ability to catch up. School management and School Governing Bodies are inadequately prepared to deal with racially diverse learners and their personal biased perceptions could negatively affect their ability to facilitate inclusive schools (Pather, 2005). Sayed and Soudien (2003, p. 11) suggest that 'equal opportunities' have had minimal impact on the disadvantaged learners from the inherited apartheid education system

and to a certain extent, they have caused major structural inequalities, with learners from former Black schools labelled as incompetent, illiterate and ignorant. Despite attempts at reformation, South Africa continues to lag behind when compared internationally and has failed to integrate significantly those learners from racially diverse backgrounds (Mafumo, 2010). Post-1994 the State promulgated many policies and legislation to reform education however despite this Black schools have been excluded from the process of integration, Coloured and Indians schools have an increase in the number of Black learners and White schools remain largely unchanged(Naidoo, Pillay, & Conley, 2018). The current approaches perpetuate inequalities by forcing Black African learners to conform to the culture of the school in respect of language and values thereby undermining the learners own cultural identity. As a result, racial segregation and racism persist. For these reasons, strong educational leadership is needed to facilitate racial integration in public secondary schools (Naidoo et al., 2018).

5.4.3 Language barriers

The issue of language is another theme that is closely linked to the previous one but important enough to be discussed on its own. The language question in South Africa is a very complex matter which has important cognitive, social, emotional and scholastic implications on the development of the learner(Donald, Lazarus, & Lolwana, 2010). The South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) makes provision for eleven official languages and instruction in a learner's home language is recommended. The current reality in many public schools is that learners do not receive instruction in their home language but in most case in English. When learners lack the language competency and skills a major learning barrier is formed and can prevent effective learning from taking place (Landsberg, Kruger, & Nel, 2006).

The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) survey indicated that most South African parents would prefer their children to be taught in English even if this is their second or third language (Jansen, 2013). According to Lerner, as quoted in Theron and Nel (2005, p. 255), "some linguistically diverse learners are truly bilingual and subsequently do not experience barriers when learning in English". However, many English second language learners have difficulty, both with the receptive (the way they understand the language) and expressive (the way in which they use the language to communicate) components of the English language due to a limited exposure to English. According to (Donald et al., 2010), these learners experience English as an unfamiliar and different language from their home language. The English

language reflects differences affecting their social interaction and expresses ideas that are foreign to their own culture. Lambert (as cited in Donald et al, 2010, p.45) refer to this kind of learning as "subtractive bilingualism", that is, bilingualism which entails "learning through a second language". "Subtractive" refers to the fact that it places less value on the importance of the learner's home language in formal learning (Donald et al., 2010, p. 196). Twenty-five percent (10) of the participants in the study referred to language as a barrier during their schooling career. Language was cited as a form of struggle which affected not only the academic success but also their self- esteem and sense of self –worth. The following narratives are from three participants:

> *My little sister attended the same high school that I went to and that was one of the motivating factors because I wanted to show her a more positive image of the high school and I wanted her to be proud of me because she was someone who did not learn Afrikaans in primary school so she was entering high school without Afrikaans and she was going to learn Afrikaans for the first time and she was going to have all those struggles and she is not used to it.*

> *English wasn't my first language and the first time I was forced to study in English was when I went to high school. I struggled as my home language was isiXhosa. I didn't do so well in high school and the teachers just treated me like they gave up.*

> *I hated Afrikaans. It is the language of the oppressor. My parents sent me to this school because the quality of the education was better here. I was lonely and didn't fit in because I couldn't speak Afrikaans properly. And even though most subjects were taught in English most of the teachers were Afrikaans speaking. It was the worst time of my life.*

Even though South Africa has eleven official languages and the Constitution allows for learners to be educated in their mother tongue, the language of learning and teaching is usually determined by the School Governing Body in line with the National Department of Education's policy of multilingualism. After Grade 4 in the South African schooling system, learners are expected to learn English and then two other languages, usually Afrikaans and an African Language. The Department of Education provides guidelines as to how learners should be supported in transitioning from their home language to a second language and then possibly third language. However, there is limited support and few resources at school level, especially in less resourced schools which means that these guidelines are not strictly adhered to the

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guidelines themselves becomes a barrier to learning (Mackay, 2014). Further to this the development of literacy needs to be supported by the parents in the home environment and reinforced by making available reading resources to families and helping them understand the importance of their role in their child's language (Michaels, 2013). The levels of illiteracy amongst parents presents a challenge in supporting the child within the home environment and this also retards literacy development in children. The inability to adequately teach English in schools has an impact on the student's command of the language later on when they enter the higher education arena. In a study conducted by De Kadt & Mathonsi (2003) at the University of Natal student's felt that African languages had no really place in the university despite its progressive language policy and this often made them feel excluded and they felt they could not express their "Africanism". English as a medium of instruction was still prioritised by the university as it is at UWC and this also present a learning barrier.

5.4.4 Negative peer pressure

The peer circle is an important agent of socialisation and is the first social circle outside of the family with which the child engages and learns more about themselves and their identity. As the child grows older, more and more time is spent with peers; and peers' thoughts and behaviours are more influential than those of their parents. The developmental stage of the child, adolescence, is closely linked to a feeling of being invincible and risk-taking behaviour is more common amongst this age group. The more time spent with peers the greater the chances of experiencing negative peer encounters. Negative peer encounters are associated with negative developmental outcomes which could include risky sexual behaviour or substance abuse (Burton, Leoschut, & Bonora, 2009; Hussong, 2000; Kupersmidt, Burchina, & Patterson, 1995; Parker & Asher, 1993; Woodward & Fergusson, 1999). This in turn has an effect on the students' academic outcomes, as an increase in risky behaviour often leads to decreased ability to perform academically. In this study, peers emerged as a strong factor for at least 70% (28) of the participants who indicated that negative peer influences were a distraction to their academic trajectory as is evidenced by the narratives of three participants below:

> *In 2011, I became more popular because I had certain goals and marks that I desired and in that initial 6 month period I worked like crazy and that attracted good friends who motivated me and also bad friends who just wanted to use me to help them pass and then it started to decline in the 2nd half of the year.*

I was raised in a home where my parents were very strict and we were closely monitored. When I went to high school I lived in a school hostel as the high school was far from my home. Here I was found bad friends who introduced me to weed and alcohol. It became so bad that I really struggled with my school work ….

At school it was always easy to be part of the cool kids than try and stand out and be different. My friends introduced me to first smoking cigarettes, then weed in an okka pipe at the back of the school. Before going home in the afternoon we would drink – beers or anything we can get our hands on. I was only in grade 7.

Popularity for many young people means an increased self-esteem and sense of self-worth; and, during adolescence, peers influence taste, style, entertainment, music choices etc. Because young people are more likely to experiment, according to developmental neuroscience, increased risk-taking arises during adolescence because of the early maturation of the brain system involved in reward sensitivity and incentive processing, compared with relatively protracted development of brain systems involved in cognitive control (Somerville, Jones, & Casey, 2012; Steinberg, 2008). This dual system presents a neural imbalance between affective and cognitive control brain regions which underlie adolescent risk-taking. Another concerning issue raised by the participants is the use of substances (marijuana and alcohol in particular). Young people use substances for many functional reasons, such as rebellion, sensation seeking, pleasure, curiosity, social bonding, attaining peer status, alleviating boredom, escaping or coping with reality. Peers can place social pressure on young people and force them to conform to fit in. In addition, different substances tend to be used for different reasons by young people. For example, young illicit substance users reported that they drank alcohol for fun, but used heroin to deal with problems (Steinberg, 2008). These risk-taking behaviours have a negative effects on their academic progress and other social areas of their lives.

5.4.5. Mental health issues

In an article titled 'Youth are battling mental illnesses #YouthDay' (June 2018) published in the *Sunday Independent*, the South African Depression and Anxiety group reported that 9% of all teenage deaths are due to suicide. In the age group 15 to 24 years, suicide is the second and fastest growing cause of death (Paruk & Karriem, 2016). Many psychiatric disorders has its onset in adolescence which is a vulnerable time as essential physical, social and emotional growth takes place during this time. Approximately 20% of children have a mental health

disorder but the majority of disorders are not detected and treated (Patel, Flisher, Hetrick &McGorry, 2007). Risk factors for mental illness include genetic vulnerability, neurobiological factors and psychosocial stressors. Common mental disorders during this period are mood swings and anxiety, and some are substance-related, with adolescents often presenting with comorbidity (Paruk & Karriem, 2016). It is estimated that about 20% of children and adolescents have a mental health disorder and approximately half of all mental illnesses and substance-related problems start at the age of 14 years (Paruk &Karriem, 2016, p.550). The risk of mental health problems is intensified in vulnerable environments with poor social support and socioeconomic inequalities, such as in developing countries. In a study of mental health among youth between the ages of 15 and 19 years old in five cities globally, female adolescents from Johannesburg reported the highest levels of depression and post-traumatic stress symptoms (44.6% and 67.0%, respectively) (Hawton, Saunders, & O'Connor, 2012). Suicide remains the second leading cause of death among young people worldwide (Patel, Flisher, Hetrick, & McGorry, 2007). Mental health issues was a significant theme which emerged from the research. At least 50% (20) of participants indicated some form of depression or excessive feelings of worthlessness, sadness and loneliness. This was followed by feelings of anxiety. Figure 5.8 depicts one of the participant's journey which was plagued with depression and anxiety.

Figure 5. 8: River of Life drawing

This particular participant indicated that her depression started in primary school where she started feeling lonely, could not concentrate on her school work and struggled to fit in and be sociable. She was deeply unhappy and did not understand why:

I didn't understand what was happening to me ... suddenly I was sad all the time, didn't have any friends and could not focus on my school work. As a result I didn't do well at school and my teachers all treated me like I was stupid. My parents didn't understand and said that I was being naughty ... I was really trying and then in Grade 6 just before I entered high school I wanted to end my life and started cutting myself ... I went too far and my parents found out and took me to hospital ....

My parents never understood me but I was always anxious and nervous of everything. My teachers called me a disturbance in the class and everyone treated me like an outcast so I got myself caught up in those kinds of activities .... I hung out with friends who smoked weed .... I used to smoke so much, any chance I got .... The weed made me crazy, increased my anxiety and eventually I felt things crawling on my skins, all over me .... My teachers told my parents and for a long time they just ignored the problems until I came home and was hearing voices ... it was such a weird time of my life .... I failed at school as I bunked most of the year anyway....

These particular participants were fortunate to get the necessary assistance eventually. The other 18 participants reported feelings of sadness, inability to concentrate, anxiety, loneliness and constantly feeling emotional for no reason. They were not fortunate enough to be recognised as needing assistance and caregivers and educators labelled them as being naughty, stupid or having behavioural issues. This invalidated their experiences; and, in many schools in disadvantaged communities, assessment and therapy were not part of the schools resource list.

Many young people live with undiagnosed mental illnesses and struggle in silence. Therapy in disadvantaged communities is a scarce resource and is still stigmatised. Many black families' first point of reference is often traditional healers as the only means of dealing with a mental illness. (Starkowitz, 2013) stresses the importance of finding a way to integrate traditional healers into a mental health system, as they and Western medicine are currently worlds apart. Experimenting with substances further exacerbates the onset of mental illnesses, as can be seen from the shared experiences of the participants.

The important theme emerging from all participants' accounts is that, regardless of their struggles, they managed to get through secondary school and were accepted at university. However, the stressors of university tend to exacerbate undiagnosed mental health illness. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

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5.5   Enablements present prior to attending university

The following enablements emerged from the data:

5.5.1   Supportive caregivers

Caregiver involvement in education improves academic performance, reduces dropout rates, decreases delinquency and motivates students to attend to their school work (Mackety, Linder-Van, & Jennifer, 2008; Van Deventer & Kruger, 2009). (Van Deventer & Kruger, 2009) confirm that caregiver involvement has a important effect on the quality of the learners' experiences of teaching and learning in the school, and on their academic results. Therefore, students perform better in school when the schools build networks with families and communities (Glantz, 2006). The caregiver role in education incorporates a range of socio-pedagogical and educational tasks. These may include the organisation, development, or provision of a positive learning environment that will be conducive for teaching and learning to take place.

In this particular study, the caregiving role was taken on by a family member other than parents, as at least 75% (30) of the participants lived mainly with grandparents and then later, after their passing, with aunts. The remaining 25 % (10) lived with biological parents. It is clear from three participants' narratives and depictions below that the caregivers played an important roles in the life of the participants:
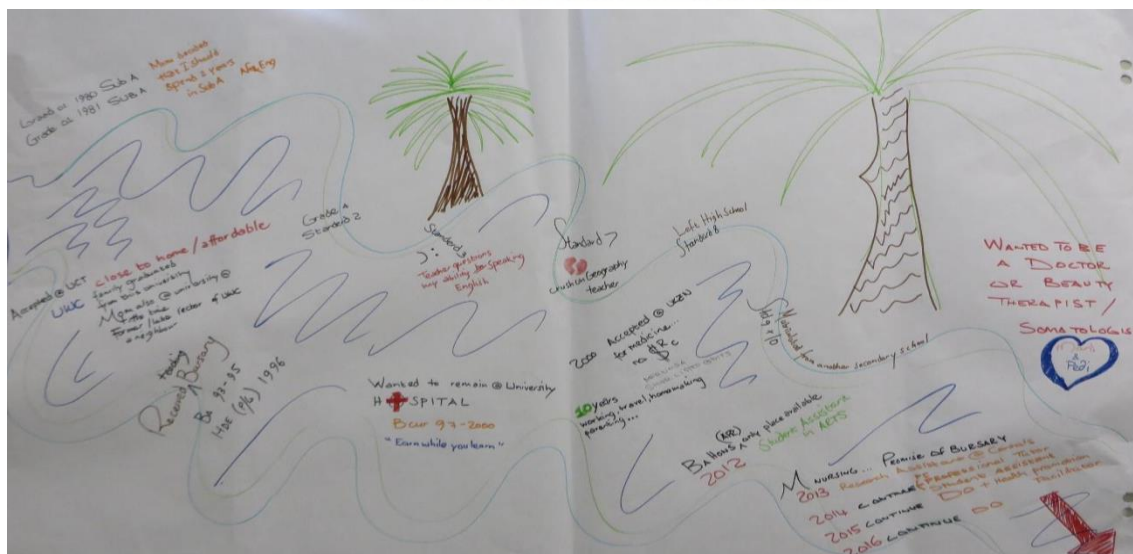
Figure 5.9: River of Life drawing

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My parents was very supportive of me and they believed in the value of good education ... even though we were poor and my family was subsistence farmers, they put together money to send me to primary school in another town .... It was hard for me as I was tall and the rich children always made fun of me .... my dad was encouraging through this and this is where I learnt not to quit no matter how hard the situation gets ....

Both my parents have their PhDs and I am an only child. So whilst my parent allowed me to do anything I wanted to study, the value of education and hard work was always known in our house. I moved from Botswana to the USA with my parents and there I was also exposed to a different schooling system ... my parents were there to help me adapt, tutored me when I struggled ....

My mother was a teacher in Cameroon. When my father passed away I went slightly off the rails and I failed for the first time in high school. My mother who is incredibly strong, patient and kind took me under her wing and provided me with all the emotional support and additional tutoring I need ....

The value that caregivers attached to education was a motivational factor for the participants. Also, those caregivers who had degrees were able to provide the participants with a better quality of life, and education was prioritised. However, from the first quotation, it is clear that even though the family was poor, the parents were willing to sacrifice and be supportive to ensure that the participant went to a better school. According to (Burton & Leoschut, 2009), children who have parental figures who are positive role models, who value education and are encouraging and supportive to ensure their children completed schooling, develop resiliency and are less likely to enter a trajectory of crime. Supporting children to become successful at school means improved scholastic outcomes. Supporting children through grief will also mean that they will be in a better position to process grief going forward (Coyne & Beckman, 2012). One of the participant indicate the following:

This is my dad he held us together and this symbolises a close community and the love that he showed to me and my brother so with his hands he held us together, he didn't know how to be a single parent but he did a very good job. When my mum passed away we didn't know how to do anything but clean and I remember my dad was there for us he was supportive. Through finding God and my dad as a pillar of strength I started growing so this is a tree to symbolise growth and strength because I can even see the

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roots under the water. The death of a parent makes you grow up and you start to see life from a different angle.

This father provided the participant with the support to work through the grief process and the participant emerged feeling like they had grown closer as a family and that he or she was more independent as a young person.

5.5.2. Finding a purpose

Human beings have an inherent need to find purpose in their lives. Those people who lack purpose may suffer from psychological and emotional difficulties when the purpose is not clear. Purpose is a fundamental component of a fulfilling life. Finding purpose gives meaning to life and the self (Damon, 2008). According to (Damon, 2008), having a purpose in life has many benefits which include the ability to live longer and healthier, be open to new experience, be more pro-socially oriented and academically engaged and demonstrate other qualities of resilience. The participants in this study also spoke about becoming more focussed once their purpose had become clear to them as is evidenced by two participant's narratives below:

In Grade 9 I joined netball again, I did cross country and then I found my purpose I did events organising and I did presenting and it was so amazing because I loved it and I still do and academic wise I didn't get back to the top 10 but I got subject badges then I became an RCL in Grade 9 & 10 and I passed matric very well I was 5% away from getting the 3ʳᵈ distinction. In Grade 9 I already knew where I wanted to be but God always has a final plan so I'm still trying to figure that part out.

I remember our peer facilitator in 2012 she was in the Dean's list and I remember her just hinting about it she didn't tell us but she just said there's this amazing award and it only goes to the top 1% of the students and then a few of my classmates and I were targeting it. I think I had such a chip on my shoulder, even though I came from a poor high school but I was the top student I was put in a 4 year programme and I was looking at all these students from private schools and I felt like I had a point to prove and in that first two years 2012-2013 I had this giant chip on my shoulder like I have to prove to myself and to whoever was looking. Even though no one is really looking at university level like that but I just wanted to show that I can be amongst the elite in an institution of the elite so I was very inspired and I had some great mentors/lecturers that pushed me harder than any high school teacher had ever pushed me so I have never been

challenged in the way I was challenged that year so that was a shock to me because I needed to pull up my socks and the more I pulled up my socks the more I felt validated.

These excerpts show how participants found a goal that kept driving them to achieve and eventually excel academically. Their goal or purpose was driven by their own feelings of inadequacy, either about where they came from with respect to schooling, or their environment. Both these participants and many other participants who were interviewed spoke about a resilience that they had developed, despite their circumstances, and how they had defeated a bad schooling system, a lack of adequate parental support, a lack of resources and opportunities, or barriers of language, to achieve a place in university.

5.5.3 Positive peer influence

As discussed earlier in this chapter, negative peer influences played a significant role in choices made by the participants. Often peers were co-conspirators in using substances such as alcohol and drugs and embarking on other risky behaviours (Burton & Leoschut, 2009). Because it has been established that peers play a fundamental role in the life of adolescents (Burton, Leoschut & Bonora, 2009; Hussong, 2000; Kupersmidt, Burchina & Patterson, 1995; Parker & Asher, 1993; Woodward and Fergusson, 1999), it makes sense that positive peer influence increases resilience amongst young people and they are less likely to engage in risky behaviour and, instead, participate in activities which positively influence their lives. The following excerpts from participants' stories speak to the importance of peers who shared common interests and purpose in helping the participants to achieve their academic milestones:

In high school my best friend and I supported each other through all our challenges. When my grandmother died and my aunt didn't treat me so nicely I lived at my best friend's house for a short time. As they were also struggling I felt bad and knew I couldn't stay there for ever. Everyone was kind to me especially my friend. We never did all the bad things that others did like smoke weed, or steal or drink alcohol. We just did our work and spoke about our dreams of getting out of this really poor situation ….

I had some wonderful friends who were very competitive but they pushed me to be the best I can be. I always wanted better marks and we competed with each other. If I didn't make the top of the list they were still there motivating me. We tutored each other ….

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In the above excerpts, participants write about peers who were motivating them and that their friendship generated a healthy competition between them. In the first excerpt, the friend also did not involve herself in risk-taking behaviour – no pressure meant that engagement in behaviours that could have negative consequences was less likely.

5.5.4 Resources/opportunities

Those participants who had resources or were exposed to opportunities were more likely to have their academic goals in mind and achieve them. Resources and opportunities were either provided by the school or the parents or caregivers. The River of Life here depicts supportive caregivers and educators who were instrumental in exposing the participant to opportunities that could add further benefits to their lives:
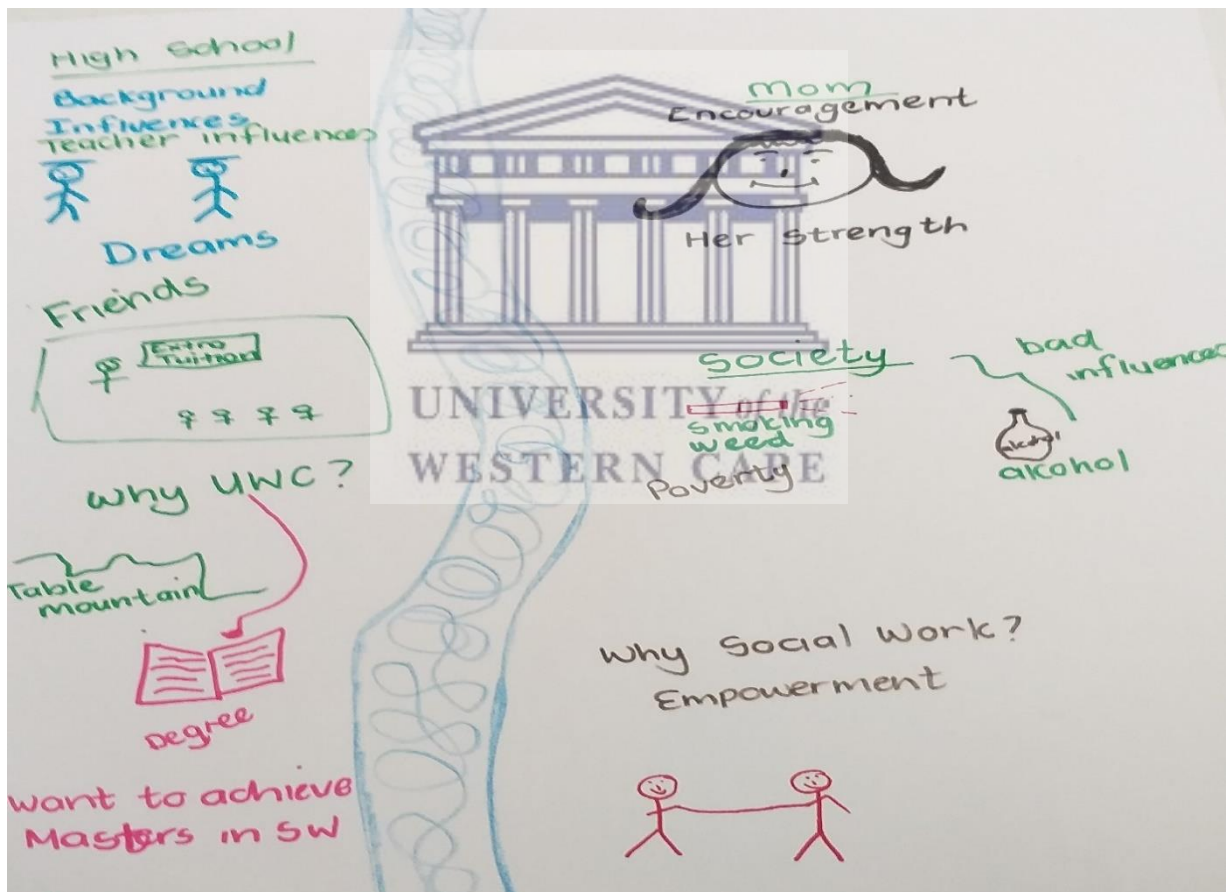
Figure 5.10: River of Life drawing

In this River of life, the participant wrote:

> *Despite the poverty, weed and alcohol in my community with the encouragement of my*
> *mother and educators I was able to rise above this. I was given opportunities at school*
> *for extra tuition especially in matric and this helped me with maths and English. My*

mum got me a computer and internet at home and this helped me with my work. It also exposed me to a whole new world and I was able to look at universities and apply online.

In 2009 one of the greatest chances I got was to attend Saturday school at Wits it was called Star Schools and that's where I met like-minded people I also met my girlfriend there and we motivated each other, she pushed me hard and I had to study even harder but even with that there were many twists and turns which is why I show the winding river that shows the twists and turns I went through 2009-2010 with my girlfriend and with me just work and study hard I was not feeling any pressure to study hard because I passing without working as hard as I could and in 2010 I did not do as well as I could.

Even though 75% of participants (30) went to public schools, access to additional tuition classes, and incubator schools at the local universities all boosted their ability to improve their academic records. Having supportive educators and caregivers who believed in them was also inspiring and motivating for the participants.

5.6   Choice of university

Of the 40 participants interviewed, 28 indicated that UWC was not their first choice of university:

I wanted to go for the longest time was Wits because that's where my parents went to but I didn't get into Wits for my 1ˢᵗ 2 options which is why there is a cross there but I remember UWC responding first and said I was accepted for medical bio-science for the 4 year course. My initial desire was to be a pathologist to be a forensic and it so happened that medical bio-sciences was to be a gateway to that so when UWC accepted me I came here ... and when Wits sent me an acceptance I had already travelled to Cape Town so couldn't go back.

Another participant indicated that their first choice of university could not enrol them for their first choice of study and hence they came to UWC:

I went to Wits orientation and when I went to register they realised I took LLB as my 2ⁿᵈ choice and BA as my 1ˢᵗ choice so you can they wanted me to enrol for BA. I tried to fix the application error but I couldn't. It was a Monday that I found out I have an application error and there is a possibility I might have to do something I don't want

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to do, then I Called UWC and they said yes, they have space in the Law faculty, on that
day I spoke with my dad and I packed and left at night and I was not ready.

The participant below indicated that they could get into no other institution and, even though
UWC was not their first choice, they came anyway:

I came to UWC in 2012 after I applied everywhere else and I could not get in. I got in
for a BA even though I wanted to do HR in the EMS faculty.

Another reason cited by participants was that they were disappointed that they could not get in
at universities such as University of Pretoria or Stellenbosch University, as all the other learners
from their school were being accepted there. They came to UWC because it was the only
university that had accepted them:

All my classmates and friends were going to UP or Stellies and I was declined. Then
UWC was the only place that accepted me so I came here

Some participants also indicated that they could not afford the fees of other universities like
UCT and Stellenbosch University so came to UWC because their parents could afford the fees:

I got accepted at UCT and Stellenbosch but they were too expensive and my parents
could only afford the fees at UWC.

The language barrier at predominantly Afrikaans institutions like Stellenbosch, University of
Free State and University of Pretoria meant that foreign students, or students who could not
converse in Afrikaans, did not feel comfortable there. One participant from Botswana was
enrolled at Stellenbosch for a year and failed because of Afrikaans:

I applied to Stellenbosch Medical School I got accepted even though my Science was
not that strong. I think my Science education in the States was not very strong so when
I got to Durban Matric I struggled a bit with Science. So I got to Stellenbosch in 2004
and that did not go well that's why I have a big green lettering saying MAJOR FAIL I
basically flunked out. I was asked to write a letter of motivation to try to keep me in the
system and they rejected it and said no why don't you go do a BSC at Stellenbosch. But
since one of the main reasons why the year didn't go well was because of Afrikaans. I
had no background in Afrikaans and I decided there's no point in me going to
Stellenbosch University because I will still be facing Afrikaans based teaching. So in
2005 one of my friends that I did Matric with was already a student here at UWC and

basically we walked around one day, bumped into a Science Professor, helped me get applied, registered and everything so I basically got into UWC.

The other 12 participants who applied at UWC as their first choice cited the fact that their parents and family had a long history at the university and it was a generational family tradition, so they only applied here. Below is a narrative from one of the participants:

My mum is an educator and my mum studied here part-time at UWC and my mother's family studied here and completed their degrees from Science to Arts. So it was influenced by them as well because it was about being in close proximity and others whom they had known had been successful here and that made it more possible for me to be successful they could visualise me completing my degree at this institution.

Participants also indicated that they were attracted to the institution because of its legacy of being the home to the left thinkers during the height of apartheid. The struggle history of the institution was a source of pride and participants wanted to be part of this legacy.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a description of the participants who contributed to the study in respect of their demographic details and highlights some of the constraints and enablements during their early academic journey. It has also briefly examined some of the reasons that participants cited for choosing UWC as their institution of choice. Some of the constraints identified on their early academic journey relate to their social circumstances, scarcity of resources and inadequate emotional and social support. A few of the enabling factors which motivated them to stay focussed and achieve good academic results which meet university criteria included opportunities, access to resources, supportive caregivers, positive peer support and having a clear sense of life purpose.

The following chapters will focus more specifically on understanding the participants' constraints and enablements once they arrived at UWC residences and how they were able to achieve graduate attributes; and these will be considered specifically from the perspective of economic, cultural and political dimensions. These dimensions correlate with Nancy Fraser's concept of social justice which seeks to understand what social arrangements need to be put in place to address the constraints in the three dimensions (economic, cultural and political) for participatory parity to exist.

Chapter Six: The economic dimension: Examining the enablements and constraints for student learning at residences

6.1 Achieving participatory parity equals social justice

Personally I spend a lot of my time worrying about the lack of resources that I have at my disposal and as a result my studies suffer …. I worry about how I will eat, how I will get money for printing credits and where I will get money to buy textbooks …. My laptop is broken and I have to queue for a computer in the laboratory so my assignments is always late … I can't tell my family in the Eastern Cape because they are suffering … I am always behind and sometimes I just get tired because everything is a struggle …

Participatory parity is central to the concept of social justice, according to Fraser (2007a, 2008, 2009). From Fraser's perspective, when individuals are able to participate as equals in social interaction (participatory parity), then social justice is achieved. Fraser (2009) and Fraser and Honneth (2003) states that participatory parity is either enabled or constrained through three mutually entwined dimensions, namely economic, cultural and political dimensions. Importantly, Fraser (2008, 2009) emphasises that all three conditions are necessary for participatory parity to occur and also that one cannot be reduced to the other. In this chapter, the economic dimension is explored in some depth with respect to how it constrains or enables residence students to learn within their environment. The cultural and political dimensions will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, although the implications of the economic dimension for status misrecognition and misrepresentation or misframing are highlighted in this chapter.

The opening quotation of this chapter by one of the research participants highlights how the lack of resources presents an impediment to the learning process. This lack forms a barrier to the achievement of participatory parity, resulting in social injustice. For justice to be achieved, according to Fraser (2003, 2008, 2009), social arrangements need to be put in place which allow individuals to participate in their studies with their peers in equitable ways so that all are able to achieve academic success.

Because of the continuing effects of apartheid on the economic, social and political situations affecting largely black South Africans, black students entering the HE arena remain disadvantaged and unprepared (Bunting, 2004; Webb, 2002). Student attrition remains a growing concern for South African HE (Education, 2013; Letseka & Cosser, 2009). International research indicates that 40% of students drop out in the first year and only 15% finish in the allotted time (British Council, 2014). One of the key factors for student attrition in South Africa is school leavers' unpreparedness for higher education study (Moll, 2004; Nyamapfene & Letseka, 1995; Slonimsky & Shalem, 2006). Whilst a sub-standard schooling system goes some way to account for students' unpreparedness, the other key factor affecting attrition is financial difficulty (Letseka & Cosser, 2009). In a study conducted with a specific group of UWC and Stellenbosch students, (Breier, 2009) found that 40% of UWC students who did not complete their studies reported that they had left university mainly for financial reasons, whilst only 17% of the non-completing students at Stellenbosch University indicated that they had left their studies for financial reasons.

Poverty remains one of the greatest social problems in South Africa, as it contributes to social exclusion and leads to poor health (Letseka & Cosser, 2009). According to Statistics South Africa (SA, 2014), 21,5% of South Africans are living below the poverty line, surviving on just R500 per month. The National Income Dynamics Study (2016) shows that 29% of the population are trapped in severe poverty (Finn & Leibrandt, 2016). Over the past few years, three million people have joined the ranks of the impoverished. Four-fifths of the rural population live below the poverty line – almost double the rate of poverty in the metropolitan areas. However, in urban areas too, many face spatial segregation from productive economic activity (Smith, 2017). In South Africa government's Broad-Based Black Empowerment strategy has increased access to credit for Black people, facilitated access to education thereby raising family income and giving rise to an emerging Black middle class (Durr, 2013). Whilst this section of the population has risen above poverty, the gap between the rich and poor keeps widening (Durr, 2013; Oxfam, 2013).

6.2   Announcement of free education by South African government

In December 2017, the then President of South Africa, Mr Jacob Zuma, announced that government would provide fully subsidised tertiary education and training to working class and poor undergraduate students (Quintal, 2017). Further to this, in 2017, the Department of Higher Education and Training announced that students from families with a gross combined

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income of up to R600,000 per annum, i.e., the "missing middle" students, would not have to pay any fee increase and would be subsidised up to 8% by the government in the form of a grant. This meant that university students from these families would be paying the same fee they paid in 2015 and 2016. All students whose combined family incomes were above the R600,000 threshold would be expected to pay full fees. This announcement was made in the wake of the #feesmustfall campaign (discussed at length in an earlier chapter) which demanded, amongst other issues, that tertiary education be free for all students. When asked about how the new funding policy had benefited the research participants, a mixture of response was received:

> *This will assist a lot of students from underprivileged backgrounds to come to University to pursue tertiary education. Their parents will not be paying many expenses as they would have done if the government didn't provide free education. The students who are benefiting from the free education will be able to focus on their academics without worrying about how or who will pay their education.*

> *Yes. This new policy has helped many students to remain and to enrol into university. This is due to the fact that many students cannot afford tuition therefore this has been extremely beneficial.*

A significant number of students (18 out of 27 South African participants) were extremely positive about the new policy and felt that it would relieve the burden of fees from their families and allow them to focus on their academic work. The remaining nine South African participants felt differently:

> *For me as a final year social work student this new policy has not assisted me. At the beginning of this year I struggled to get registered, due to financial reasons I applied last year for funding but still no response. Eventually I got help from a family friend to get registered.*

> *No I still receive emails that say I must pay my fees and yet I meet the criteria so I am not even sure if this free education does really exist.*

> *The new policy has not assisted me or some of fellow students that I know. I cannot afford to pay my own fees and I believe that I fulfil the criteria yet I have not received free education. I know some students who come from poor backgrounds and cannot*

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afford to pay their tuition and fulfil the criteria and qualify to get free education, yet they are still expected to pay their own tuition.

From these narratives, it seems that, despite the policy, many students who claim to qualify for the grant are still being billed and asked to pay their own fees. This could be the result of the backlog in the processing of NSFAS applications that forced the Minister of Higher Education, Ms Naledi Pandor, to announce in July 2018 a halt to the processing of applications for the 2019 academic year. A call for the dismissal of the Chief Executive Officer of NSFAS by National Education Health Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) for alleged corruption and administration chaos was announced in the *Business Day* newspaper on 29 July 2018. Many students were not clear about the deadlines and processes following the announcement in December 2017.

Foreign students do not qualify for the grant at all, as it was only applicable to South African citizens. Thirteen of the participants were foreign national students and made these remarks:

In all honesty being a refugee student at the university and as a result not being included in this amazing thing that the government have decided to do. I can't say if the policy has assisted me in any way. It's rather a sad reality for me as a refugee student to forever be excluded in national education policy changes that are intended to make the lives of students better.

As an international student, the policy on free education does not benefit me. At this point, the policy only benefits first years, which I have not have the opportunity to chat with on the matter.

There is a large cohort of international students who are completely excluded from the policy. According to Fraser (2009), these students are experiencing a second level of misrepresentation known as 'misframing', falling outside the boundaries of justice to start off with, thus being completely excluded. This theme of misframing will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Seven.

6.3   Free education but students remain desperate

Whilst most participants expressed positive reactions to the change in funding policy, their daily realities were not significantly changed and they continued to struggle to make ends meet:

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Yes and no at the same time, in terms of academic resources when you have NSFAS you know you are safe and you can get textbooks and also the lecturers provide consultation and there are tuts as well. But students are hungry and that plays a certain role in being successful in your studies, prices are high so the allowance for food is not enough to last a person six months.

I know of students who don't have enough. The free education cover tuition fees but not the living expenses.

I don't think we have sufficient resources. Many students cannot afford to purchase books. Personally, I was last able to purchase books in first year when I had a bursary that covered books. Since then, through to PhD, I have had to rely on the library that only has a few copies which are largely unavailable. Many students are also unable to purchase laptops and have to rely on computers in labs which are largely insufficient for this purpose. Many students are also unable to cope with the increases in food prices. Accordingly, they are unable to properly function because of hunger.

The participants commented that the grant covered textbooks, tuition and residence fees (except Kovacs, as they are very expensive) and some food in the form of Pick n Pay vouchers or activating dining hall access but this was not enough to sustain them over the period of the academic year. Printing costs are also not covered and neither is the acquisition of laptops; and without these resources, it is difficult for students to complete their academic studies. Student hunger is a real concern at UWC, as indicated by a study conducted by Remoinelwe Mogatosi (2018), a Master's student at UWC at the time. The study found that 70% of students at UWC are food insecure.

Another view which emerged from participants was the concern that some students mismanage their resources:

It is enough if one utilises the resources provided accordingly. The bursary provides a book allowance and students often exchange the book allowance for cash. The cash could be then used for personal things that are not school related. The pick n pay vouchers are also able to purchase at the liquor store. Hence I am saying that it is enough especially if an individual has the ability to acknowledge that s/he is struggling financially and use the help provided for its purposes.

Many students stand at the dining hall and ask if you paying with your student card or cash. If you paying cash they ask if they can swipe for you and then you give them the money. In this way they have money to go to the barn or socialise but this means that when their food allowance is up they are hungry.

Some student were quite innovative and exchanged their vouchers for cash. This allowed them to use the money for other activities. According to some participants, some students "*buy appliances with their Pick n Pay vouchers such as bar fridges and two plate stoves*" and later they are unable to feed themselves. Other students used vouchers for unintended purposes:

Students send half of their Pick n Pay vouchers home to feed their families as the families in the Eastern Cape is destitute
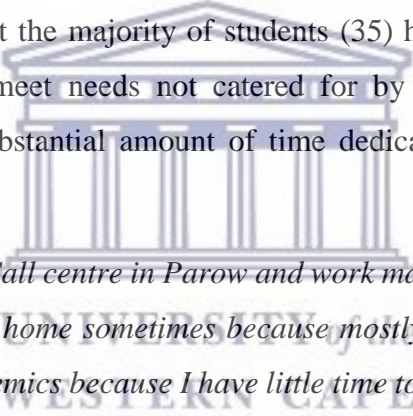
Table 6.4 summarises what participants answered when asked how they survived in relation to the things they needed to function as students.

	Who provides this for you?		
Category	Working student (work-study & off campus work)	NSFAS /Bursary	Parents/Family
Food & toiletries	18	14	8
Printing credits	33	2	5
Books & course material	18	14	8
Laptop	33	2	5
Clothing	35	0	5
Transport	35	0	5
Social activities	35	0	5
Tuition fees/Residence fees	18	14	8

Table 6.3: Providers of resources

From Table 6.3, it can be seen that 18 participants are engaged in either working on campus through the work study programme, or off campus to pay tuition and residence fees. Of these 18 participants, 13 are foreign national students and do not meet the criteria for financial aid. The foreign national participants are required to pay a substantial amount of their fees upfront and all of them in this study are employed on campus through the work-study programme.

For the first semester, 60% of all earnings go towards outstanding fees and this amount is increased in the second semester to 80%. Further to this, undergraduate students are only allowed to work for 40 hours per month whereas postgraduate students are allowed to work for 80 hours per month. Despite working, these students struggle because they are left with very little after the university deducts from their earning towards fees. With the exception of two participants who have a generous bursary, bursaries/NSFAS do not cover the cost of laptops for students. Clothing, transport and social activities are also not covered by NSFAS or bursaries and so the students have to work to contribute towards their upkeep, tuition and residence fees. This means that the majority of students (35) have to work either to pay for everything themselves or to meet needs not catered for by NSFAS, bursaries or family members. This results in a substantial amount of time dedicated to working and thus not focused on academic work:

> *I work at the Foschini Call centre in Parow and work mainly in the evening until about 10pm. I struggle to get home sometimes because mostly I have to use an Uber. I am worried about my academics because I have little time to study. Last year I gave up my work because I started to fail modules and I was scared of failing but I had to beg for my job back because it was all too much …*

Most students have indicated that they have no resources and time to seek appropriate recreational facilities off campus.

6.4   Residence resources: Constraining and enabling factors

This section of the chapter is divided into two parts, with Part One discussing the constraints and Part Two discussing the enabling factors. Each part is further divided into subsections, namely facilities, technology and services.

Constraints

A number of constraints which have impeded students' ability to learn were identified by participants. These are separated into three subsections and are discussed here.

6.4.1 Technology in residences

Teaching and learning within the HE sector is moving towards becoming more technologically based. To function effectively within this space, students need access to basic tools such as computers, Wi-Fi and printing facilities to complete academic tasks. The lack of adequate and reliable technology within residences was raised as a theme by all participants in this study.

As part of the data collection process, participants were asked to take photos of everything at residence that either constrained or enabled their learning. For each photograph that was provided, an accompanying narrative was completed, explaining the significance of the photograph.

Figure 6.11. Residence computer laboratory

Many students do not have their own laptops and are reliant on the computer laboratories across campus and in the residences. Participants complained about the fact that some computers do not work, so when they do not have a laptop, they are seriously constrained when trying to

access the online teaching and learning platform (IKAMVA), as well as when completing assignments:

Some students sit at the computer the whole night in residences and when they leave they put their personal items at the station so that no one else can access that computer. The computers are old and some no longer work. This is a serious challenge to my academic work ...

The participants also indicated unhappiness with the printing facilities available at residence. The participant complained that there is often no paper in the printers over weekends when students need to print. So, in addition to not having money for printing, the actual facilities are also a site of struggle for students. In a study conducted by (McGhie, 2012) with students at UWC, the lack of resources such as money for printing and to purchase their own computers was identified as a factor which impeded the students' academic progress. According to Fraser (2008, 2009), the lack of sufficient resources to support student learning results in distributive injustice and prevents these students from achieving academic success on a par with those students who have access to finances to purchase laptops and printing credits. As we live in the digital age and technology has become an integral part of learning, not having access to a computer places the students at serious disadvantage. The university teaching platform known as IKAMVA requires access to both Wi-Fi and a computer. Bozalek, Ng'ambi and Gachago (2013, p. 3) observe that more educators are seeing the value of using technology as part of teaching to allow a more "learner controlled rather than teacher controlled one size fits all" situation to emerge. Social media provides opportunities for collaboration, co-creation, learning and interaction, thereby contributing to improved teaching and learning (Bozalek et al., 2013).

The reliability of Wi-Fi in residences is another issue raised by all participants. Whilst new Wi-Fi routers were installed in residences, students still experience blind spots where no signal is received and many students have to sit in the passages or common areas to get Wi-Fi:

My roommate and I sit outside of our room in the passage to pick up some Wi-Fi signal. This is very frustrating as we have complained but it seems to fall on deaf ears. We have also asked the student leadership to raise this on our behalf but we still stuck with the same issue.

Without access to reliable Wi-Fi, students are unable to study and complete assignments. Wi-Fi is particularly poor in off-campus residences such as DISA and Gorvalla. Students have expressed frustration at this:

> *We have been without reliable Wi-Fi for as long as I can remember here. It is a nightmare. Sometimes the Wi-Fi doesn't work in my room and I have to find another space or use my own data*

For many students who are unable to purchase books, access to online readings placed on the university's online teaching platform, IKAMVA, is essential for studying. No access to computers and the lack of Wi-Fi and printing facilities to print useful readings or assignment tasks severely hinder the student's ability to function as a student and learn. Such students are unable to achieve participatory parity in relation to their learning, as distributive injustice hinders their ability to be a student (Fraser, 2007b).

6.4.2 Facilities at residences

This subsection will discuss a number of constraints with regard to facilities raised by participants at residences. These include laundry services, dining hall facilities, recreational spaces, physical residence spaces (bathrooms and rooms), study laboratories and utilities.

6.4.2.1 Laundry services

A common issue of concern cited by all the students in this study was the issue of the laundry.

Figure 6.12. Laundry room in residences

> *I appreciate the fact that we don't pay for laundry but in some residences the machines don't work or we have to wait for students who come in from Kovacs because there they pay for laundry services. This can be frustrating and there are many students using few machines.*

Some participants indicated that they often do not do laundry for a long time until their clean clothes run out because there are too many students and too few machines. Waiting for an available machine is another time stealer and time is a commodity that most students at residence do not have, as many have to hold down jobs (as mentioned in Table 6.4) earlier in this chapter) to support themselves and, in some cases, their families. Having to work and study is another constraint which leads to maldistribution, resulting in students having too little time to study and too little time to do the small things which form part of their overall well-being and hygiene. In the photograph above (Figure 6.12) there are six machines which are used to service just over 300 students. When these machines are further used by students whom they are not intended to service, it places further pressure on a system that is already insufficient to meet the needs.

6.4.2.2   Inadequate dining hall facilities

The photograph (Figure 6.13) was taken by one of the research participants and depicts students' frustration with the lack of adequate dining hall facilities in residence.

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Figure 6.13. Long lines at the only operational dining hall in the residence

Figure 6.14. Unused dining facility on an off-campus residence

The narrative accompanying the photograph (Figure 6.14) expresses the participant's frustration:

I would like to believe that the dining hall was built for students to be able to grab a quick meal or snacks before going to study. To my surprise that is not happening and as you can see on the picture the queue is long, some of the students have been waiting for their orders ever since. And it doesn't make sense because the purpose of the dining hall to my belief is that it has to function as a place whereby students can resort to if they cannot cook due to assignments, term tests and exams because cooking is time consuming. But then you get to the dining hall and you still wait for the amount of time you could have spent cooking, so what I am basically saying is that the dining hall is not benefiting us with anything but just to take our time and also our money. And again the dining hall is expensive to the extent where one would question the fact that it was built for students and not for people who are working and earning salaries on monthly basis.

Standing in long lines takes away time which could be used for academic and leisure time which is already a scarce resource. A common theme from participants' accounts was that the lack of adequate facilities (lack of computers, printing facilities, and dining hall queues) profoundly reduces students' available time. The cost of buying food at the dining hall is extremely expensive and often students' food allowances from NSFAS or their bursaries are quickly consumed.

After the first student protest in 2015 (#feesmustfall), the second dining hall was looted, partly burnt and vandalised, resulting in the service providers experiencing severe financial losses, forcing them to move out and terminate their contract with the university. Currently there is only one operational dining hall and students experience long queues, especially during peak meal times. The photograph (Figure 6.14) speaks to off-campus residence facilities and the participant who used this photograph said the following:

HPR dining hall and recreational facilities are obsolete and facilities are no longer utilised. Students are forced to buy food from the tuckshop and it is very expensive. Now students are buying food from the Spar that has recently been built so it's a little better but sometime the area can get very dangerous.

Student accommodation at Historically Black Institutions (HBIs) offers considerably fewer resources than residences at Historically White Institutions (HWI). Available facilities, as

shown in Figure 14, are typical of HBIs, where limited resources result in facilities becoming derelict and unusable (DHET, 2011). Despite the enactment of a policy prescribing Minimum Norms and Standards for Student Housing at Public Universities, Act No. 101 of 1997 (DHET, 2015), which outlines that residences should make provision for adequate facilities for self-catering facilities and catered facilities, many HBIs lack the necessary funding to replace or refurbish premises. According to Fraser (2008, 2009), when the frame that defines who has a claim for justice is incorrectly drawn, then misframing occurs (political dimension). In this case, the University and the Department of Residential Services comes under scrutiny for non-provision of facilities as per the newly enacted policy referred to above where there is lack of funding from the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).

6.4.2.3 Recreational spaces

As part of one of the data collection processes, participants were asked to draw a map of the residence which is their home for the academic year. They were asked to identify all the areas which enable or constrain their ability to learn and study. The Community Map completed by one of the participants indicated the Barn (on campus bar) as the only space for recreation.

Figure 6.15. Community Map

This participant is currently a postgraduate student living in the residence. She first started studying at UWC in the 1990s and, in her map, the Allan Boesak Residence is indicated (which is no longer part of the current residence system as explained in an earlier chapter). Interestingly enough, the Barn was in existence even at that point and was the major point of socialisation for students:

> *I remember even then we use to go to the Barn to drink, listen to music and de-stress. However things always have a way of turning out badly. Once students gets drunk there is always fighting and guys hitting on female students. It's not pleasant ....*

Female safety at the Barn was indicated to be an issue for a number of female participants (15). This correlates with another study conducted by the Women and Gender Studies Department at UWC in 2015 where students were asked to identify which social spaces they felt were empowering or disempowering (Clowes et al., 2017). A significant number of students (29) indicated that they found the Barn to be a disempowering space. In an earlier study conducted at UWC in 2009, exploring students' perceptions of heterosexual relationships, the vulnerability of female students on campus to being victims of gender-based violence was highlighted. One of the participants in this study related an experience of being forced into a transactional sexual relationship due to the lack of resources:

> *I came to UWC with no residence in my first year and had no place to go. At first I slept in the Central House Committee office and they tried hard to get me residence. Every day I moved from one room to another wherever there was vacant space. By the end of the first term I realised I was not going to get residence and my parents had no money to give me for private accommodation. I was introduced to this guy who seemed nice. I lived with him, cleaned the room, cooked food and gave him sex in return for a place to stay. I had no choice ...*

In my study, only female participants indicated vulnerability due to their gender and feeling unsafe in various spaces as a result of previous experiences of gender-based violence or circumstances that made them vulnerable and forced them to engage in transactional sex, as cited in the excerpt above. In these situations, women students are devalued or misrecognised because of their gender and societal stereotypes that force them into submissive roles. The only way the above participant could sustain herself and keep herself safe was to make herself vulnerable (engage in transactional sex). A study conducted at the University of the Western Cape in 2012 reported that transactional relationships between men and women on campus are

common (Shefer, Clowes, & Vergnani, 2012). This study further revealed that it was considered normal to expect sexual intimacy after a material exchange. In one of the narratives of a participant in this study, it was specifically mentioned that men buy the female students drinks at the Barn and, upon its closure, they expect sex in return. The men who acted as "sugar daddies" were either richer students or older men from off campus. It was considered normal for female students to have more than one "sugar daddy" or "Blesser" at a time. In a study conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, it was found that 36% of students engaged in transactional sex (Nshivhase, Mashau, Tshitangano, & Ntsieni, 2018). A study conducted at the University of Venda further revealed that these transactional relationships are controlled by the male counterpart and the male is, more often than not, abusive towards the female counterpart (Nshivhase et al., 2018). This further increases the vulnerability of the female victim and exposes her to emotional and physical health issues.

6.4.2.4 Physical spaces at residences (bathrooms and living space)

The aim of the Policy on the Minimum Norms and Standards for Student Housing at Public Universities (hereinafter referred to as the Policy) is to standardise the provision of on- and off-campus student housing at South African public universities. "The application of these norms and standards will ensure that students are provided with adequate, fit-for-purpose accommodation of reasonable quality, and enjoy learning and living environments that promote academic success". (DHET, 2015, p. 2)

This quotation forms part of the preamble and intention of the policy which sets out the minimum norms and standards for student housing. It emphasises that accommodation spaces must be 'fit for purpose', implying that it must be conducive towards both living and learning. One of the themes that emerged from the data was the participant's dissatisfaction with the living spaces which included the room they often shared with a fellow student and the bathroom space.

Figure 6.16 . Residence bathroom ceiling

This photograph (Figure 6.16) was taken by one of the participants and illustrates the state of the bathroom ceiling in the residences. It has clear damp and the ceiling paint is peeling. The participant had the following to say:

> *This is the photo of peeling wall or ceiling in the showers, this is one of the factors that hinders my comfort around my residence. The pealing doesn't look comfortable and sometimes it is scary because when showering, it peels off while in the shower and sometimes it leaks from the ceiling. This is not comfortable at all and it seems to be occurring for a long time.*

Another participant complained about the size of the rooms. The illustrated room is a single room. The student felt that when she spends too much time in it, she became depressed and it increased her feeling of isolation.

Figure 6.17. Single room at residence

The student felt very strongly that the lack of adequate natural light and space made the room very depressing:

> *Some days I just feel like the walls are closing in on me. The space is so small and sometimes I feel like I can't breathe. I study in my room because there is not enough space in the study hall ...*

The above room does not fit the description of 'fit for purpose' and is a significant impediment to the student's ability to study. In fact, the student's narrative is articulate about how the space contributes to her low affect.

6.4.2.5 Study halls

The Community Map illustrated here is a depiction of a participant's perception of their residence community:

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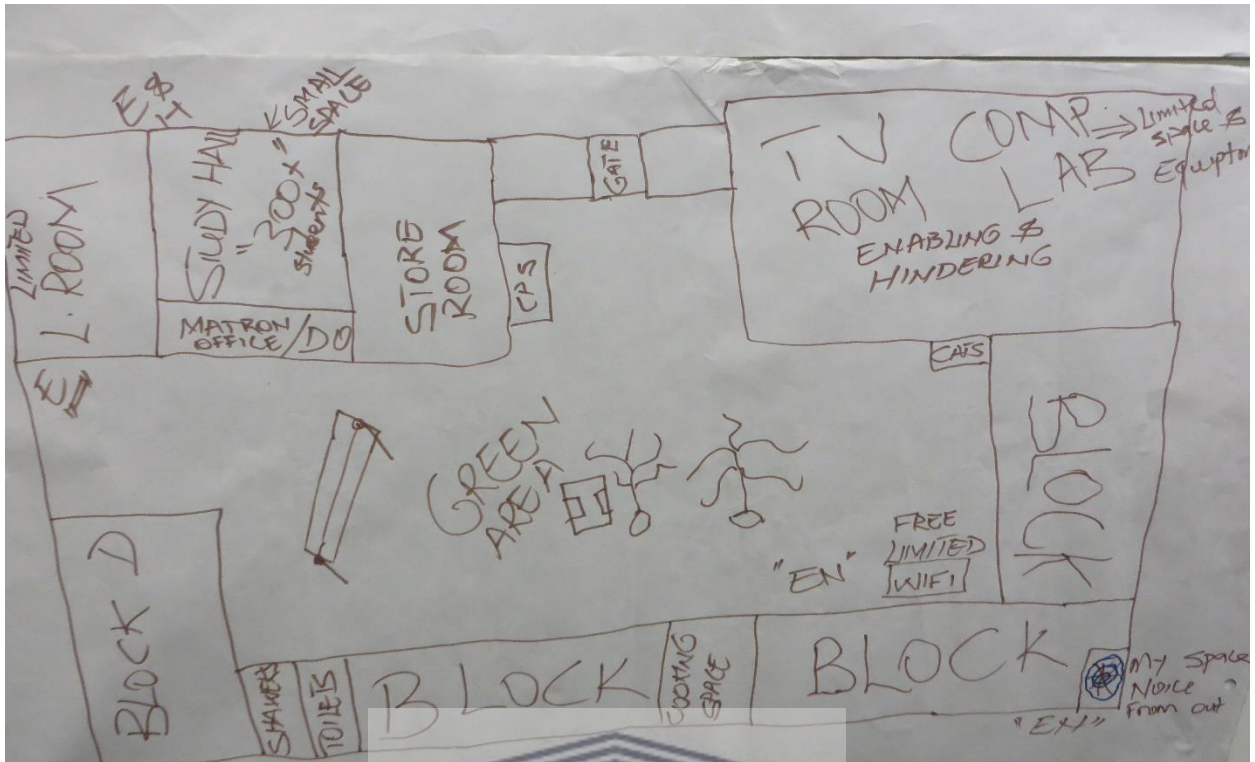
Figure 6.18 Community Map

This map indicates that there are 300 students who live in the residence. The study space is too small to house more than 20 students at a time.

Figure 6.19 includes two photographs of a study hall in residence which show the limited seating area for students. The photograph on the left is in Chris Hani, the residence which caters for disabled students. This study hall is on the upper floor so is automatically inaccessible for those in wheelchairs.

Figure 6.19 Photographs of study halls

In addition to the limited seating space, the room itself is gloomy and uninspiring, so not the best space to study. The participants also complained that some chairs were broken and this further limited the spaces available.

The situation of the study hall on the first floor also raises issues about accessibility for disabled students who are not accommodated by the residence facilities.

6.4.2.6 Utility issues

The issue of unpaid utilities was specifically raised by participants who lived off campus or who had friends who lived there. At DISA, particularly in 2016 and 2017, the water supply was an issue for students and there were many days when students had no water at all in the residence. This meant that ablutions and drinking water were challenges. DISA is an old building rented by UWC. It houses over 600 students, mainly those studying nursing and dentistry:

> *I had to go to work in the hospital and I couldn't because I didn't wash. Imagine working with patients when you are not clean. It was a horrible time. Only drinking water was provided by Residential Services …*

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At Gorvalla/ Kwikbake, participants complained of having no electricity as it was cut by the City of Cape Town because the utility account was unpaid by the university.

> *We all knew that the university did not pay the electricity bill that is why there was no electricity. We had no lights, no Wi-Fi and I couldn't do my assignments. My lecturers did not understand that this was not my fault …*

The lack of adequate facilities was cited by participants as a hindrance to their learning. Unacceptable levels of hygiene in a residence results in a lower levels of satisfaction amongst students and presents a hindrance to learning. Clean and hygienic residence spaces has been positively associated with residence-life satisfaction. Long queues in dining halls have also been associated with negative residence-life satisfaction and many students in this study cited that they do not like waiting for food for more than ten minutes.

Finally, the strongest relationship with residence satisfaction within the sub-category of residential characteristics is with maintenance. The residence satisfaction survey conducted across higher education institutions in South Africa revealed that students who feel that their residence is in good condition and well-maintained are 29.0% more likely to report a satisfaction score of eight or greater than those that perceive that maintenance of their residence is poor (Botha, Snowball, De Klerk, & Radloff, 2013).

6.4.3 Services at residences

This subsection discusses the services that participants cited as constraining their ability to learn at residence and will cover security, transport and cleaning services.

6.4.3.1 Security at residences

The next Community Map clearly indicates the participant's unhappiness about physical resources within the residence itself. An essential part of ensuring the safety and well-being of students at residences are the presence of active, well-trained and well-informed security personnel.
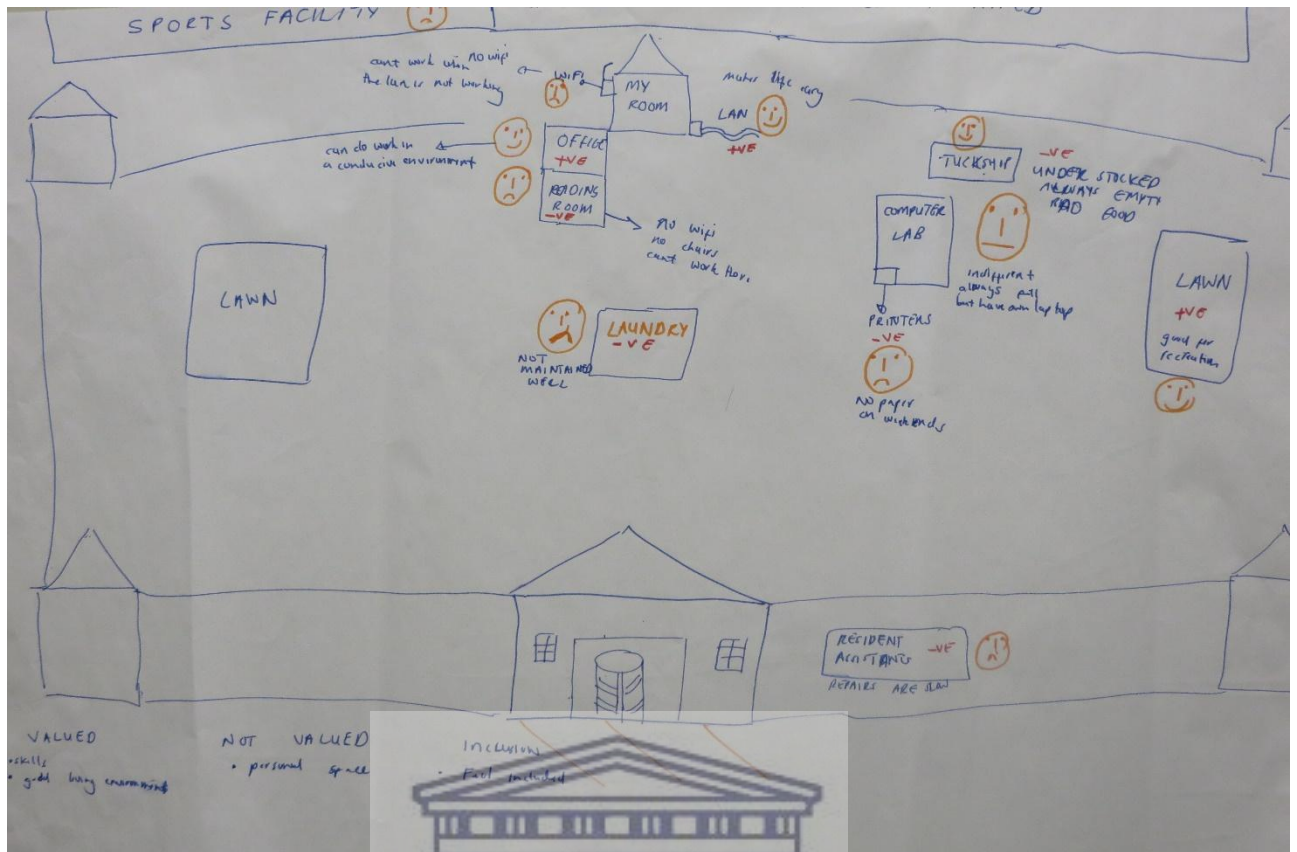
Figure 6.20 Community Map

This participant expressed unhappiness about the security at the residence entrances and stated that the situation involving security personnel was a concern:

unfair and easily takes bribes. The students become familiar with them and they let them into the residence with alcohol or unauthorised visitors …

Another participant indicated additional concerns:

Some security is rude and gives students a hard time. They are never around in the corridors when students make a noise. Even though you complain they don't do anything and the noise levels at residences especially over weekends makes it very hard to study.

Feeling safe at residence is important to enable students to focus on their studies. Student residences in South Africa are considered to be unsafe spaces (Gopal & Van Niekerk, 2018). Unsafe spaces are mostly likely to increase anxiety and stress amongst occupants, thereby lowering their focus and attention on their studies. A study conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2018 revealed that security threats pose a challenge to students who live in

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their residences (Gopal & Van Niekerk, 2018). Similarly, these findings are supported by a study conducted by (Swartz, 1998) which shows that student residences are of strategic importance because they are ideal locations for both teaching and learning, as well as social and recreational life, not least because they can create a sense of community. The lack of adequate and professional security services is another form of maldistribution which prevents students at residences from studying and achieving academic success on a par with other students who may live in more secure circumstances and do not suffer from increased anxiety and stress as a result of feeling unsafe.

6.4.3.2 Transport services

Residential Services provides a shuttle service between the off-campus residences, namely Hector Peterson Residence, Gorvalla/Kwikbake and Disahof at regular intervals during the day. The shuttles run up until midnight. However, the students experience the shuttles as an obstacle as the time-table does not often coincide with their class schedules.

Figure 6.21 Photograph of students waiting for the shuttle to depart

The participant who took the above photograph was extremely frustrated with the shuttle service because he had long waits, either before class or after class:

> *I have tried to organise myself so that I can complete my assignments while I wait but it's exhausting and sometimes I don't have time to make something for lunch in the*

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morning so I starve until I get home …. I can't do group assignments on campus in the
evening because it means that I will have to wait for the 10pm shuttle even if I am done
by 8pm. It's a real waste of my time ….

This is another indication of an instance where students waste valuable time waiting for transport to get back to residence. This time could be used for study, enhancing their well-being, or for work. The late shuttles are also dangerous for female students and many report that this hampers their ability to get extra tuition, use the library for research, or join study groups or co-curricular activities which may take place after the academic day. Students complain that other students living in the surrounding areas fill up the shuttles and they find themselves having to walk or take a taxi. Most students end up walking because they do not have additional money for public transport. One of the participants reported:

There was no place in the shuttle from Hector Petersen Residence and I had class at
9am. I decided to walk across the field. I was attacked by 3 young men who beat me
and took my laptop and cellphone ….

The community surrounding the university is a high crime area and notorious for gang warfare. Students are seen as easy targets who are likely to have laptops and cellphones. This increases the fear and anxiety for most students that live off campus. The pressure of performing academically while at university is unrelenting. When students are forced to concentrate on their own safety and security issues which should be the duty of the university management this could be seen as a constitutional violation of student's rights who should be aiming to complete their academic project (Gopal & Van Niekerk, 2018).

The university's violation of student rights is further confirmed by case law that reveals general principles underlying institutional responsibility and liability in the area of campus safety. The first is a special relationship, that obligates the university to demonstrate a commitment to the safety and wellbeing of students and to take appropriate measures to ensure their safety (the "duty of care" doctrine) (Gopal & Van Niekerk, 2018). Given that students have issues with security services in residences, there is a general attitude on the part of students that their safety and well-being are not being taken seriously. When students feel unsafe, they are less able to focus on their studies which might contribute to a poor academic record. Their environmental living conditions of students at HDIs can be seen as creating an unfavourable study atmosphere, preventing these students from being on a par with their counterparts at HWIs where resources to ensure the safety of students are prioritised. Whilst the university is required to take

appropriate and reasonable measures to ensure student safety as mentioned above it is important to note that the broader societal crime situation also impacts on the university residence community and here again the general problem of crime in South Africa and the need for more visible policing and social crime prevention interventions fall outside the ambit of the university.

6.4.3.3 Cleaning services

One of the key determinants of students' satisfaction outline in the student satisfaction survey in residence were issues of hygiene and maintenance (Botha et al., 2013). Some of the research participants indicated that they were unhappy about the condition of the shared spaces, such as the bathrooms and kitchens, whilst others expressed their gratitude that there is a cleaning service:

> *My classes start fourth period so by the time I want to use the bathroom in the morning it is in a terrible state. I take my own cleaning materials to the bathroom and first clean the shower and use flip-flops so I don't have to put my feet on the shower floor. The toilets are a horrible mess ... some female students don't clean up after themselves when they have periods ... I am prone to vaginal infections so I first clean even the toilet ... this is horrific.*

Most bathrooms are shared by at least eight students in the corridor. There is also the situation where students from other floors may use the bathroom, resulting in too many students using facilities; and the cleaning intervals are not regular enough to meet the demand. Some students deliberately do not clean up after themselves and would openly say that cleaning bathrooms is not their job. A walk past the bathrooms in the morning will "*make a sensitive stomach cringe as the smells that come from there is not pleasant*".

The next section discusses the enablements which augment student learning at residences with specific reference to the economic dimension as discussed by Fraser (2008).

6.5 Enablements

This section of the chapter will focus on the three subsections, namely facilities, technology and services. It describes what participants have noted as enabling factors that contribute to their learning.

6.5.1 Facilities

"I live on campus"

There was a general recognition by the research participants that student accommodation is a scarce resource. Students who live off campus in accommodation not offered by the University were seen to struggle much more in respect of their safety and access to campus. One of the participants took the photograph (Figure 6.22) of the corridor outside her room. The student that took this picture expressed her gratitude for having a place to stay.

Figure 6.22. Photograph of corridor in residence

> *This is my home. I have a roof over my head because of this facility. This picture is an indication of one of the aspects that contribute to my success in a way that the environment that I stay at is very clean and friendly. As a student we always find it easy to concentrate in an environment that is user friendly. I am always looking forward to being back at my residence when I am at school.*

Another participant said:

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My friend didn't get residence this year and now lives in private accommodation in Belhar. He was robbed twice this year already and lost his cellphone and his laptop. The place he lives in is not very nice and the landlord makes all kinds of promises to improve the place but does nothing. I am so glad that despite of the problems here I got residence.

Every year Residential Services (RS) receives around 8,000 applications for residence accommodation, but there are only 3,202 bed spaces. This means that residence accommodation offered by the university is extremely limited and students are unlikely to receive placement in the residences. Of the 3,202 bed spaces, 600 have to be reserved for new, incoming first year students. For 2018, 3,000 returning students reapplied for accommodation for 2019, meaning that the RS was still short of bed spaces for incoming first year students. Of the 3,000 students, RS apply academic criteria which disqualify students who have failed a second time during their first degree. Those students who have been disqualified will be forced to find accommodation in the surrounding community of Belhar. This accommodation is not administered by the university and is not regulated in any way, so students arrange contracts with the landlords at their own risk. These students who have been excluded because of their academic failure have no recourse. This, according to Fraser (2008, 2009), places them outside of the frame of justice because they no longer qualify for residence, resulting in them being misframed.
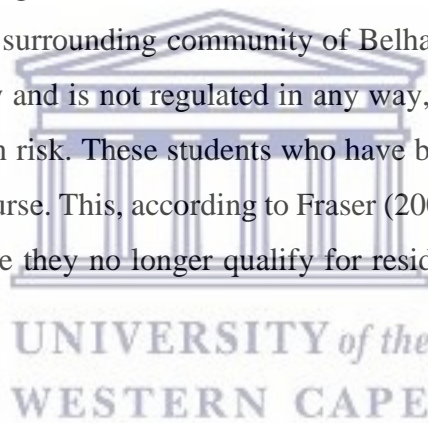
6.5.2 Laundry

The laundry, for the majority of the participants (32), was seen as both a constraining and enabling factor. It was seen as enabling for students because the service is free. Kovacs students and those students living in private accommodation in the surrounding areas have to pay for laundry to be done. These are two of the comments:

Despite the limited number of machines and the fact that some do not work and I often have to queue to wash my clothing I am grateful that the service is free. As it is I struggle with food and other basics so I will have no money to pay for a laundry service like other students have to ….

At least I can save my money because the laundry service is free …. It frustrates me when I see Kovacs students using the machines because they live in those posh residences and then come use our machines ….

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The issue of Kovacs students using laundry machines at the UWC residences was raised by a number of participants (11). Participants felt that it was not fair as UWC students are not allowed to use any of Kovacs facilities but Kovacs students use their friends to gain access to the residence (due to a non-vigilant security service) and utilise facilities, which results in UWC residence students having to wait for available machines. This also puts additional strain on resources at UWC residences and increases the utility bills whilst the students who live at Kovacs pay high fees to them.

6.5.3 Couches and DSTV

During the 2015/16 protest, most of the residences lost their couches as they were burnt by the protesting students. The DSTV connections were also damaged. The University took a long time to replace the DSTV and couches in the residences. This meant that students had even fewer recreational activities. Even though most of the damage done at residences occurred during the 2015/16 protest the university has been slow in prioritising the replacement of items lost in the process for residences specifically, citing the lack of funding (waiting for insurance claim pay outs for the damage done) as a reason.

The participants expressed their gratitude that the couches were finally replaced in 2018 and all the residences finally have DSTV access.

Figure 6.23 Couches and DSTV in the residence TV Room

The student that took this photograph had the following to say:

Finally received our couches, it has been a struggle. We asked for these couches time and time again not because we wanted to annoy RS but because we needed them for our meetings and so much more. We were one of the very few residences without couches, we were starting to think you did not want to give us these new couches.

Another participant said:

We can now get very excited when we watch soccer on TV, having couches in the TV room makes it more comfortable and homely for us. I mean imagine a house without couches. Besides hosting events, the TV room is comfortable and is one of the best Wi-Fi areas in the residence, when we want to video call our families from back home, we can now do it in the comfort of a new couch.

The TV room is a very important social space for students in residences. Literature indicates that universities are vibrant learning spaces that encompasses peer support and institutional interventions which has become part of the university goals. There is a shifting configuration of the campus spaces into an essential social learning space for student academic and social development. Within this pattern, learning communities emerge as a consequence of individual, collective and, in some cases, institutional agency (Ndofirepi, 2015). When students have spaces where they can interface with social media (use Wi-Fi, watch TV) and engage with each other socially or academically, potential for both academic and social development exists.
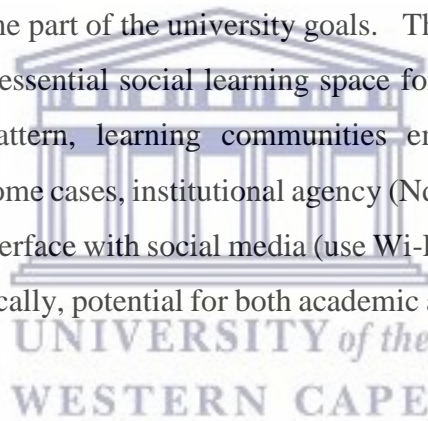
6.5.4 Technology

6.5.4.1 Printing facilities at ResLife

In 2016, during the #feesmustfall protest, the ResLife Building was targeted by students and fires were started in the downstairs coffee shop, as well as the first and second floor, rendering the building uninhabitable. This also meant that printing facilities available on the ground floor of the building were also taken away. With the Cassinga Laboratory also burnt down around the same time, residence students had to go all the way to the main library to print. The ResLife building was finally restored only in March 2018. The printing facilities were restored a few months later in the building. Participants saw this as an important enabling factor as they were able to access computers and print in close proximity to their residences.

One participants said:

I am so glad that I can finally print close to my residence. So on my way to class in the morning I can stop off and print my assignment before handing it in. This is so much more convenient than going to the library.

Another participant echoed these sentiments:

Campus life is so stressful and when one has to look for small but basic things like a printer then ones stress levels goes through the roof. I am so glad we finally have printing facilities. I was beginning to think that the university management does not care about us who live at residence.

Students were frustrated by how long it took to repair the ResLife building and restore the facilities. Other buildings on campus damaged by the protest were repaired much quicker than residence facilities. The Ministerial Report on Student Housing (DHET, 2011) emphasised the importance of technology (computers, Wi-Fi, and printing facilities) as support aids to enhance student learning. Since most universities have designed courses that rely on digital resources, these facilities in student residences are of critical importance to enable learning.

6.5   Services

6.5.1 Staff at residences

Students commented on both the residence staff and the cleaning staff as being enabling factors. Even though students expressed some dissatisfaction regarding the frequency of the cleaning services, many of these staff are seen as elders by the students and a source of support. One of the participants said:

The matrons are very supportive and is a place I can go to when I need support or advice. They are like motherly figures and look out for us.

Another participant said:

The cleaning lady that cleans our corridor and bathrooms always looks out for me. She reminds me of my granny back home and I find her kind words very encouraging.

Supportive figures for students are important and can help to mitigate stressful factors which can negatively impact their learning (Van Heerden, 2009). Participants reported that the matron and cleaning lady in the residence was an immediate resource and was integral in creating a

caring community. The participants reported that they talked to the matron on their way out of the residence or on their way in; and even though they were not professional staff, they could refer students to the necessary services and were important to detect any longer term issues which might need professional attention.

6.6   Developmental programmes at the residences

Participants have appreciated RS developmental programmes at the residences. A participant stated:

> *The activities build social cohesion and provide many with a sense of belonging. I firmly believe that students are able to make new friends through the activities. They also create a sense of home among each other. We tend to find friends in each other during these events as we get to know each other more on a personal level. They also help build relationships that will last beyond the student life. A particular example was the Heritage Day Festival that was recent. Each resident was given culture and had to show case the particular culture's elements, dance or anything that that culture stood for. I witnessed that people had a great time. We were all dressed up. We shared some good food. It was just a great atmosphere. The choir was there …*

Brown (2016), in her research documenting narratives of belonging by students at a HWI, found that students in residences who share a similar mindset, who have a shared set of values, a shared language, practise similar cultural traditions and who are from similar racial and socio-economic backgrounds, are more likely to experience a sense of belonging. She notes that factors such as race or residence traditions can also be factors which create a sense of alienation for students. In 2013, O'Keeffe published a study linking student persistence rates to students' sense of belonging at their institution. He noted that "feelings of rejection and 'not fitting in' are closely related to student attrition" (2013, p. 606). (O'Keefe, 2013) also highlighted the importance of creating a sense of belonging among students in order to positively influence student well-being and persistence rates. To begin developing a sense of belonging, a student needs a relationship with only one person at the institution (Kaser, 2016). The caring relationship that the participants develop with the residence staff or cleaning personnel makes them feel a sense of belonging and care which is important to student persistence.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the constraints and enablements that the research participants identified, either forming a barrier to, or enhancing, their ability to learn. It has focused particularly on the economic dimension as described by Fraser (2008, 2009). When resources are unavailable, insufficient or determined by a set of criteria which exclude some persons, then distributive injustice occurs. Participants cited a lack of physical resources, for example, insufficient laundry machines, dining hall service providers, numbers of working computers, limited printing facilities and a lack of reliable Wi-Fi as major constraining factors which severely affected their ability to learn. Ageing infrastructure and a lack of regular maintenance to ensure that all spaces are operational was another factor which has created unhappiness and frustration for participants, leading to an inability to learn. Service provision, such as for transport, cleaning services and security, contribute to a conducive learning environment. IF these are compromised, it leads to a situation of insecurity and heightened anxiety, as was evident from the participants' accounts in this study (Botha et al., 2013; Gopal & Van Niekerk, 2018). In addition to the material resources described by participants, another economic resource identified by students which impacted on students' ability to study was the issue of available time or the lack thereof. Those participants that needed to work to support themselves or who had to wait to use scarce facilities cited a lack of adequate time to prioritise their academic project as constraints. Sufficient time is therefore seen as a resource, the lack of which leads to maldistribution and social injustice. The participants also raised the fact that the lack of adequate facilities such as recreational spaces further exposed students to security risks or gender-based violence. In addition, the lack of resources placed participants in difficult positions which required them to engage in risk-taking behaviour, such as transactional sex, in order to survive.

Participants also cited some enablements which augmented their ability to learn. Many participants felt grateful to have a bed space on campus and that there were available services to support them, such as cleaning and security. The relationship they enjoyed with the staff at residences and the opportunities to attend developmental programmes at residence were seen as enabling factors assisting them to achieve academic success. Fraser's (2008, 2009) three-dimensional view of social justice emphasises that, for justice to occur, institutional arrangements must facilitate all social actors participating at the same level as their peers (participatory parity). As all three dimensions are intertwined, distributive injustice can give rise to issues of misrecognition or misrepresentation, as can be seen in some instances in this

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chapter. The next chapter will discuss the second and third dimensions of social justice namely the cultural (misrecognition) and political (misrepresentation/misframing) dimensions.

Chapter Seven: Examining the cultural and political dimensions impacting on student learning at residences

7.1   Introduction

According to Fraser (2007a, 2008, 2009), misrecognition, misrepresentation and misframing are all important forms of social injustice in the current context of South African higher education which is still plagued with issues of inequity as a result of the lingering legacy of apartheid. The National Plan for Higher Education (DHET, 2001) recognised the inequity in the post-apartheid higher education system with respect to enrolment rates, gender and racial equity balance of students and staff, and the differential access to resources between HAIs and HDIs. The National Plan articulated that the quality of graduates produced must meet the country's need for economic and social development. Despite policy commitments, the challenges of achieving equity and redress within a complex, fragmented higher education system is still present twenty-five years into the growing democracy. At the core of this system are the thousands of students that enter the tertiary arena ill-prepared and ignorant of how to survive and exit as a graduate and social citizen, ready to contribute to the country's faltering economy (Council on Higher Education, 2010).

This chapter uses the work of Nancy Fraser to discuss data in relation to the cultural and political dimensions which profoundly affect students, preventing them from achieving participatory parity with regard to student learning in the context of the residential space at UWC. Building on the previous chapter which discussed the economic dimension in some depth in relation to the data, this chapter focuses on understanding how students' status recognition (the cultural dimension) is a pivotal component for achieving participatory parity. The chapter unpacks constraints that result from misrecognition which is critical for understanding what institutional arrangements need to be put in place for social justice to be achieved. Similarly, the dimension of the political – being represented and being included in decision-making processes – is also integral for social justice to be achieved. According to Fraser (2009), misframing occurs when students find themselves outside the frame of justice and, consequently, when they are not counted as a subject of justice. This is regarded as a most serious form of injustice as it prevents students from even being eligible as claimants of the other dimensions of social justice. As mentioned in previous chapters, none of these dimensions

(economic, cultural and political) are more important than the other. All dimensions need to be considered for participatory parity to occur regarding students' learning in residential spaces.

7.2   Recognition: A question of social justice

It is unjust for some students to be excluded from participating as full partners in social interaction as a result of institutionalised patterns of cultural value which debase the distinctive characteristics that have been attributed to them by others. Fraser (2009) contends that misrecognition is a status injury whose locus is in social relations rather than individual psychology. Misrecognition goes beyond just looking down on someone or thinking ill of them; rather, it is a denial of their status as a full partner in social interaction and prevents them from participating as peers in social life. This deeply entrenched institutionalisation of cultural devaluing denies someone social esteem and respect. When these patterns of disesteem are entrenched in societal life, they impede parity of participation in the same way that economic inequalities do. Fraser (2007b, p. 47) argues that "recognition reforms cannot succeed unless they are joined with struggles for redistribution – no recognition without redistribution." In her book with Axel Honneth on misrecognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), Fraser uses the example of the gender struggle where the call for equal pay with men for the same work is not just a claim for redistribution, because equal pay alone will not result in parity of participation if the entrenched patterns of institutional culture that value patriarchy are not first addressed and dismantled. This example highlights the fact that the underlying foundations of gender injustice of distribution and recognition are so complexly intertwined that neither can be redressed independently of the other.

In the previous chapter, the economic dimension was discussed in much detail and, where appropriate, reference was made to the cultural and political dimensions. This chapter will firstly discuss the cultural dimension, using the data collected from individual interviews, followed by the political dimension drawing on the same dataset. Where appropriate, the intertwined relationship between the dimensions will be highlighted.

The following themes emerged from these interviews which relate directly to the cultural dimension and will be discussed first:

- Living your sexual orientation at the residences
- Mental health stigma
- Struggles of foreign national students – experiences of xenophobia

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- Disability unfriendly residences

- Gender and race struggles

- Language and culture

The following themes emerged from the data relating specifically to the political dimension and are discussed later in the chapter:

- Representation or misrepresentation
- Student protest: #feesmustfall campaign
- Belonging at UWC
- Misframing of foreign national students in the higher education space

7.2.1 Living your sexual orientation at the residences

Despite the proliferation of policies ostensibly protecting all persons' rights, and mounting critical academic debate on sexuality and sexual orientation, sexual orientation in the academy remains a site of deep contestation (Hames, 2007). The inclusion of sexual orientation in the range of rights concerns did not necessarily mean automatic, equitable and substantive access to a variety of privileges normally bequeathed to full citizenship. Sodomy was decriminalised. Same-sex couples were afforded the right to adopt, and, more recently, the right, to same-sex 'marriages (Hames, 2007, p.60). But legal recognition did not automatically translate into social acceptance and social esteem. Prejudice, bias, and hatred remained to a large degree intact in all communities, including the higher education arena.

Safety at residences is a significant concern for all students at UWC. All forty participants who were interviewed spoke about safety concerns on campus with particular reference to residences. As discussed in the previous chapter, students reported that security was insufficient and staff largely untrained to deal with specific issues that take place at residences. Safety for students with a different sexual orientation is a key theme that emerged from this research. Many of the participants (30) who raised the safety of LGBTI students spoke about incidences that they were aware of which had taken place with either a friend or acquaintance on campus.

Only two participants who participated in the study openly reported that they were gay.

These are some of the accounts:

> *My roommate in my second year was gay. I was uncomfortable at first but then later never saw his gayness and we became friends. I struggled with him being gay because*

I come from a conservative Christian background and was taught that being gay is not natural or godly. There were other guys in our corridor that felt the same. My roommate had a terrible time and one evening when he went to shower the guys in the corridor pushed him around in the bathroom and stole his towel. He was humiliated and they called him a moffie and made him walk to the room with nothing on. I felt bad for him but said nothing because I was afraid that I might also be labelled gay ....

The guy in my corridor was transgendering and didn't want to use the male bathroom even though he was told by the matron that he had to. The girls and he use to fight lots because they would always find him in the female bathroom. He was told by the matron that this was not allowed but he continued to do this. He would skell[20] with the girls – it was always a big commotion in the residence ....

We had a good friend that lived in private accommodation and she was a lesbian. She was out and proud of her sexual orientation. One Friday evening we were at the barn and this group of drunk Coloured guys were trying to hit on us. They soon discovered that our friend was lesbian and started to make all kinds of remarks. They said she never met a real man that why she likes woman. One of the guys offered her sex to cure her from her lesbianism. It was terrible. When we were walking back to my residence over they followed us all the way making these horrible sexual comments and insinuating that we were all lesbians and so maybe we should be with them because they were real men. We were very scared and really thought that we were going to get raped that evening ....

Deep-seated prejudice is clearly visible on the part of the students and the staff alike. In the first excerpt, the participant had enough insight to identify that the prejudice had its foundations in his early teaching around religion. Religion entrenches institutionalisation of heterosexual behaviour as normative. Gay persons are therefore stigmatised and misrecognised and, as a result, become the brunt of humiliation and degradation by others. They are often ostracised and prevented from full participation in normal residence life, feeling excluded because of who they are. Residences are designed to accommodate heterosexual students and do not take into account students who are transgendering. The lack of flexibility in residence policy and the staff insistence on upholding policies which are discriminatory is another indicator of their own values which support heteronormative behaviour (excerpt 2 – trangender bathroom quotation).

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[20] *Skell* is an Afrikaans word meaning to scold or argue.

The third excerpt is by far the most concerning. The threat of corrective rape[21] is not a new phenomenon. Lesbianism is said to be un-African; and so most black women are at greater risk of experiencing corrective rape (Koraan & Geduld, 2015). The lifeless body of a 24-year-old lesbian, Noxolo Nogwaza, was found in an alley in KwaThema, outside of Johannesburg, on 24 April 2011. She had been stoned, stabbed with broken glass and gang-raped. To date, the perpetrators have not been found (Koraan & Geduld, 2015). The sexual assault and rape of lesbians is the ultimate form of misrecognition where the person is seen as having no social esteem and is ostracised, violated and stripped of their dignity and personhood.

The research of (Matthyse, 2017) concurs with the above experiences of participants, showing how gender non-conforming students are alienated from toilet facilities and recreational spaces which heterosexual persons consider normal. With regard to residences, Matthyse (2017) found that gender non-conforming students bear the brunt of institutional oppression. This is especially the case where students are housed in gender-segregated blocks and where two students of the same birth-sex are assumed to be heterosexual, and so are put into one room with often disastrous consequences. Universities should be places that are affirming and supportive, where all students are able to explore their sexual and gender identities, as this is likely to yield positive academic and development outcomes (Garvey & Rankin, 2015). Instead, the institutional culture is homophobic and transphobic, creating further challenges for LGBTIQ students (Matthyse, 2017).
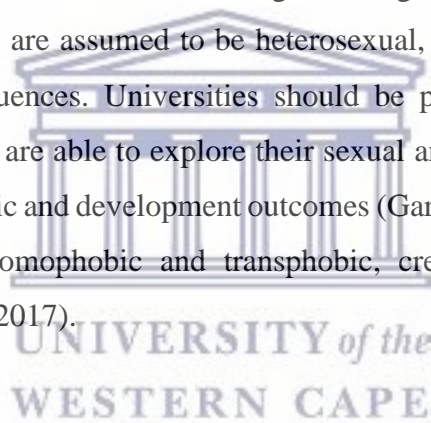
7.2.2 Mental health stigma

"In South Africa research suggests that as many as 12% of university students experience anything from moderate to severe symptoms of depression; and 15% of students also report moderate to severe symptoms of anxiety" (Bantjes, Lochner, Stein, & Taljaard, 2017,n.p) Bantjes et al. (2017) reported that as many as 24.5% of a large sample of South African students stated that they experienced some form of suicidal ideations in the two weeks before they were interviewed. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), half of all mental illness begins by the age of 14, but many cases will go undetected and untreated. The WHO reports that, "[i]n terms of the burden of the disease among adolescents, depression is the third leading cause. Many students at universities may be experiencing symptoms of depression and anxiety

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[21] Corrective rape, which is also known as curative rape, is a brutal act of violence in which women and teenagers who are, or at least assumed to be, lesbians are raped to "cure" them of their homosexuality. It is believed by the perpetrators that having sex with a man will "correct" a homosexual woman's sexual orientation.

as a result of relationship problems, family issues, abuse, loss, or grief and trauma, while other contributing factors include exam stress, substance abuse, bullying, learning difficulties, financial issues and chronic illness. The youth are not equipped with enough coping skills or support structures to handle the kind of problems that they have to deal with every day (M. Freeman, 2018). In South Africa, it was found that 70.6% of students reported exposure to one or more traumatic event. Students reported that the most frequently occurring traumatic event was the death of a loved one, while female students reported a significantly higher incidence of unwanted sexual violence (including rape and sexual assault) (McGowan & Kagee, 2013). Stigma in mental illness is a serious social problem which has a multitude of consequences for the individual concerned, as well as for his or her family. Research has shown that families of persons living with mental illnesses are often subjected to stigma by virtue of their association with such a person. The stigma of families is seen in the form of assignment of blame, social isolation and rejection. This stigma subsequently perpetuates a cycle of disability on the part of the patient and family (Nxumalo & Mchunu, 2017). Stigmatising students suffering from a mental health illness is a form of misrecognition as they are seen as less competent, unreliable and are often discriminated against often due to fear and ignorance on the part of the community. As a result, they are unable to participate in society with the same social esteem as other students who are not labelled with a mental health illness. The participants in this study spoke about their own experiences of being labelled with a mental health illness, including by friends close to them:

> *In 2016 my family problems was so bad that I could focus on nothing else. My parents were getting a divorce and as a result there was no money to help me at university. The divorce was an ugly affair and I was caught between my mother and father. I got so depressed and felt so alone. Things got so bad that I never wanted to get out of bed and as a result I missed weeks of classes. I was in really trouble. The more desperate my situation got the less able I was to do something about it. It was a really terrible time and I must admit I thought of dying all the time. I couldn't tell anybody not even my best friend. I tried to go for help but when I got to the counselling centre on campus there was no appointments available. I never went back. I was scared of my own thoughts and the few people I spoke to told me things will get better. I felt like there was something wrong with me as nothing was getting better. Needless to say I failed that year and I suffered in silence. I couldn't bear the judgement from my friends and corridor people ....*

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This participant clearly describes symptoms of a clinical depression with which she was later diagnosed. She describes an environment which had insufficient clinical resources to assist her with her mental health difficulties and a social milieu which stood in judgement of her difficulties. The consequences of an untreated mental health illness were a poor academic record, social isolation and being viewed by others as unstable. This participant experienced misrecognition and was seen as 'abnormal' in a seemingly 'normal society.

Another participant narrated how his neighbour experienced a mental breakdown below:

> *The guy in the room next to me had a nervous breakdown. I was busy watching a movie in my room when I heard a big commotion in the corridor. When I went out to see everyone was in the corridor. The security was there and the guy next door was acting strange. He was talking in tongues like someone that is possessed. I was immediately afraid and thought muti (witchcraft). Back home I had seen people acting like that and they were taken to a sangoma (traditional healer) because somebody cast a spell over their lives. All the Black students in the corridor was afraid. Eventually the ambulance came and took the student away. But people will still scared. Afraid of what might be left behind. I never spoke to that guy when he came back. But he also seemed different so I thought it was best to avoid him ….*

Research has revealed that the stigma of mental illness has to be studied within its sociocultural context in order to understand its origins, meanings and consequences. When looking at the patterns of stigma in the sociocultural context, it is clear that the stigma patterns experienced by families of persons with mental illness are influenced by the traditional history regarding the origins of the occurrence of mental illness (Nxumalo & Mchunu, 2017). A review of recent literature shows that, historically, people with mental illness have been stigmatised because they were thought to be possessed by some evil spirit or 'lunar force' and therefore had to be handled in a way that is different from the so-called 'normal' (Uys & Middleton, 2010). This pattern of stigma is documented throughout the history and origin of mental illness and can be said to be similar, both in the international and local sociocultural context. For this particular participant the practice of witchcraft in the community of origin was a common occurrence and raised fear, leading to social isolation of the affected student. The participant recognised that he treated the student who experienced a mental health episode differently but felt that this was probably better for the participant due to his fear and ignorance about the issues. The affected

student was misrecognised and suffered isolation and degradation by the broader students in the residence as a result of the episode.

The participant below reported on his own experience of having a mental breakdown:

I was feeling like I was in this dark pit and I couldn't see my way out of it. Everything in my life was falling apart. My father lost his job so I got no financial support from home. I found my boyfriend cheating on me with someone I thought was my friend and I was not coping with all the law modules. I just wanted to die. I became obsessed. Thought about it all the time. Research it can you believe it. I could not see my way out of this hole. Nobody helped me. My friends saw me as a burden. I eventually drank acetone in the hope that I will poison my insides. The matron found me. I not sure what felt worse – my act of dying or coming back and seeing the judgement or was that fear in the eyes of my friends, neighbours and people I guess that heard things ….

This participant's account of her lonely journey struggling with mental health ill-health highlights the lack of support services and interventions to identify and respond to students that are at risk. More importantly is the report the student gives about her experiences with friends and fellow students on her return to the residence. Her perception of people's judgement and isolation from her increased her sense of loneliness and worthlessness. This student was suffering from misrecognition – none of her other characteristics counted – her friends and fellow residence students labelled her in relation to her illness, rather than recognising what she was capable of and her other characteristics. This student felt like she had no social esteem and was excluded from the broader residence community because of the attitudes of others.

7.2.3 Struggles of foreign national students – experiences of xenophobia

There are various challenges that international students may face during the cross-cultural adaptation process. These include finding accommodation, learning to understand the education system and academic culture of the country, and developing new friendship groups, a process which is related to formulating a new social support system (Poyrazli & Grahame, 2007). In addition to this, xenophobic violence against foreign nationals has also created much fear amongst students who are foreign nationals. Research specific to international students at South Africa's tertiary institutions shows that sentiments against internationals are not uniformly negative. "Based on a recent study of 1,702 international students at seven tertiary institutions across South Africa, those originating from within Africa reported more

discrimination than those from outside the continent. Students of South Africa's largest migratory group, Zimbabweans, felt the most mistreated" (Freeman, 2018a, p.1).

When asked about the possible reasons for discrimination, a significantly higher proportion of Africans (38%) felt the reasons were due to their nationality, compared to non-Africans (23%). Moreover, Zimbabweans (48%) were more likely to indicate problems due to their nationality than other African students (34%) (Freeman & Lee, 2018). Meanwhile, students from Europe and North America generally felt welcome. The research suggests neo-nationalism – a preference for some nationalities above others – as more prevalent than general xenophobia. This phenomenon is largely under reported and should be considered in debates about xenophobia. Thirteen participants who participated in this study were foreign national students and hailed from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana and Cameroon. The narrative below is from a foreign national student explaining his experience:

> *I come from Zimbabwe and am doing my postgraduate studies in law here. I have been here since my undergraduate studies. When violence broke out against foreign nationals in South Africa I was very scared. Whilst most of the local students are fairly welcoming and I have quite a few friends. I have had a few bad experiences over the years. The one that stands out for me was when I applied for a Graduate Lecturing Assistant post in my faculty and got the post over a local student. This student was quite mean and would whisper behind my back that we foreigners are here to steal local jobs ….*

Another participant related the following experience:

> *I have a problem with my sweat glands and am very conscious of this. I lived in DOS residence and one of the students that lived in my corridor made my life hell. At first he was nice to me and I made the mistake of telling him about my concern. Next thing I hear him and his friends calling me a "Stinky kwerekwere". I felt so bad that I just kept hiding from him and his friends. But even when I see them on campus they would whisper loud enough for me to hear. When I tried to report him, he denied this and I looked like a liar because he has his friends to back him up. I ended up having to apologise to him … I was so humiliated … but I felt disempowered and wanted it to go away ….*

A participant from Cameroon had the following to say:

> *I had a problem with my permit. I applied for it but went through so much nonsense at home affairs and they kept losing my documents. As a result I was stuck here because if I left the country I would not be able to return to my studies. My father died and I couldn't go home to attend the funeral. I couldn't find work part time because my documents were not correct and I was struggling. I am ashamed to tell you but my situation got so bad that I was forced to do sex work. Through another student I was put in touch with this agency that organised "escort "services to wealthy men. This was the most humiliating and dangerous time for me. I was treated badly by local South African men who were married. I even got pushed around because I was a "kwerekwere".*

The experiences of these participants raise a number of issues of concern which are particular to foreign national students. Not only does xenophobic violence place these participants in physical danger, the name calling, degradation and disrespect breaks down their sense of self-worth and dignity. Universities across South Africa have raised concerns around the decrease in applications from African students (Freeman & Lee, 2018). Whilst there have been several campaigns to raise awareness about the issues, violence continues to break out sporadically. (Landau, 2018) postulates that focusing on migrants' rights and victimisation does little to hold responsible the political and criminal elements leading – and benefiting – from the violence against migrants. It also prevents empathy from citizens grappling with the competition for scarce resources such as houses and jobs, as well as the ethical dilemmas of migration. Migration is a complex process that, by its nature, transforms communities. It introduces new languages and customs; and it creates new forms of economic and social exchange. These can be unsettling and disorienting, especially during times of economic hardship and political transition. Framing xenophobic violence as a question of immigrant victimisation invites divisions between neighbours (Landau, 2018). Whilst the question of addressing xenophobia is complex, it leaves foreign national students misrecognised as they experience exclusion and are viewed with suspicion by some local students, thus preventing them from achieving social esteem. Further, foreign national students also experience misrepresentation as their specific needs are not being catered for by the university or residences and, in the larger context, the university policies. They consequently have little or no voice to change policy affecting their needs. In addition to this, foreign national students also experience misframing, because they have no voice and no South African citizenship. This limits their rights and they fall outside of the frame where they are seen as claimants for justice.

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7.2.4 Disability-unfriendly residences

If tertiary education is to become more accessible to students with disabilities, substantial changes would have to be made. It is a familiar story – the policy is in existence but the implementation is severely lacking. The barriers of entry into higher education is the first problem. Once the student has entered the higher education space the individual needs are not understood. Inclusive education is a right for people with disabilities, particularly in South Africa, because of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Van Der Merwe, 2017). Every person has a right to learn regardless of the disability, so that they can enjoy a meaningful life and be an active participant in society (Van der Merwe, 2017). It is often assumed that including people with disabilities in public projects is 'good'; excluding them is 'bad'; but this approach fails to question and capture the subtle dynamics within an agenda of 'inclusion'. Proper inclusion requires a multidimensional support that is financial, social and academic in nature and extends to policies. Inclusivity of students with disabilities does not only refer to physical access but to a range of issues which promote participation and enhances the capabilities of the disabled student to function optimally in their environment (Van der Merwe, 2017). It is also important to remember that all disabled students are not a homogenous group. Adopting a 'one size fits all' approach to disability does not recognise that students in a wheel chair have different requirements and needs to a partially sighted student. They have some things in common, of course, but they also have different needs and preferences. Universities are reluctant to change any of their systems or structures. The sense from university authorities appears to be that students with disabilities must 'fit in' with existing structures, rather than institutions changing to accommodate them. Financial support is not enough to facilitate learning for a differently abled student. One example of this is the National Student Financial Aid Scheme's (NSFAS) bursary for students with disabilities. However, money is not enough to guarantee inclusion. The participants in this study indicated that university's day-to-day operations and systems perpetuated structural and ideological barriers. Chris Hani Residence as one of the halls of residence at UWC caters for disabled students but the computer laboratory is upstairs, making it impossible for wheelchair-bound students to access it. Only one of the participants interviewed in this study declared a disability; but all participants (40) spoke about the difficulties they had witnessed with other disabled students in residence. The participant interviewed was visually impaired and also happened to be the outgoing chairperson of the Differently Abled Student Association (DASA):

I was born visually impaired but was fortunate to be encouraged by my parents to pursue an education. When I came to UWC I stayed at Chris Hani Residence. This residence is supposed to be geared towards differently abled students but in reality it is far from it. The computer lab is inaccessible to those students who are in wheelchairs. The stairs are marked with red which is a poor colour for visually impaired persons. The access points are narrow and not wheelchair friendly. The toilet facilities are also quite narrow. Maintenance signs are not clearly visible to differently abled students and often renovation sites across campus poses a danger to differently abled students. Academically material takes a while to be translated into braille and there is no services like sign language interpreters that cater for deaf students. There is also a general inconsiderateness from staff and other students who do not take care that there are other students who have different needs than themselves. Also the general design of the residences does not cater for differently abled students – doors in pathways open out instead of in making them a hazard to students. People on this campus generally need to be educated about the needs of differently abled students as we are invisible ....

These sentiments were echoed by other participants who have noticed the shortcomings of residences with respect to the needs of the differently abled students. One of the photographs taken in the Photovoice project depicts the poor design of residences, which was raised by a number of participants.

Figure 7.24 Chris Hani Residence showing the different levels in the residence itself

In 2016, the DASA wrote a report to the University Management to raise concerns on behalf of the differently abled students at UWC. That year, UWC had 256 differently abled students enrolled for study. The report revealed the various dangerous situations for differently abled students across campus (DASA, 2016) and made recommendations for possible solutions. The University set up a task team and agreed to work on the issues which required the least budget upfront, such as potholes, painting doors yellow instead of red, etc. At the end of 2016, DASA contacted the Human Rights Commission as there had been little to no progress on the initial agreement and DASA asked for them to make a recommendation to the university management. The differently abled students felt misrecognised and powerless, so decided to seek assistance from the institution in search of protecting their rights. The University has subsequently worked with an outside consultant to review residences, the library and the Community and Health Sciences Building where the disability unit is situated. They have requested recommendations for creating universal access buildings. To date, very little has been done with regard to major renovations to the residences where differently abled students live and which they call 'home'. This further makes the students feel vulnerable and excluded. They are required to make do and rely on the mercy of other students to help them adapt to the environment which does not cater for their needs.

7.2.5 Gender and class struggles at residences

Students' experiences of campus life are a reflection of the exclusionary and unequal practices on the basis of gender, race, class, and other markers of inequality that they encounter within their communities (Clowes, Shefer, Fouten,Vergnani & Jacobs, 2009; Gordon, 2013; Hames, 2009). Material and ideological contexts of inequality, and how they are played out in higher education, remain instrumental in shaping students' participation in higher education. South African students' experiences on university campuses continue to be shaped by the inequalities and broader social perceptions of being and belonging which find their roots in apartheid history and centuries of colonisation (Shefer et al., 2018). The #feesmustfall protests were a testimony to the frustration experienced by students at the slow rate of transformation in the higher education space. Lived experiences continue to be significantly shaped by the legacies of apartheid and its divisive and unequal systems of education, and further bolstered by the strengthening of individualised and corporatised neoliberal policies in higher education (Badat, 2010; Mbembe, 2015a, 2015b). A study conducted at the University of Stellenbosch with a selection of residence students in 2018 revealed inequalities between students on the basis of

race, gender and sexuality (Robertson & Pattman, 2018). Race, gender and sexuality were intertwined and framed the marginalisation or exclusion of students from certain experiences at the residences which was deemed as part of the university culture that had its roots in apartheid era (Robertson & Pattman, 2018). All participants in this study concurred that gender and class inequality exists on campus and in residences. Female participants in particular related that they felt vulnerable on campus because of the risk of being sexually assaulted or harassed by males on campus:

So the Barn is one place to socialise on campus. One evening I went with my three male friends to the Barn and we were drinking. We decided at about 12pm to come to my room where we continued to finish our drinks. Next morning I woke up in my bed with no underwear on and I felt strange but could remember nothing. I did not even know how I got into my bed. I called my friends and they were very dodgy, saying that they helped me into my bed because I was drunk. I went to Reslife for help and they took me to the Thuthuzela Centre where it turned out that one of my friends had sex with me. I was so devastated. I could remember nothing. They were supposed to be my friends ….

Another participant said that there is an expectation from males on campus that, if they buy you drinks at the Barn, then sex is a given. One of the male participants indicated that men on campus generally feel entitled to having sex, especially if they have spent their resources on the female:

My crowd of friends are very clear, if we meet a girl at the barn and we buy a few drinks then we are definitely going to score with the girl. There is also a few guys who buy the date rape drug from someone on campus because it's cheaper than buying a few drinks. In this way the girl also doesn't remember … I not sure that this is cool so I haven't done this ….

The attitude of men that sex is their right is entrenched in the notion of patriarchy and misrecognises female students' right to determine when and with whom they wish to engage in sexual encounters. (Clowes et al., 2009) found that university campuses are highly sexualised spaces. In some ways, students in this study found that it was important to talk about sex openly, but the lack of privacy around this also placed enormous pressure on students to become more attractive to the opposite sex so that they, too, could engage in sexual encounters. This peer pressure places students who are experimenting with their sexuality and their identity in difficult positions and many students claim to get intimate because it is considered normal.

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Another theme that emerged very clearly from female participants was the double roles that they are expected to perform as females. At least eight of the female participants had a child who was being taken care for by grandparents. No children are permitted on UWC residences and the spaces are not child friendly. Two of the participants spoke about how challenging this was for them as parents:

As a young mother I find that studying and taking care of my child is difficult. My parents live in Wellington so it is not too far. Every Friday after class I take a taxi home to spend the weekend with my child. My parents says that they can't look after her over weekends too. So it's almost impossible to do assignments or study for a test or exam with a busy two year old. I also work on campus so I can make some money to share with my baby, have taxi fare to travel home and still buy what I need to survive on campus. The struggle is real ....

My child lives with my boyfriend's parents in the Eastern Cape. My family is giving me a hard time because they can't afford to look after him but my boyfriend did not pay damages so the child should not be with his family but I don't know what to do. I wish I could just let my child come to visit me on campus but even in the holidays when I make a request to bring him to me the management refuses. I wish I could see more of my child but I stuck as the residences don't allow children making it difficult for me to be a mother ....

These female parents are being misrecognised in their role as parents by a university residence that does not make provision for them to embrace their roles as parents. They are being further misrecognised by a society that expects women to be both students and parents, whilst the fathers are also students and share none of the same concerns or pressures. By implication then, male education is considered more important than that of females, further entrenching the value of patriarchy and widening the gender inequality gap.

Student hunger at universities is a reality for many students. Of the 40 participants that participated in this study, 25 admitted to being food insecure at some point and had accessed the ResLife Skills Exchange Resource Programme (SREP):

I was forced to go to Reslife for help with food. I hated the experience because all students knew that when you come out of Reslife with bags that you are poor and you can't look after yourself. I was so embarrassed but had no choice ....

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My dad lost his job and NSFAS was taking so long to pay our Pick n Pay vouchers. I ate with my friend's first but then we all ran out of food so I was forced to go to ResLife and get SREP. I felt that other students judged me for being poor. I felt so humiliated. I was poor but had my pride. I was very grateful for the help but other students look down on you for being poor ….

Recipients of the SREP food programme were grateful, on the one hand, for the assistance when they were in need but, on the other hand, receiving assistance meant that they were stigmatised by others in the residence for being poor and needing assistance. Fraser (1994) proposed a *politics of needs interpretation* where she put forward the idea that needs and their interpretation should not be assumed to be pre-given or taken for granted, but that it mattered who decided on what is a need, how a need is determined and on behalf of what institution needs are being addressed. Bozalek and Leibowitz (2012) contend that within an HEI, the needs of students, academics and administrators require consideration and that at times these needs may be conflicting. Bozalek and Leibowitz (2012) propose that needs must be planned for proactively and that an HEI needs to have an evaluative framework in place to measure how well the institution is meeting needs. The evaluative framework should make provision for educational interventions which would require the necessary social arrangements. The policy environment, material resources and cultural practices need to be considered within this framework. All role-players need to be engaged and involved with regard to meeting needs; and, for this occur, a sense of agency is required to address social injustices and promote human flourishing (Bozalek & Leibowitz, 2012). Fraser (1994) developed the seven normative principles (discussed at length in Chapter Four) which could also assist in examining whether policies achieve gender justice. The anti-poverty principle and the equality of respect principle propose that social arrangements which are designed to provide assistance should not take away the recipients' dignity, nor should the service leave recipients' basic needs unmet.

The participants who find themselves recipients of the SREP programme are misrecognised by other students because they experience poverty and find themselves in a different socio-economic class than others. Some participants spoke about feeling excluded by students who seem to have more material things, such as cars, brand name clothing and the latest technology. Those students that lacked resources felt isolated from the group of students that have access to resources and felt that they, in any case, only wanted to associate with students who are from the same class. The differentiation based on class has implications for social relationships at residence and creates a gap between those students that have and those that do not have. The

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wealthier students are able to afford to socialise off campus because they have cars and are not at risk of the dangers of public transport.

Taking these narratives seriously means acknowledging ways in which gender and class injustices limit students' ability to participate as equal citizens at UWC, as well as in society more generally.

7.2.6 Language and culture

(Kamwangamalu, 2004) points out that language planning and language policy in South Africa are historically sensitive concepts and have been used as a means of suppression of indigenous language groups. This has a direct impact on the identities of the speakers of indigenous languages whose position has been undermined by the dominant language, English. Before the 1994 democratic elections, the language of instruction in South Africa's schools for all 'races' was either English or Afrikaans. The imposition of Afrikaans in particular provoked anger, culminating in the 1976 Soweto uprising. To overcome this legacy, the South African Constitution of 1996 granted all of South Africa's citizens the right "to use the language and participate in the cultural life of one's choice, 'the right of language choice in educational institutions' and the right to establish educational institutions based on a common culture, religion or language" (p.4). 1994 thus marked a new era in the socio-economic and political life of South Africa particularly in higher education institutions. Prior to 1994, apartheid-era languages in education policies for South Africa were developed by the white minority with Black citizens having no voice in determining their own future. According to (Alexander, 2005), language policies were developed and manipulated within definite limits to suit the interests of different groups of people. Ironically, this situation can be said to continue in the new South Africa as, although it is the mother tongue of a minority (and increasingly of a small) black elite, English is both the language of power and the language of educational and socio-economic advancement, that is, a dominant symbolic resource in the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991). UWC language policy allows for the use of three languages in respect of instruction: English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. However, in most classrooms, English use remains the dominant practice, marginalising learners who are neither English, Afrikaans nor isiXhosa speaking. Language was raised as an issue in an earlier chapter when most participants indicated their language struggles at secondary school; it was also raised as an issue at university:

I spoke Zulu and went to a rural school in KZN where we even learnt English in Zulu. For the first year I didn't know what was going on in class as it took me twice as long just to understand the basic instruction ….

I speak Xhosa as my mother tongue and was totally lost when it comes to writing assignments. Firstly I struggle to understand what is asked of me even before I can read to write a response. I find this so frustrating ….

I went from a B student at high school to failing in my first year. This English was hell. I was so embarrassed too because I felt really stupid ….

Not being able to study or to converse in a classroom situation in their mother tongue placed many students at a disadvantage and constitutes a way of misrecognising their indigenous languages. Denying the existence of a language is also an attempt to suppress the expression of the student's culture. One of the participants related the following:

When I came to UWC and visited the dining hall I was so disappointed to see that the food did not reflect what I grew up eating. The menu comprised of fast food or chicken and rice and was expensive. I found that very strange but like most African students adapted to the situation. I miss eating my traditional food at home ….

Another participant said:

In my first year my roommate fell ill and died. I felt very uncomfortable staying in the room after she died as no cleansing ceremony was done. I made a request to the residence matron to do this ceremony and even though she understood what I was saying she said no. I never stayed in my room and spent the rest of the year squatting in my friend's room ….

In the first excerpt, the student felt that a Westernised menu on campus was a denial of her cultural roots and the lack of her usual food was seen as a way of misrecognising her culture. There is an assumption that all students are homogenous and will be satisfied with fast food. The second excerpt speaks to how the university residence policies are not aligned to the multicultural population that co-exists within the residences. Instead of finding ways of embrace all cultures, the university chooses to act as a neutral space, denying students' cultural experiences and knowledge.

7.3 From misrepresentation to misframing: Examining the political dimension of Fraser's theory of social justice

Fraser's (2008) theory of social justice is based on the idea that participatory parity is the core tenet against which to identify whether social arrangements are just or unjust to enable persons to participate as equals with their peers in social life. As has been reiterated in this thesis, there are three interrelated dimensions within which social injustices may occur – or where social justice may be advanced. Within the economic dimension, social justice concerns the maldistribution of rights, opportunities and resources along a society's particular class structure. Issues of misrecognition unfold in the form of devaluing people for certain characteristics which are different from those displayed in the dominant institutionalised patterns of culture. These people are unable to achieve social esteem and also often do not have access to resources or opportunities. The ordinary-political dimension of social justice regards questions of misrepresentation – for example, who has a voice to make decisions, who is included or excluded in interventions or policies, and who belongs, or does not, to a particular group. Fraser (2009) introduces a second level of injustice with the concept of misframing. Due to the impact of globalisation, the nation state is not always the appropriate frame to decide who counts as a claimant for justice. Located in the political dimension of Fraser's three-dimensional view of social justice, misframing operates by determining who belongs and counts as a subject of justice and who does not. For example, as discussed earlier, the foreign national students experience misframing because they are not considered eligible to enjoy benefits from policies which determine various aspects of higher education, such as financial support.

7.3.1 Representation or misrepresentation

All the participants in this study agreed that students at UWC have several structures which allow them to voice their opinion. The official student voice takes the form of the Student Representative Council (SRC) where annual elections are held and the entire student body is encouraged to vote. The SRC elections are backed by national political parties and the contention for the elections are important to political parties because they form important sites to garner support for the upcoming national elections. For the 2018/19 election year, the South African Student Congress (ANC youth division) won the elections at UWC. The SRC has representation on the various subcommittees of the University Council and Senate. At

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residence level, the formal mouthpiece of students is the Central Housing Committee (CHC). The CHC is also backed by the national political parties in the same way the SRC is. The CHC is currently operational under the constitution of the SRC.

Voter turnout at the University elections has dropped drastically over the years. In the 2018/19 elections, only 20% of students voted in the SRC elections; and there was a 51% voter turnout for students voting for the CHC. Only residence students are allowed to vote for the CHC. At residence level, each residence has a house committee which comprises ten students who are voted for by students in that particular residence. This is not a political election, although, over the years, being elected to a house committee is the first step to becoming a candidate for the CHC and SRC elections. Most of the participants are disillusioned with both the SRC and the CHC:

> *The elections is just another popularity contest. The students who stand for elections make all kinds of promises to get votes but do nothing. The SRC spends all the money on bashes and the CHC spends their money on the Fresher's pageant. I am really tired of them.*

> *What about the students that are hungry or have no accommodation? Surely the student leaders can do something towards changing this situation. All they do in residences is have big parties and had loads of alcohol. It's interesting how they manage to get it into residences when alcohol is not allowed ....*

> *We only see the CHC during orientation if you in first year and then again at the Fresher's bash. I been here for 5 years now and I cannot see what they done.*

The participants were disillusioned with student leaders and perhaps this accounts for the declining voter turnout every year at the student leadership elections. Participants are saying clearly that, even though there are formal spaces where the student voice can be heard, they have no faith that their issues are being represented. So, even though they have formal representation where they are elected by students, they are not seeing their issues on the agenda of the formal decision-makers of the university. This raises the all-important question of whether actual representation of student needs and issues is happening with the current status of student leadership at UWC. Despite existing structures, students feel misrepresented by the very leadership that is in power to represent their interests.

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7.3.2 Student protests: #feesmustfall campaign

In 2015, South African universities experienced an onslaught of student protests with the primary demand that the State stop the proposed increase in tuition fees. Students from different class, race, culture, gender and sexual orientation joined the call for free education. At UWC in respect of race, Black, White and Coloured students came together to fight for no tuition fees. The #feesmustfall movement started as an offshoot of the University of Cape Town's (UCT) #RhodesMustFall movement. The #RhodesMustFall movement was specific to UCT – students demanded that the statue of Cecil John Rhodes be removed from their campus as it represented a symbol of colonialism and oppression – which sparked the broader #feesmustfall movement. The UCT protests were centred more on the statue falling than on the broad question of #feesmustfall (which later morphed into #FreeDecolonisedEducation).

The fall of the Rhodes statue did not directly threaten the power of authorities as they saw it as a call to dismantle colonial symbols. By contrast, #feesmustfall directly confronted the ANC government. Luescher & Klemenčič, (2016) note that students at other universities watched in awe as the statue of Rhodes fell at UCT and asked themselves what could fall at their own universities. As a result, many students began to confront their university administration to transform the racial institutional culture around white privilege, language politics and inclusivity (Evan, 2015; Nicolson, 2015). These demands were particularly pronounced at historically Afrikaans universities like Stellenbosch, Free State and Pretoria.

At UWC, the newly-built university block, Residence Life, was burnt. The walls were defaced and graffiti, for example, 'BEING BLACK IS SHIT!!!' For (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013), such graffiti showed an internalisation of racism to the extent that blacks hated themselves for being black. A university residence at UWC had the words, 'BIKO LIVES', graffiti on the walls. What was interesting are the ways in which students communicated through the walls. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, p.50), writing on university building walls and on placards constitutes part of what he refers to as the "rich student archive" of songs and dances, placards, graffiti, speeches, tweets and memoranda. Through ideas written and inscribed on them, walls became a space to engage with the ruthless state. Many activists throughout the country who championed the #RhodesMustFall campaign seamlessly transitioned into leading the #feesmustfall protests. However, students at different universities did not embark on #feesmustfall at the same time. The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) was way ahead on #feesmustfall; UWC students joined later. While UWC fees had not yet been increased, joining

#feesmustfall was a signal to the university management and the state that a fee increase would not be tolerated.

Data collection for this study took place during the student protest and all the participants in this study were in support of the cause, but not necessarily the violence and trauma that was associated with it:

> *It's about time we stand up as students for our rights. We are still waiting for the promises made by the ANC since 1994. Our parents are poor, many nights they go to bed without food. Many nights I go to bed with food. I struggle to study with no books, no computer. Is this freedom, democracy? We stay poor. How are we supposed to pay back all this money loaned to us by NSFAS? So we get education then trapped in loans. How will we ever be able to improve ourselves and our family?*

> *We are taught education which denies our language and our culture. I am failing because I am not taught in my mother tongue. This is Africa why is English still the language of choice. Where in the books and articles that I read for my sociology class does it teach me about my cultural practices? We are taught this education based on colonialism ....*

> *The majority of students are Black at this university. Why is the staff not represented of the university population? Why are Black students not encouraged to get postgraduate degrees? This is the essence of why I support #feesmustfall campaign. I not always sure I agree with the methods but I understand why we need to fight.*

The participants expressed their frustration with the slow transition in the higher education sector in relation to transformation. Increasing fees made tertiary education inaccessible for those students from poor communities. The #feesmustfall campaign was a culmination of empty promises and students' attempt to take back their power, express their opinions and exercise their agency. The students felt that their needs were being misrepresented by the University and the State and so they rose up in protest against the injustices which were preventing them from participating as equals with those that have resources. The 1976 Soweto uprising had shown the apartheid government how powerful the youth could be to change the tide of politics; the #feesmustfall Campaign was another reminder of the power of the masses.

7.3.3 Belonging at UWC

An environment that is conducive to learning encompasses a healthy, vibrant community where all members' social, spiritual and learning needs are met and they feel a connection and a sense of belonging to the university. This kind of an environment is more likely to result in a space where cohesiveness and collaborations are possible, trust exists between members that fosters development and an ability to solve problems (Krafona K., 2014). Carolissen (2012, p.635) defines the "concept of belonging as one of experiencing a sense of being at home in a certain place or community, and where the individual has the freedom of rights and duties". According to her, the notion of belonging can be both political and personal, and often reflects the interrelationship between these two contexts. (Yuval-Davis, 2006) outlines an analytical framework for the study of belonging on which Carolissen (2012) based her ideas. According to her, one of the facets "is about emotional attachment, about feeling at home and … about feeling safe" (Yuval-Davis, 2006. p.200). (Jama et al., 2009) note that, when students feel a sense of belonging to an institution, they are more likely to persist and complete their studies in the allotted period of time. When the participants in this study were asked whether they identified with UWC and felt a sense of social belonging, 90% of the students indicated that they did, whilst 10% had reservations:

> *How can I feel a sense of belonging when I bath in an undesirable space where the paint is peeling and the mould creates a smell in the bathroom? How can I feel a sense of belonging when there is no water in my block or there is no electricity because the account is unpaid? What is the university doing with my fees? How do they expect me to live like this?*

> *There has been no couches in BFR since the protest and no DSTV or TV. There is already so little to do have fun at this campus and now even watching TV is a problem. I tried to watch series in my room on my computer but then the Wi-Fi is a problem. I don't have money to go off campus like other people so I feel like I am stuck here.*

> *I miss my home town and my family. I had such a good network of friends and support at home now there are all these different kinds of people. I am finding it hard to fit in. I was crying the whole of the first semester but I am a bit better now. I have never felt so lonely in my whole life ….*

> *I was sexually assaulted on my way home from the SRC bash. I was walking to my residence and felt someone follow me. Before I knew it this guy was behind me and*

dragged me to the floor. I struggled but had also been drinking. He said I was flirting with him and he knew I wanted him. I guess I managed to struggle enough because someone heard him and he got scared and ran. I was taken to CPS who insisted I was drunk. I admitted I did drink but I wasn't drunk. It was a terrible experience. Where is security when you need it?

These participants felt a sense of disappointment at the university experience and felt powerless to change their situation. They felt excluded from the broader residence population and therefore could not feel a sense of social belonging. The one participant felt physically unsafe on campus and the experience of trauma impeded her sense of belonging to a community she could not trust and a university that failed to protect her.

The University's inability to create conducive environments had brought about a sense of trauma, isolation and disillusionment, leading to these students not being able to participate fully in their residence life and also being powerless to change their situation. According to Fraser (2008, 2009), when social actors are not able to participate fully as peers, then the injustice of ordinary political misrepresentation occurs.

7.4 Misframing of foreign national students in the higher education space

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the fact that foreign national students experience misrecognition because they are often ostracised, experience violence and have a unique set of needs which are different from those of local South African students. They struggle with adaptation to the local culture and environment and have limited or no family and peer support networks. They are foreign to the country and have to understand the nuances of what is accepted and what is not. The spate of xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in the country also raises concerns for their safety and overall wellbeing. In addition to this, most foreign national students that participated in this research project seek to study in South Africa because they come from politically unstable countries where they also experience violence and trauma. What aggravates the situation for them is that many leave behind families and loved ones, which means that they also constantly fear for their well-being. According to Fraser (2007b, 2009), a group of persons experience misframing when the boundaries are drawn in such a way that it excludes some people from any chance to participate. Because foreign national students are not South African citizens, they do not qualify for financial aid unless it is via a research grant or bursary from an international source, or from their own country; and

they have to ensure that all their fees are paid upfront before the academic year commences. In addition to this, they have to buy medical aid which some can ill afford; and, according to participants, they may have to cancel this after a few months because they cannot afford the monthly payments. This leaves them at the mercy of the public health system which is already bursting at the seams. Many of these students come from impoverished backgrounds in their own countries and it often *"takes a village to get the resources together"* to provide for their educational and health needs. This also means that they have to remain in South Africa until their degree is completed, as it is too expensive to travel home for the holidays:

> *... because I can't afford to buy a plane ticket home I stay on campus after everyone has gone home. I miss my family and year end is the loneliest time for me ....*

Further to this, these students have very little or no say in how the university meets their needs and they are burdened by the ongoing need to renew their study permits at the Home Affairs Department which is not always sympathetic to their needs:

> *I received a call from Home Affairs one morning asking me to come into Cape Town to see them. They said it was to do with my permit. I went immediately. When I got there they wanted me to prove that I am who I say I am because as it turned out someone had the same permit number as me and was making application to the bank for a loan. My passport was not enough because it didn't bear my identity needs. I called the university and they confirmed that I have been studying here but this too wasn't enough. The Home Affairs official said they will lock me up until they can confirm that I am the original person after contacting the Home Affairs office in Zim. Eventually they decided to let me go but keep my passport. It took months to sort this out and all this time I was scared that if I get stopped and asked for my passport I will get locked up because they will say I have no papers ....*

The university does not do enough to make students feel welcome and part of the university community. Whilst they qualify to attend the general university programmes, the university does not take into account the special needs of foreign national students. Some foreign national students are also not aware of the residence application process and are often left stranded when they arrive in the country, as there are no special residences that will accommodate them. Whilst there is a growing concern about the number of applications from African countries declining at universities, nothing is done to improve the experience of foreign national students and to make the university a more attractive place for them to study (Landau, 2018). UWC

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does have a resource restriction but there are currently many programmatic duplication across campus which if streamlined could free up some resources for projects that address the needs of foreign national students specifically.

7.5   Conclusion

Fraser's (2008, 2009) three-dimensional view of social justice provides a normative framework with which to determine whether parity of participation is possible to enable all students to participate in societal living on a par with their peers. As has been evident from the findings of this study, no dimension supersedes the others; and having an understanding of each dimension and how it impacts student learning enables recommendations to be made from this study for improved social arrangements which can bring about participatory parity for all students and ensure that social justice is achieved.

The lack of material resources, as discussed in the chapter six, leads to maldistribution and prevents students from achieving participatory parity. Maldistribution is related to the lack of facilities and resources present within the residences, the condition of the facilities and the lack of services (security, transport, catering) which impede students' ability to learn effectively within the residential space. The misrecognition of students is another form of social injustice. It relates to the valuing of certain characteristics based on the class structure in society which gives recognition to students and enables them to achieve social esteem. By achieving social esteem, students feel validated, have a sense of belonging and are able to participate on a par with their peers at residence. Having resources, as discussed in this research, has an impact on whether students are recognised or misrecognised.

Students who do not subscribe to patriarchal heteronormative values system are marginalised for making choices which result in their being different (different sexual orientation, living with mental illnesses, being from another country, being disabled and practising different cultural beliefs). Being misrecognised may also lead to students' needs not being adequately represented and interpreted.

There is no effective structure which ensures that the student voice is solicited and heard. The political dimension takes into account that globalisation and the far-reaching effects of social media have altered the frame in which claims of justice can be considered. For example, as discussed in this chapter, those students who are not South African citizens have no claim to justice and their needs are considered on a limited basis, if at all. They will not be in a position

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to participate on a par with their peers; and they have no rightful claim, because they are do not have legitimate membership (citizenship). Understanding these dimensions allows for social arrangements to be put in place so that participatory parity can be achieved.

Chapter 8: Affirmative and transformative strategies: Remedies to consider in achieving participatory parity for student learning at residences

8.1   Introduction

As discussed in chapter three Fraser (2003) proposed two broad strategies for remedying injustice which arises from the economic, cultural and political dimensions, namely affirmative and transformative strategies.   The distinction between these two strategies highlights the contrast between the underlying social structures and the social outcomes they generate. Affirmative strategies for redressing injustice aim to correct inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the social order.   Transformative strategies aim to correct unjust outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework. Affirmative strategies target end states or outcomes, whilst transformative strategies target root causes (Fraser, 2003). In her earlier work, Fraser (1994) proposed seven normative principles which provide guidelines for examining whether the affirmative and transformative strategies propose appropriate social arrangements to achieve participatory parity. The seven principles are listed in Table 8.4 and link to the three dimension and the corresponding injustice(s) that occur(s) in each dimension. These were discussed in some length in chapter three.

Principle	Dimension	Resulting injustice
Anti-poverty Income-equality Leisure Time Equality	Economic	Maldistribution
Equality of Respect Anti-androcentrism	Cultural	Misrecognition
Anti-exploitation Anti-marginalisation	Political	Misrepresentation Misframing

Table 8.4: Summary of Fraser's 3 dimensions and 7 principles

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It is important to state again that Fraser (2003, 2008) stresses that the three dimensions are mutually intertwined and reciprocally influence and reinforce the other two but none is reducible to another.

This chapter examines each dimension (economic, cultural and political) from an affirmative and transformative perspective. Where appropriate, it uses Fraser's (1994) normative principles to determine whether the proposed strategy, from either an affirmative and transformative perspective, will result in social arrangements that will bring about participatory parity. Both affirmative and transformative approaches can be seen as forms of socially just strategies, although the approaches would be different in their emphasis (Bozalek, 2017, p. 7); however, it must be recognised that the affirmative strategies will not be as far-reaching as transformative ones for achieving participatory parity in the different dimensions.

8.2   Affirmative strategies that address the economic dimension

Maldistribution arises when economic structures cause obstacles that prevent residence students from participating as equals in relation to the resources that are available to facilitate student learning at residence. For example, inequities in relation to time, money, educational resources, residence facilities, recreational spaces and services at residences were cited by participants in this study as constraints that prevented them from achieving participatory parity regarding student learning. The announcement of free education in December 2017 discussed in section 6.2 was seen as a small victory for the #feesmustfall movement, as it met one of the key demands of the movement. However, in January 2018, after University vice chancellors/rectors met with the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), it became clear that free education would be targeted at those households with a joint income of less than R350,000 per annum. Further to this, an 8% subsidy would be given to those students that have a joint household income of less than R650,000 per annum to assist what the DHET called the "missing middle". In terms of this line of thought, the 8% subsidy was meant to provide relief to those families where parents are professionals but still find themselves unable fully to afford the university fees. This decision does not take into account the family's ability to raise money to finance higher education and risk further increasing the debt trap for many families who are already hamstrung by ever increasing debt to survive. The use of the means test has resulted in many students providing false information in order to qualify for financial aid. Students in the 'missing middle' cohort represent a large portion of students at both public and private institutions across the country. These are children of civil servants and lower

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middle-class families, who, while being disqualified from NSFAS, cannot raise the funds from commercial banks because the risk of default is too high (Mtwesi, 2016).

This, according to Fraser (2003), would be regarded as an affirmative strategy for addressing the issue of unaffordable tertiary education. Advocates of 'free education for all' suggest that current models, which classify households into income groups and apply means tests, are flawed, because they lead to increased vulnerability for the poor, high levels of indebtedness, reduced savings towards retirement and a compromised standard of living (Oxfam, 2016). The participants in this study spoke about the difficulties of paying their fees, as the 8% given to them in subsidy form was not enough to cover fees and all the other requirements, such as food, accommodation and learning resources. These students struggled and often had to find work, either on or off campus, which further compromised their ability to study, as the time they had available for academic and leisure purposes was then even more limited:

> *I worked at TFG call centre from about 16h00 until 10pm at night. Most nights I was just exhausted and could not concentrate on my studies and complete my assignments. However I could not afford to give up my job as my survival depended on it …*

Poor facilities were cited by a number of the participants in this study as a serious impediment to their learning. Damp and mouldy bathrooms, poorly resourced study halls, inadequate dining hall facilities, lack of appropriate recreational spaces, and poor cleaning, laundry and transport services formed a large aspect of students' frustration. The university's response was to commission the refurbishing of residences, as the funding was secured; and, over the years, there have been improvements in the bathrooms in the cluster residences, as well as the introduction of kitchens and upgrading of bathroom facilities in the first year residences. The repainting of Disahof, an off-campus residence, is another example of the refurbishment. These upgrades can be considered an affirmative strategy to redress the issues of physical infrastructure and service delivery. The refurbishment project targets the most dire or rundown spaces for upgrading. The long-term problem with this approach, however, is that there are no resources for regular maintenance to prevent old buildings from reaching a point where they become hazardous, either for health or safety reasons. An important part of the student experience relates to the physical environment in which students find themselves. Student housing, by all accounts, is a critical, scarce resource and the expectation that obtaining a space at residence is a privilege and not a right highlights the problems with creating access to university without the supporting resources, where residence accommodation can be

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considered as a key resource. The lack of student housing is a microcosm of a larger problem around housing for the poor in post-apartheid South Africa.

The issue of hunger amongst students is another major constraint. A study conducted at UWC revealed that 70% of students were food insecure within the first three months at university residence (Mogatosi, 2018). Another study conducted by Firfirey and Carolissen (2010) revealed that students at UWC use multiple strategies to disguise the psychological distress of being poor for fear of the attached stigma and many hope that their circumstances will get better. At UWC, the issue of food security has been on the discussion agenda for the last decade but has gained momentum over the past four years. The concern that many students are vulnerable with little or no food and go to bed hungry has given rise to several initiatives on campus to address the issue of food security. The Gender Equity Unit on campus collects tinned food items from staff and students on campus and provides this to vulnerable students. This collection is dependent on the generosity of students and staff. The students report at their offices and they are assisted if they have supplies. If there is no stock, the student is notified when donations are sourced. ResLife offers the SREP (Skills Resource Exchange Programme) programme which has been fully in operation since 2012. Students complete an application form; and an assessment is done in an interview to verify their needs. The programme is premised on the fact that it does not want to foster dependence and the student is asked to volunteer their time within the department as a way of exchanging goods for services. This programme is funded directly from the Department of Residential Services budget. In reality, it is a struggle to get students to pay back the volunteer hours as this is yet another activity they have to fit into an already busy schedule; and it further forms an impediment to the achievement of participatory parity. This condition of volunteering hours further burdens poor students who already lack time and material resources. More recently, the University Student Development and Support Office has negotiated a partnership with Tiger Brands Food Group and started the UWC Food Nutritional Programme. The difficulty with this programme is that the programme uses the NSFAS database to identify students or rely on referral. Students have to report within a particular time frame every day. If the student is late, then they will have to wait for the next day. The problem with the NSFAS database is that not all students on this database wish to be identified as needy (see Firfiray & Carolissen, 2010). Some faculties also have smaller initiatives, often funded by staff, to provide some food to vulnerable students in, for example, the Economic and Management Sciences Faculty, Dentistry Faculty and the Physiotherapy Department. The existing programmes across the university are an affirmative response to food

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insecure students. On a continuum, there are some means[22] tests which are built into the programmes to ensure that the students qualify. Often these programmes are built on good intentions but their presence only seek to heighten the difference between those that have and those that do not have. Many students feel stigmatised and would rather go hungry than attend the programmes for assistance:

> *I am grateful to ResLife but I would prefer not to go as students at residence knows already. When you walk out of the ResLife building with packets that are not branded then you poor and on SREP ...*

Fraser's (1994) principles of Anti-poverty and Income Equality provide clear guidelines that establish that strategies promoting social justice must yield outcomes that prevent poverty and focus on ensuring that the gap between those that have and those students that do not have is bridged. Current programmes that exist on campus are affirmative in nature and provide temporary relief, rather than addressing the issues of poverty and a general lack of resources on a more sustainable basis. The predicament that students find themselves in, without adequate access to resources, is therefore not significantly addressed with such band-aid approaches to dealing with this, rather than changing the status quo. In this respect, the programme does not meet the Anti-poverty and Income Equality principles proposed by Fraser.

The lack of time is an issue for most students. The lack of economic resources means that students are forced to balance their roles as students, part time workers and, for some female students and non-traditional students, parents. According to Fraser (1994), women suffer disproportionately from 'time poverty' and are, in this instance, triply burdened – they are students, engage in work to support themselves and family and also fulfil a caring role as a parent or daughter. Whilst time poverty relates to the economic dimension, it is important also to note that women are misrecognised because of their caring responsibilities. In a report conducted by the University of Bedfordshire in the United Kingdom, three common difficulties were found among student parents. Firstly, the issue of affordable and flexible child care was raised as a challenge; secondly, financial issues were listed as a major difficulty (meeting the needs of the child and having learning resources); and, thirdly, many parents stated that they were often lonely and isolated and found it difficult to manage the competing needs of their children and their academic demands (Moreau & Kerner, 2012). The UWC University Residence policy forbids children from living at residence with their parents; and many

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[22] A means test is a check into a person's financial situation to determine whether they meet the criteria that is set out by the programme.

students in this study see this as another barrier to their learning. Current facilities are not child-friendly, forcing student parents to live off campus in the surrounding communities that are not very safe; or they have to leave children with extended family caregivers for caretaking. Providing child care facilities that are affordable or free to students and staff is one way that the university could acknowledge the multiple roles played by female students and staff. This would be considered an affirmative strategy to redress the women's caring roles and the androcentrism that guides most university policies. The University currently has an early childhood centre (ECD) on campus which (mainly) staff members' children attend; but it is expensive and out of the reach of most students who may be in need of the service. The ECD centre also operates from 07:30 to 17:00 and does not take into account student parents who may also have evening classes or may need to do library research. Subsidising this child care service to make it more affordable for all is part of an affirmative strategy. These strategies, according to Fraser's Leisure Time Equality and Equality of Respect principles, do nothing to change the status quo in society which entrenches patriarchy and the role of females as caregivers.

8.3   Transformative strategies that address the economic dimension

Transformative strategies address the root causes of maldistribution in society. Transformative strategy promises outcomes which are more sustainable and enduring but more difficult to achieve because the strategies attempts to change the current societal status quo. In this study, participants articulated some of the administrative challenges that NSFAS presented which directly affected the student's ability to learn. The slow processing of applications meant that many students went hungry and could not access allowances to obtain learning resources. Providing free education to the poor only has done nothing to address the class structure of society, resulting in widening the gap between the rich and the poor. As discussed earlier, means testing for free education widens the class gap in society and deepens the dividing lines between those that have and those that do not. A transformative strategy would provide free education by universal access to all students who qualify for tertiary study, regardless of their income status. Universal access would deliver the best outcomes for students and meet Fraser's (1994) principles of Anti-poverty and Income-equality.

Addressing infrastructure and service delivery from a transformative perspective requires an investment in resources to refurbish old buildings, a dedicated maintenance fund to ensure the general upkeep of buildings, ensuring building compliance and acknowledging that HDIs are

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still hampered by a funding model that prevents them from accumulating reserves, unlike their counterparts at HAIs (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). The DHET recently announced that student housing will get a R4.1 billion injection over a period of six years with the intention of creating 200,000 new bed spaces (Mlamla, 2019). It is not clear how this money will be allocated across institutions. There is also an expectation that universities will be able to subsidise this project with some of their own funds. Again, there is lack of acknowledgement on the part of the DHET that HDIs do not have reserve funds to subsidise these housing projects. A project to assist HDIs to become more financially stable and accumulate wealth initiated by the DHET is needed as part of a transformative strategy. Alternatively, a strategy to share accumulative wealth reserves of HAIs should be investigated to bring about economic conditions which could result in participatory parity amongst the universities themselves.

It is clear from this discussion that fundamentally addressing the issue of free education is larger than the institution of UWC and has implications for the DHET, South African Revenue Services, the Treasury and the Department of Labour. Whilst the provision of additional funding to increase resources in respect of facilities, services and improved learning technology will go a long way to improve the conditions which are conducive to student learning, these are affirmative strategies and do not address the structural constraints which are beyond the scope of the university and pose a question that requires consideration outside of this context and this chapter. However, there are some contributions that UWC can make towards implementing strategies that are transformative.

A transformative strategy to address food insecurity at UWC would require universal access to a food programme as part of support services for all students registered at the university. This would decrease the stigma which makes some students feel misrecognised and allow those who genuinely need assistance to benefit from it. Already some examples of this exists across campus within specific faculties. The Dentistry Faculty provides sandwiches to all dentistry students who may need the food. They are able to go to the kitchen and help themselves. There is no means test and no differentiation between those students that have and those who do not. This significantly diminishes the possibility of dentistry students feeling stigmatised for eating the food provided by the Faculty.

8.4   Affirmative strategies to address the cultural dimension

In modern society the class structure and the status order do not neatly mirror each other. As a result, misrecognition cannot be reduced to an effect of maldistribution, nor can maldistribution be seen as an expression of misrecognition (Fraser, 2009b). Misrecognition occurs when students are devalued because of their identity, cultural background, or if their subjugated knowledges that they bring with them to university are debased (Bozalek, 2017). This devalued status prevents students from being able to participate on a par with their peers and acts as a constraint to their learning. This pattern of cultural value views white, middle class, young, unencumbered, able bodied, heterosexual males as the 'normal' student and either explicitly or implicitly views other students as 'different' or 'inferior'.

UWC has a significant number of students that identify themselves as LGBTIQ. An extensive discussion presented in a previous chapter seven described the challenges of students who identify as LGBTIQ in residences. These students feel devalued, are targets of discrimination by other heterosexual students and often feel unsafe, especially in residences (Shefer et al., 2018). The ResLife strategy to manage LGBTIQ is to deal with it as a diversity issue and develop interventions that promote a culture of tolerance and respect for difference at residence. These rights-based campaigns which promote respect and understanding, as well as raise awareness about the issues of discrimination, are the University's affirmative approach to addressing the challenges faced by LGBTIQ students. These kinds of campaigns promote multiculturalism by encouraging the co-existence of difference but this does not change the current status quo of the residence culture (Fraser, 2003). In many ways, these practices entrenches this notion of 'them' (LGBTIQ students) and 'us' (heterosexual students) and only serves to divide the residence population.

Another grouping of students whose identity is devalued is differently abled students. These students are viewed by other students as lesser beings because of their disability and are often pitied, leaving these students feeling isolated:

> *Mostly I feel like such a burden. I am partially sighted and while I think I am better off than most other blind students I still cannot get around campus on my own and need to ask for help. I hate hearing the pity in the voices of fellow residence mates when I need to ask for help.*

In residences, differently abled students are a largely invisible grouping of students. Apart from the initiatives of the Office for Students with Disabilities, which are largely aimed at assisting

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with learning materials, making venues accessible and making special arrangements for students who are unable to write examinations and tests on their own, very little is done to address the challenges facing the differently abled. The Office for Students with Disabilities is an affirmative strategy on the part of the University to ensure that the differently abled student adjusts to the mainstream structure and curriculum, instead of ensuring that the university structure makes provision for the differently abled student (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012). Apart from creating access to the curriculum by translating learning material into Braille or enlarging the material and making venues accessible, nothing else is done to change the status quo for differently abled students to be empowered and function as autonomously as possible. Their identities and the talents that they bring to the University are not accommodated; and, for their whole stay at the University, they struggle to fit into a world geared predominantly for able bodied students. Keddie (2012) states that simplifying culture as a static and confined concept denies the complexity of student's lives, the various roles they assume and the multiple aspects of their identity thereby denying their cultural identify even further.

The first major study of international students in South Africa, conducted in 2014 revealed a number of challenges which these students face. These include accommodation, financial pressures, language, support and adjustment challenges, a lack of local friends and xenophobia (MacGregor, 2014). Many of these challenges were echoed in this study and participants cited that they felt isolated and lonely. Their constant fear of xenophobic violence heightened their suspicion and anxiety, and consequently they never felt fully like part of the residence community. Feeling like an outsider in the residence devalues them as students. An affirmative strategy to address the issue of xenophobic violence would be conducting a rights-based campaign to emphasise the rights of foreign students and criminality of perpetrating xenophobic violence. UWC, in various forms and on different platforms, has publicly denounced xenophobic violence; however, this has done little to change the realities of foreign national students. Whilst they have access to university services like all other students, they are excluded from financial opportunities (as related previously) and have to adhere to stringent registration criteria, which also makes them feel different and excluded.

South Africa has eleven official languages yet English is the medium of instruction at UWC. English is the second or third language for most students and this immediately places students on the back foot. Most rural and townships schools in South Africa teach students in their local language. Most participants in this study indicated that they also learnt English in their mother tongue and therefore they struggle to speak and write the language proficiently. Enforcing

English as a medium of instruction denigrates students' indigenous knowledges and forces them to submit to an educational environment where they are misrecognised and they find themselves unable to participate with their peers on an equal footing. Academic Development Programmes are the universities' affirmative strategy for assisting those students who are struggling to adjust to the tertiary environment. Leibowitz and Bozalek (2015) contend that these foundational programmes that divide and support the student body into foundation and mainstream programmes contribute to students feeling misrecognised; and the lack of support in subsequent years often results in student floundering and potentially dropping out. These programmes position students who attend them as being subjects of disadvantage and in need of adaptation so that they can fit into a programme that denies their cultural identity (Luckett & Shay, 2017).

8.5   Transformative strategies that address the cultural dimension

The strategies suggested in the previous paragraph highlight the shortcomings inherent in the affirmative models and the approaches currently used by the University to address issues which lead to misrecognition. It is not surprising, then, that despite these interventions, participants in this study still reported finding little or no relief in their status subordination; and that these strategies further embed the dominant cultural identity of a white, middle class, heterosexual, young, unencumbered, able bodied, South African male student. Transformative approaches, whilst more challenging to implement and sustain, are more likely to bring about social justice, as they aim to address the issues which will change the status quo in society, making participatory parity possible. A transformative approach requires moving beyond reification; and Fraser (2003, p.30) proposes "a status model" where recognition is treated as a question of social status. This approach rejects models which simplify persons' identities into a single group identity. It advocates for a deconstruction of identities that broadens knowledge and perspective and challenges students to think critically about themselves and the broader social world.

For example, with regard to students who are parents, a transformative approach requires an understanding of the multiple roles that parents take on and ensures that university policies take these multiple identities into account. A transformative approach goes beyond subsidised child care centres for female students and staff and attempts to shift the role of child care to male staff members and students by affording men the same paternity leave as female staff and by creating environments where child care is possible for male and female students on campus.

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Appropriate residences should be built which would be ideal for the housing of families. In this way, the university would make it possible for the student parent to study and fulfil parenting and familial responsibilities.

With respect to students who identify as LGBTIQ, Fraser (2008, 2009) proposes a deconstruction of sexual identities. The construct of binary identities (male and female; heterosexual versus alternative sexual identity) implies that one identity is more dominant and therefore enjoys more social esteem. The other identity is associated with being inferior and therefore those who ascribe to it are seen as having less social esteem. At residences, participants cited that bathrooms are spaces where LGBTIQ students are vulnerable and feel most uncomfortable. Bathrooms in residences are clearly divided between male and female; and those students who are not comfortable using the bathroom assigned to students of their sex (e.g., male) are ostracised for attempting to use the bathroom assigned to students of the other sex (e.g., female). Changing the style of bathrooms at residence by making single stalls where students can use the facility privately, regardless of being male, female, or identifying with LGBTIQ, will neutralise bathroom spaces and bring about a sense of safety for all students, regardless of their sexual orientation. This will also take away the focus of male and female as the dominant identities and allow students to use any bathroom that is available. By changing the face of such facilities and spaces at residence, residences become more neutralised and there is less focus on the dominance of heteronormative identities.

It was clear from discussions earlier in this chapter that affirmative approaches to differently abled students at university have done nothing to increase the social esteem of these students. Assessing residences and all buildings across campus to ensure that they are differently abled friendly is an important exercise. The University needs to employ a Universal Access Design to buildings across campus as a transformative strategy. "Universal Design is the design and composition of an environment so that it can be accessed, understood and used to the greatest extent possible by all people regardless of their age, size, ability or disability"(National Disability Authority, n.d,para 1).. This will allow differently abled students to become more independent and make them feel more included in the mainstream of campus, especially in residences. Currently, they are confined to particular spaces in residences because there are no lifts, so a physically disabled student will not be able to access the upper floors of a residence without assistance. In some instances, such as in the library, the turnstile doorways are too narrow to allow wheelchair access. This excludes students from valuable learning spaces, reinforcing their difference and inferior social status. In Chapter nine, the recommendation for an adoption of a Universal Design for Learning will be discussed in some depth.

Language was cited as a major barrier to learning. Earlier, the shortcomings of academic development classes to provide 'assistance to those disadvantaged students' was discussed (Bozalek & Leibowitz, 2015) A more transformative approach to the question of language at university is two-pronged. Firstly, for students to perform better at tertiary institutions, the basic education system in schools needs an overhaul to better prepare students for higher education. Secondly, to embrace indigenous knowledges, higher education should provide for education in the mother tongue of the student whilst at the same time incorporate the indigenous knowledge that students bring with them to university. This would mean a rethinking of the current curriculum to enable the lecturer to teach students at their pace and find innovative ways of incorporating students' subjugated knowledge into the curriculum.

These suggested transformative strategies meet the guidelines set out by four of Fraser's (1994) principles, namely Income Equality, Leisure Time equality, Equality of Respect and Anti-androcentrism. Men and women students' leisure time could become more equal by acknowledging the multiple roles of students and providing relief in the form of residences which could accommodate families, as well as affordable child care facilities; and revising university policies which address child care responsibilities for male staff and male parents. Deconstruction of identities creates respect for all and seeks to increase the social esteem of all identities – there is no focus on one dominant male heterosexual identity but rather a creation of spaces where students can challenge themselves.

8.6   Affirmative strategies that address the political dimension

Fraser (2009) defines political injustices as occurring when some individuals or groups are not given an equal opportunity to have their opinions and rights realised and they are not given the opportunity to be represented in decision making. With the demise of the modern territorial nation state due to processes such as globalisation, migration, transnational companies and global media, the paradigms and structures for understanding justice have changed. According to Fraser (2009), there are at least two types of political injustice: first, ordinary misrepresentation where groupings in society have no voice about issues which affect their lives; and, second, misframing, where the focus is on the global and the ways in which people are included or excluded in particular questions of justice. The second form of injustice is quite powerful because it determines who fulfils the criteria of belonging and also who and what counts in matters of distribution, recognition and representative issues (Fraser, 2008).

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At UWC, the Student Representative Council (SRC) is the official structure that represents students' needs on campus. For a few years now, as discussed previously in chapter seven voter turnout has been very low, raising the question about whether, in reality, students' voices are adequately represented. An affirmative strategy to increase voter turnout would be to do more voter education and allow students to understand the importance of ensuring that their needs are heard. Another affirmative strategy which the University currently employs relates to the idea of belonging and feeling included, which is an important part of feeling like your needs are represented. The University has run several campaigns over the years in the form of 'I am UWC', as well as campaigns like the 'First Year Experience' (FYE). These campaigns are affirmative examples of helping students develop a sense of UWC identity. The FYE campaign targets first years and is based on the premise that, by developing a sense of belonging in the student from the first year, students are less likely to drop out (Tinto, 1999). Given that most participants in this study indicated that their first choice of institution to study at was not UWC, helping students develop a sense of belonging early on in their journey would be important. However, if the University does not give attention to the issues raised by students in this study (around safety on campus and at residences and the various ways that other students, staff and the institution devalue students and make them feel unimportant and inferior), then a true sense of belonging is never possible. Without addressing the multiple demands on the students' time, the University is not able to address the sense, experienced and expressed by these students, of being overwhelmed and unable to focus on the primary task of completing their degree. Leach and Zepke (2011,p.200) provide a conceptual organiser on which student engagement is based. They identify five areas, namely:

- Motivation and agency: students that are engaged by the institution is motivated and demonstrates a sense of agency.
- Transactional engagement with educators: learning takes place inside and outside of the classroom and is a collaborative process between the student and the lecturer.
- Transactional engagement with peers: Positive peer relationships enhances student's social skills and this present new opportunities for learning.
- Institutional support: The institutional environment is conducive to learning. Resources are provided, all students are included in the universities programmes and the university constantly seeks to improve the student's experience.
- Non-institutional support: Students are supported by family and friends to achieve success.

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The constraints that students described in this study around an unsafe environment, poor facilities and infrastructure, issues of language, lack of appropriate learning materials and student hunger, are in direct conflict with the five areas which Leach and Zepke (2011) propose. Pather, Norodien-Fataar, Cupido and Mkonto (2017) conducted a study at UWC to understand students' experiences of engaging with University support structures. They found that students have a low interest in extra-curricular activities as many are concerned about safety and their journey home later in the day. The lack of the student's engagement with support services affects student engagement with the University. The University needs to consider the holistic student experience, find ways of changing the system and introducing more flexibility to take into account the realities of students' lives.

8.7   Transformative strategies that address the political dimension

The #feesmustfall campaign was an example of a transformative approach to apply pressure on the State to address the issues of free education which excluded poor students from the higher education sector. The students protests which started in 2015, with students taking to the streets, was a powerful initiative by students to change the status quo in South African HE. Finally, in December 2017, the Government announced that education would be free to all poor students (household income of R350,000), while the middle class families (joint household income of R650,000) would be assisted(discussed in detail in section 6.2). Whilst this outcome of free education is means tested, it is a considered a small achievement for students.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, foreign national students experience misframing as they are excluded from consideration in many policies at South African universities and in the Department of Home Affairs. These students have to meet additional expectations which include paying fees paid upfront, having medical insurance and needing accommodation before applying for a visa (MacGregor, 2014). For students attending South African universities, there are also registration requirements which automatically exclude poorer students who may not be able to self-fund these requirements. Foreign students have distinct struggles and their needs are not addressed specifically. These students have limited or no recourse to justice because they are not considered part of the frame of claimants for justice. They are not South African citizens and therefore their needs are not considered. It is clear from the participants in this study that support to adapt to local conditions would be important. UWC in particular needs to reconsider their policies on foreign national students. Current policies marginalise such students and the stringent registration requirements can be seen as a form of exploitation, which

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is not in accordance with Fraser's principle of Anti-marginalisation and Anti-exploitation principles.

One of the major concerns set out by participants in this study was the concern that elected student leaders follow their political party agenda and do not necessarily represent the needs of students. Elections at the SRC and Central House Committee (CHC) level are politically affiliated and become a campaigning space for political parties and their political agendas. Disillusioned students in this study feel that, once the student elections are over, the needs of students are no longer a priority. This leads to a decreasing voter turnout each year. An important part of a university education is an opportunity to become a critical, engaged citizen (Badat, 2010). The perception of students that it is a waste of time to vote suggests that students themselves have not reflected on the importance of having the power and responsibility for changing the environment with which they engage. Bozalek and Carolissen (2012) propose that imaginative ways to achieve transformative approaches to citizenship should be considered. The positioning of a student coming from a rural school in relation to a student coming from a private urban school is considerably different; and this is not taken into account by HE. University and residence policies need to consider the multiple roles of students, the fact that many students work a double or even triple shift (study, work and child care) and a 'one size fits all' approach to students' multiple realities will not translate into social justice or participatory parity for students.
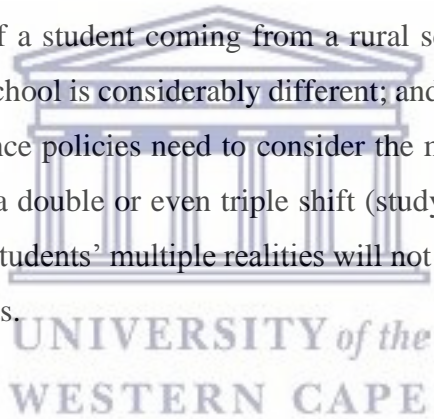
8.8   Conclusion

Table 8.5 is a summary of affirmative and transformative strategies within each of the three dimensions, namely economic, cultural and political. Some of these strategies have been undertaken by the University, whilst others are possible considerations.

Dimension	Affirmative strategy	Transformative strategy
Economic Maldistribution	✓ Means tested free education ✓ Refurbishing old buildings when funds are available or raised	✓ Universal free education for all students ✓ Addressing the disparities in resources between HAI and HDIs – funds to refurbish old

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		buildings and a constant maintenance fund to prevent buildings from becoming dilapidated. Adjusting the current funding model.
	✓ Means tested programmes to support students who are food insecure	✓ Universal access to food programmes for all students. No means test.
Cultural Misrecognition	✓ Assisting student parents with child care facilities – subsidised child care on campus ✓ Rights-based campaigns that raise awareness about LGBTIQ issues on campus ✓ Providing learning assistance to students who are differently abled ✓ Rights-based awareness-raising campaigns on xenophobic violence ✓ Academic Development programmes to assist second and third language English speakers to learn academic literacy skills	✓ Changing university policies around child care for men – thereby shifting the gender caring roles ✓ Building residences that can accommodate families ✓ Deconstruction of sexual identities ✓ Constructing single gender-neutral bathroom stalls in the residences ✓ Creating residences and buildings across campus that facilitate Universal Access ✓ Allowing students to submit assignments and examination papers in one of the 11 official languages (mother tongue) ✓ Embracing students' subjugated knowledge; incorporating it into the curriculum

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Political	✓ Voter education to allow	✓ #feesmustfall campaign –
Misrepresentation	students to understand the	student strategy to obtain free
Misframing	importance of voting	education
	✓ Campaigns and mentoring	✓ Review policy for the
	programmes which target	registration of foreign
	first year students to	national students at
	inculcate a sense of	University
	belonging	✓ Developing critical
		citizenship amongst students
		to promote a sense of agency

Table 8.5: Summary of affirmative and transformative strategies for each dimension

The University has an ethical responsibility to work on solutions to create greater participatory parity for students living in residence. In the absence of resources and the political will on the part of DHET to prioritise the resourcing of residences and addressing the inequalities that still exist between HDIs and HAIs, affirmative strategies will at least bring about supportive changes which will serve as reminders of what constitutes conducive conditions for learning and the need to lobby for transformative strategies in this context. Foreign students, as discussed in this chapter, are affected by all dimensions (economic, cultural and political) and are unable to achieve participatory parity, resulting in social injustice. Students who experience food insecurity experience a lowering of their social esteem by needing to seek assistance as a result of the means test criteria applied, in some instances, for students to qualify for assistance. The university system does not acknowledge the various roles played by students who experience time poverty and this results in students being unable to focus on their academic project. Race, class, gender, sexual orientation, disability, language and mental health status are some of the markers of difference amongst the student population at UWC. As discussed in this chapter, these differences are embedded in, or emphasised by, various programmes or interventions that are aimed at providing assistance, sometimes resulting in further entrenching the divide between students. Affirmative strategies, as discussed in this chapter, provide short-term solutions, whilst transformative strategies could lead to more sustainable changes and socially just practices for students at residences. It is clear that achieving transformative strategies is not straightforward and many resources and much innovative thought needs to go into what is being done and how to improve on current efforts. Fraser's (2008, 2009) three-

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dimensional theory highlights the complex manifestations of injustice that characterise the residence landscape at UWC.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the conclusions which can be gleaned from this study about students' experiences at UWC residences which enabled and constrained their ability to learn. The implications of these factors are considered and recommendations are offered for supportive institutional arrangements which would be necessary to promote parity of participation.

The chapter also focuses on the constraints and limitations of the study, as well as possible future areas of study.

9.2 Revisiting the aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of the research project was to identify the constraints and enablements which impede or enhance residence students' achievement of participatory parity for their learning at the University of the Western Cape.

The overall objectives of the study were as follows:

Objectives:

1. To explore the economic (resource distribution), cultural (status recognition) and political (sense of belonging and inclusion) dimensions which contribute to the achievement of participatory parity with regard to student learning at the University of the Western Cape.
2. To make recommendations for promoting institutional arrangements which would enhance and promote participatory parity relating to student learning at and beyond UWC residences.

9.3 Summary of the main conclusions

There are numerous barriers to learning at the different levels of education in the current South African context. The challenge is most severe in South Africa's poorest and most vulnerable (predominantly, but not only, black) populations (Bloch, 2009; Maree, 2015). Apart from the legacy of apartheid, it is generally agreed that the following factors constitute some of the major

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barriers to learning in basic education (Bloch, 2009; DOE, 2005; Motala & Pampallis, 2005) ever-increasing, widespread poverty levels in South African society in general but mainly among the black population; inadequate training of teachers (either unqualified or underqualified) in terms of subject knowledge and knowledge of how to teach; poor management and poor infrastructure; and limited availability of teaching and learning materials. As a result of these conditions, the majority of students enter the higher education sector ill-prepared and overwhelmed by expectations to perform and achieve academic success (Maree, 2015). To exacerbate matters, many of these students are taken in by HDIs where the lack of resources, teaching and learning technology and inadequate infrastructure present additional barriers to student learning (Leibowitz, 2012). A summary of the main findings are presented in the next section. These findings echo those of other studies in this field (Jama et al., 2009; Maree, 2015; McGhie, 2012) in which researchers identify constraints and enablements impacting on student learning, preventing them from achieving academic success. The literature further suggests that residences play a vital role in contributing to student success but, as evidenced by this study, they can also present constraints that can hamper student learning (Hlalele, 2015; Jama et al., 2009; Nyamapfene & Letseka, 1995).

9.4   Main conclusions

The first section of the study's findings (Chapter Five) describes the participants' personal circumstances and contexts prior to them attending university. This chapter highlights the significant events, as well as challenges experienced in their lives. The main issues which affected students prior to attending university are summarised here:

9.4.1 Constraints

Loss of a significant person: The loss of a person who played a vital caregiving role, such as a parent, grandparent, aunt or uncle, had a significant impact on the student's ability to learn. Many of the participants were raised by grandparents and were passed on to their aunts or uncles upon their grandparents' death. The loss of the caregiver resulted in a reduction in the student's quality of life, as they often lacked resources and no longer enjoyed emotional support from their caregiver. Many of the students reported that the death of their original caregiver resulted in their experiencing a more pronounced form of poverty.

Quality of high school: Most participants had attended schools where infrastructure was severely lacking, resulting in an environment that was not conducive to learning. Most schools had no technology and very limited learning resources. In schools where discipline was applied in an authoritarian manner, the participants reported that they were less likely to feel motivated to learn and they felt no sense of belonging to the school. Poorly resourced schools often presented very little incentive or motivation to learners to study; and scarce opportunities that arose were given to top performing students only. This resulted in learners arriving at universities with an already lowered self-esteem which was exacerbated as they struggled to adjust to university life.

Language: Many of participants indicated that English was not their first language and that they had learnt the English language much later on in their school career. As a result, they were not proficient in English and struggled, especially upon arrival at university where English is the medium of instruction. Many learners indicated that Eastern Cape schools taught learners English in isiXhosa, which meant that they did not understand the intricacies of the language. Those participants who were forced to learn Afrikaans at school felt even more disempowered. Students reported that they came to university feeling incompetent and less capable than those students whose first language was English.

Negative peer pressure: Peers are highly influential in young people's lives, so negative peer association increases their participation in risky behaviour. These negative peer influences also distract students from their studies and affect their ability to learn.

Mental health issues: Statistical records indicate that young people between the ages of 15 and 24 have the highest rate of suicide, according to SADAG, the South African Suicide and Depression Group (SADAG, 2018). The findings of this study indicated that participants felt that many of their caregivers did not understand or recognise their early signs of anxiety and depression and often concluded that they were just misbehaving. Their unacknowledged and untreated mental health issues presented a learning barrier.

9.4.2 Enablements

Supportive caregivers: Supportive caregivers in this study were seen as an enabling factor, contributing towards a supportive learning environment. The literature indicates that students who are supported emotionally tend to do better academically (Maree, 2015).

Finding a purpose: The study indicated that those participants that were goal driven and found purpose in their lives were more motivated to complete school and succeed. Having a purpose was found to be an enabling motivating factor in this study.

Positive peer influence: Having friends who were motivated and also not involved in risky activities (alcohol, drugs, risky sexual behaviour) was an enabling factor for students in this study. Like-minded peers created healthy competition, encouraging them to succeed. Such peers were often a driving force for the participants in this study.

Resources/Opportunities: Where schools or caregivers were able to provide additional resources to the student, such as incubator schools or extra tuition, the likelihood of a student succeeding was even greater, according to the participants in this study. Camps that prepared a student for university and workshops that imparted life skills were seen as useful to equip the student with the necessary skills to adjust to university life.

Choice of university: At least 70% of the participants indicated that UWC had not been their first choice as a university. They had decided on UWC because they had not been accepted by their first choice of university which, in most cases, was a HAI. For some of the participants, their academic results in the final year of school did not qualify them for entry into a HAI, or they could not afford the fees of the other possible universities. One participant changed institutions because the university used Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

For the 30% of participants for whom UWC was their institution of choice, many cited their reasons as being that their family members had attended UWC and they were impressed with the role the university had played in the demise of Apartheid.

The second section of the study findings (Chapters six, seven and eight) provided an examination of the data using Nancy Fraser's trivalent approach to social justice as an interpretive lens. Fraser (2009) contends that, if social justice is to be achieved, all students must be in a position to participate as equals with their peers. For this to be achieved, social arrangements need to be put in place to address any injustices which may arise from the economic, cultural and political dimensions. It is important to note that each dimension influences the others but none is reducible to the others.

The main conclusions which emerged from each dimension are presented next.

9.5   Economic dimension

Maldistribution, or a lack of resources, directly impacts on students' ability to participate equally with their peers (Fraser, 2008, 2009). The following instances of redistribution and maldistribution were reported:

Free education: In 2017, Government announced means-tested free education for households whose total income did not exceed R350,000 per annum (discussed in section 6.2). Whilst this was lauded by students, their reports in the study revealed that the practical implementation of the policy thrust many students into situations of extreme poverty. The backlog of NSFAS in processing applications meant that many students were uncertain about their application status and did not enjoy the food and book vouchers that might have been included with the grant.

Those students falling outside of the means test would be able to qualify for an 8% reduction of their fees if their joint household income did not exceed R600,000 per annum. Whilst 'free education' may be seen as an enablement for some students, it was also a constraint for others who did not qualify, or who fell victim to an administrative system that failed to process applications.

9.5.1 Constraints

Technology: The participants identified a number of residence constraints which directly impacted on their ability to learn. The lack of working computers in study halls, and the number of computers in study halls overall, did not meet the demand. Participants complained about the limited printing facilities at residence and the instability of the Wi-Fi which meant that they were unable to access the student learning portal to complete their studies.

Facilities at residence: Participants highlighted a number of difficulties with the facilities at the residences that affected their ability to learn. The lack of sufficient working laundry machines, and the long queues in the dining halls, presented a substantial barrier to students in the sense that they found themselves wasting time, a precious resource, to complete a basic chore.

Participants felt that recreational spaces were insufficient and resulted in many visiting the Barn, a student tavern for alcohol on campus, with dire safety consequences, particularly for women students. Food at the dining hall was expensive and students did not always have transport money to buy cheaper food at the available supermarkets.

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The physical living space was also not conducive to learning. Mould and damp, peeling paint and small, cramped spaces were some of the issues that students raised. In addition to this, off-campus residence student participants complained about the University's tardiness in respect of paying utility bills which led to a lack of water and electricity in the off-campus residences.

Services at residence: Contentious services at residences related to the cleaning, security and transport services. Participants felt that the lack of efficient and effective services in these areas did not contribute to an environment that was conducive to learning. Students reported that residences, especially ablution facilities that were not cleaned and security officers who did not prioritise the safety of students, placed them at risk, creating barriers to their learning. Transport was an important issue for off-campus students and they felt that the lack of regular shuttles meant that they had to limit themselves to on-campus learning activities which could benefit them. Safety was another issue which was particularly raised by off-campus participants, as these residences were located in areas that have a high crime rate.

9.5.2 Enablements

Facilities: Students felt grateful that they had residences on campus, especially since they knew of the struggles of students who lived off campus or in private accommodation. Students were also grateful that, despite the issues with the laundry service, at least it was free. Other students were forced to pay an additional amount for laundry services.

Participants also felt that the replacement of the couches and satellite television that was restored after the protests had provided them with a social space other than their rooms.

Supportive staff: This was seen as an enablement by students as they felt that the residence staff created an environment that made them feel at home. These staff were always prepared to provide emotional or practical support should it be necessary.

Developmental programming: The participants felt that the programming done by ResLife was an enablement as it sought to build their capacity in respect of life skills and leadership opportunities.

9.6   Cultural dimension

Misrecognition happens when students are not able to enjoy the same social esteem because their perceived attributes are not valued, resulting in their being unable to participate as equals

with their peers. Participants who identified with a different sexual orientation were differently abled; those living with mental health issues were misrecognised. Their perceived or ascribed characteristics were not valued at the residences. This research has highlighted how students whose characteristics were different from those of the white, heterosexual, middle class male (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012) suffered from low social esteem and were either subjected to degradation, to having their safety compromised, or were humiliated because they were different.

Students who were parents were not recognised for the various roles that they take on. Furthermore, the study highlighted that many participants were also working to support themselves, thus leaving much less time to study. Participants who admitted to food insecurity in this study indicated that they also felt stigmatised for being poor. Accessing the food programme made them feel less worthy than other students who were able to support themselves.

Language was seen as another form of misrecognising students. Participants whose first language was not English felt incompetent and not free to participate in the learning process. Foreign national students also felt misrecognised and fearful of xenophobic attacks. They were excluded from accessing resources but were also treated differently because they were not South African. Many participants felt that they were excluded and struggled to adjust to the local context.
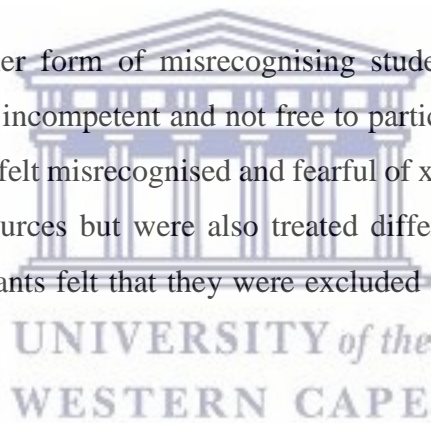
9.7   Political dimension

The political dimension was considered in examining whether students have a voice and a say in how decisions are made that affect them at residences. Those whose opinions were represented felt as if they belonged and that they were included. Those who were excluded had no voice and agency to participate as equals with their peers and experienced misrepresentation. When students do not fall within the frame of justice, that is, whether they fail even to qualify to have a claim for social justice, then they experience misframing – when they are totally excluded from a benefit. This section discusses the main conclusions for the political dimension.

Representation/Misrepresentation: Even though the University has formal structures which give students a voice, such as the Student Representative Council (SRC) and the Central Housing Committee (CHC), the participants in this study indicated that they did not feel

represented, as the needs of the political parties which these elected students represented often came before the constituency.

Student protests: The student protests in recent years were an expression of the students' frustration with the slow tide of change within the HE sector. These protests provided a mechanism for holding the Government accountable for the high levels of poverty amongst students in HE (#feesmustfall). The protests fuelled by the #Rhodesmustfall student movement provided a platform and a call for universities to start valuing students' indigenous knowledges as part of the curriculum.

Belonging: There was a strong voice from study participants indicating that when they lacked resources, as described in the economic dimension, and when they felt misrecognised, then they felt excluded and did not identify with the institution and its values.

Misframing: This research study highlighted how foreign national students were misframed by the University. As they were not South African citizens, they did not qualify for financial aid or National Research Foundation (NRF) funding and had to meet stringent admission criteria, including paying for medical aid and settling of fees at registration. These students were not prioritised for residence and often they had nowhere else to go. In addition to this, they were misrecognised and often viewed with suspicion by the local communities as they fought for already scarce spaces at HE institutions and jobs within the job market. As they were not citizens, they were also not considered part of the frame of social justice and therefore had no claim to change their situation.

This section has drawn out some of the main conclusions of the study. The following section focuses on making recommendations based on the main conclusions already highlighted.

9.8   Recommendations

As described in the previous chapter, remedies to address social justice issues can be either affirmative or transformative (Fraser, 2003). Affirmative remedies address the inequitable outcomes of social injustice without addressing why the injustice occurs. Transformative strategies, on the other hand, seek to address the root causes of social injustice. Fraser (2009) contends that, even though transformative strategies are much more difficult to achieve, the results have the potential to transform the underlying structures of society which are responsible for the manifestation of many social ills, and so allow people to participate as

equals with their peers. Fraser further contends, as mentioned earlier, that the three dimensions are all equally important and influence one another. However, each must be addressed in its own right for participatory parity to be realised. It is with this in mind that this study seeks to make recommendations aimed at different levels within the HE system so that students at residence are able to live and learn in environments that are conducive to their educational needs. This would mean that they would have to have the necessary resources, have a status which gives them social esteem, and have representation to ensure that they experience belonging and social inclusion.

Recommendations for each level of the HE system will be discussed next.

9.8.1 Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) and Council for Higher Education (CHE)

Funding model: Different groupings of universities were governed and resourced differently during the apartheid era (Bunting, 2004). HAIs were allowed autonomy in respect of governance (they could set their own tuition fees, decide on their staff complement and how to invest surplus) and were allowed to make their own financial decisions. According to Bunting (2004), they were allowed to accumulate wealth and form partnerships which would benefit their financial status. HDIs were closely managed with respect to governance and finances. All unspent funds were returned to the apartheid state. As a result, HDIs found themselves in a precarious financial position in the post-apartheid era, with many facing potential bankruptcy. In reconceptualising the HE system to address the inequities and create access, mergers between institutions took place, and post-apartheid black students flocked to HWIs in the hope of getting a better education (Cooper & Subotsky, 2011). HWIs once again benefitted from the funding model which was based on enrolment rates (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). In 2004, the funding formula was revised and focused on throughput and research outputs which, once again, disadvantaged HBIs as they enrolled a higher rate of underprepared students who came from rural and impoverished areas with limited or no research capacity (Boughey & McKenna, 2011). HDIs are still hamstrung by the lack of resources and their inability to accumulate funds as a result of a discriminatory funding formula. The promised funding redress was never realised. Given the history of transformation in the HE sector, one cannot ignore the fact that students attending HDIs will never have access to the same well-resourced residences, teaching and learning, and research facilities to which students at HAIs have access. Considering this

reality from a transformative perspective, this study recommends that funding redress be considered for HDIs to improve resource allocations and facilities. Bozalek and Boughey (2012) contend that to consider the individual institution as the frame for justice is an inappropriate step and results in misframing, as the root causes of poorly resourced HDIs lie with the underlying policy structure and priorities of the DHET and the CHE. To provide innovative, inclusive teaching and learning opportunities, to address issues of capacity with staff, improve infrastructure and technology and to provide efficient service delivery to students, HDIs all require a funding model that addresses the funding gap between HAIs and HDIs and allows HDIs to develop accountable systems to sustain their growth.

Building of residences and maintenance of existing ones: The lack of student housing at UWC is a problem that cannot be addressed by its management alone. Not only is there a shortage of residences, there is an urgent need for the refurbishment and ongoing maintenance of existing residences. UWC has done some refurbishment in the last decade but ongoing maintenance and modernisation of some residences is urgently needed. Without regular maintenance, the problems which ordinarily could be contained result in spaces that are "not fit for purpose" (DHET, 2015). Without a concerted effort to focus resources on HDIs such as UWC, amongst others, the problem of student housing will remain a critical issue. The death of a student in a protest at the Durban University of Technology (DUT) where student housing was one of the issues in question in February 2019 highlights the urgency for the DHET to present firm proposals to address issues of student housing (Jagmohan, 2019).

UWC has explored public private partnerships with a corporate company to increase bed spaces and improve facilities (Mugume & Leuscher, 2015). This has resulted in an increase in accommodation fees and a marked difference in the provision of services and support initiatives to students who live in this residence, a point of contention during the #feesmustfall protest in 2015/16. To allow students to participate on an equal footing with one another in the same institution, services (printing, laundry, computer laboratories, Wi-Fi and library access) must be equitable and responsive to student needs, so that all students enjoy equal access and opportunities to succeed in achieving parity of participation. Public private partnerships do not service this goal as they are often profit-driven and not responsive to the needs of the students that occupy the space.

Free education: Free education that is means-tested only tends to widen the gap between those students that have and those that do not. In order to create participatory parity, all students

should have universal access to free education. As discussed in the literature (Motala, 2017; Oxfam, 2016), free education would be possible if corruption were eradicated and financial responsibilities of the State reprioritised. The DHET needs to decide on the best possible way to administer financial aid to students. This study demonstrated that, whilst many students were NSFAS recipients, the administration delays resulted in many students going hungry and not having access to learning resources. Also, some students were fully funded whilst others had no allowance. Standardising the grant for all students will result in greater parity of participation.

Foreign national students: Studies indicate that foreign national students have a unique set of adjustment issues when they enter into South African universities (Freeman & Lee, 2018; Poyrazli & Grahame, 2007). Not only do they have to adjust to the language, culture and local context, they are also expected to fulfil a set of stringent criteria for application of study visas and university registration. This study highlights how foreign national students are misframed, leaving them outside the frame of justice and unable to access financial support. The DHET needs to revisit the policy on foreign national students within the system and provide conditions that will bring about participatory parity, instead of further isolating them from South African students. Many of the foreign national students come from countries that are politically unstable and where poverty is a reality. Meeting the visa and registration criteria often means that these students live in poverty and in fear of possible xenophobic attacks on them by other students or the community.

9.8.2 UWC management

Universal Design for Learning (UDL): The concept of Universal Design is commonly used in relation to the differently abled and relates to the design and composition of the environment so that it can be accessible and usable by all persons, regardless of their ability or disability (O'Brien, 2005). Leibowitz and Bozalek (2015) propose that the distinction between ability and disability is a matter of categorisation. From a UDL perspective, disabilities stem from an inaccessible environmental design and inaccessible learning material rather than the problem being located with the 'disabled' individual. This idea proposes that difference should be an expected condition, taken as a norm, and that institutions and lecturers have to ensure that the curriculum is accessible in order to meet the needs of a diverse range of students. This model proposes that, instead of separating different categories of students (underprepared students, disabled students, etc.), thereby misrecognising them as in need of help, the curriculum and

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teaching and learning pedagogies should be interrogated. In this way, the needs of all students would be met, not just the 'normal' student who is assumed to be white, male, able bodied, middle class, and heterosexual (Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015). By adopting a Universal Design for building across campus and a Universal Design for Learning (UDL), the university would go a long way to creating participatory parity which would increase all students' social esteem, expecting, rather than pathologising, difference. The call for the decolonisation of the curriculum is another factor which should be taken into account when interrogating the curriculum. Leibowitz (2016) contends that decolonising education in South Africa is more than just about the curriculum. At its essence it is about knowledge and the values and assumptions that underlie the construction and transmission of this knowledge within the university culture. Institutional culture refers to the ways of seeing and doing that infuses the university and is reflected in learning and teaching. In this sense, it is both about the formal curriculum and the informal or "hidden" curriculum and includes the symbols and naming conventions that privilege and affirm certain knowledge and cultural traditions while excluding others. A UDL would value indigenous knowledge and also take into consideration the aspect of student time in respect of the various roles played by students. For example, many students are also parents, workers and partners, so time is an essential issue which must be considered.

Supporting student support: Acknowledging that the holistic support of students is imperative to ensuring throughput (McGhie, 2012; S. Pather et al., 2017; Tinto, 1998), the University needs to prioritise funding that would support residence students. Currently the University does not provide dedicated funding to the Residential Services Departmental to provide support interventions. This means that very little budget can be dedicated to providing services to students. Presently, the food programme at residences targets poor students and is means-tested rather than giving all students universal access. This study has highlighted how means-testing students humiliated them and left many hungry, as they felt unable to access support. With no dedicated budget to support universal access, there is very little that can be done at departmental level.

A related issue is UWC's uncoordinated response to the issue of food security. Piecemeal initiatives exist all across campus, instead of identifying an overall plan for addressing food insecurity on campus. The general capacity of staff in support services makes it unrealistic for the university to support all students who are in need. The long appointment waiting list at the Therapeutic Division at the Centre for Student Support Services is another indicator of insufficient resources. Students in need of mental health services are further stigmatised as they

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are referred to private psychologists that they cannot afford, or to the public health system which further demeans them and forces them to spend hours waiting for some help. There is need for the University management to acknowledge the support services rendered by residence staff which includes an after-hours emergency response. There seems to be little understanding or appreciation from University management of the effort required to support residence students when they experience traumatic emergencies or mental health breakdowns. This support often needs to be extended to students in private accommodation when no other services are available after hours. What is required at the service level is a strengthening of support to residence students who have no other emotional containment, especially after hours.

Revisiting university policies and protocols: This study has highlighted the language issue emphasised by many participants. The University would need to revisit the language policy to ensure that they are more inclusive and start to address the needs of students. Using the UDL model, the University needs to adjust to the varying needs of students, instead of the student trying to adjust to an inflexible university.

As discussed, the issue of time is a critical question for students. The underlying assumption of the 'normal' student being white, heterosexual male, able bodied, unencumbered and middle class, and who has the leisure time to invest in participating in co-curricular activities in order to develop graduate attributes, is an erroneous one. Unfortunately, most students enter university on the back foot, ill-prepared for university academics, needing to work to support themselves, and may also be parents themselves, or at least have responsibilities towards family members' care. This means that they have very little time to participate in anything other than the basic duties of being a student, and sometimes even that is compromised. These students will never have the time to participate in co-curricular activities which, according to the University policy, is the only way to obtain a co-curricular transcript to assist in bearing testimony to the development of their graduate attributes. The university needs to interrogate this policy and take into consideration the realities of their student population and find other ways of helping students develop graduate attributes. Perhaps, again, a UDL model curriculum can clearly demonstrate the acquisition of content knowledge and the development of graduate attributes.

Addressing the policy on foreign national students is another critical issue raised by this study. This cohort of students experience misframing because they are not South African citizens and are excluded from the frame of justice. Poyrazli and Grahame (2007) contend that foreign

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national students have particular needs, such as assistance with adjustment to a new context and language, as well as a need for accommodation. The university needs to consider these issues when providing spaces to this cohort of students.

9.8.3 Department of Residential Services

Re-design the residence layout: This study revealed that the bathrooms were an area of great concern for many students, especially regarding their safety and expression of who they are as individuals. Residences need to consider neutral bathroom spaces that are not gender linked but provide privacy for any student to use, maintaining individual dignity and respect. Social spaces in residences urgently need an upgrade. Presently, the television rooms are impersonal, sterile and neither comfortable nor inviting to students. Redesigning these social spaces needs to be undertaken to include activities of interest to students. Students should be asked what and how they envision the social spaces and the spaces redesigned as a partnership between the RS Department and the students they serve.

Different types of residences: Given that the cohort of students requiring residences is not homogenous, considering the creation of residences based on the needs of different cohorts of students is important. For example these should be created: a postgraduate residence specifically to meet the needs of postgraduate students; residences which could accommodate small families so that parents are not separated from their children during their study; residences based on interest group, e.g., students who have interests in environmental conservation, etc.; residences for foreign national students; and so forth. Given the high levels of violence and crime in the surrounding communities and the current expansion plan of the University, the Residential Services Department needs to broaden the location of residences, or at least start accrediting private accommodation so that residences maintain and meet acceptable standards of accommodation for students.

Transport: University departments and the university management need to make a conscious decision about transporting students to the main campus and satellite sites so that safety and reliability of transport is assured. Presently, private accommodation students are using the residence shuttle services and there is much unhappiness among those students that the shuttles are intended to service. The lack of a plan around transport should be addressed by the university, with clear communication to all students backed by the necessary resources to make implementation work.

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Admission policy to residence: The Residential Services Department currently has a residence admission policy which sets out clear parameters for who will be admitted into residences and who will not. The problem with the current implementation of this policy is that the Residential Services Department does not implement its own policy and some student leaders attempt to dictate who should get residence and who should not. The study clearly shows that students themselves are disillusioned by their own student leaders who often operate in favour of their political party instead of the needs of students. For the broader residence community to have faith in the Residential Services Department, the department itself needs to demonstrate that it holds itself accountable for its own policies. This will reduce the chaos and volatility around registration and admission of students to residences.

Developmental programming: The students indicated that the programming developed by the Department of Residential Services is beneficial and they have identified it as an enablement. Students would like to see more sustainable programmes that target those issues which affect their lives and which they need to have more education and dialogue around. In addition to this the concept of the creation of living learning community arising from the model of Tinto (1997a) to increase student retention is dependent on the availability of resources to create dedicated spaces to enhance student learning. Presently UWC does not have the required resources to sufficiently brand the living learning spaces highlighting the fact that the US/UK models present interesting options for enhancing student learning but that without the necessary resources they will not achieve the outcomes that they are intended to. Considering the local context and finding ways to incorporate student's realities cultural practices and indigenous knowledge into programming will go a long way in assisting students to feel comfortable thereby enhancing opportunities to learn.

Additional resources should be invested into development programming; therefore, it is necessary for dedicated resources to be made available to the Department of Residential Services by the University to strengthen support services at residence level, as discussed in the previous section.

Training of staff: The issue of staff insensitivity at security and residence level was highlighted in this study as a constraint. Some staff are conservative, treat adult students like their own children and blur the lines between appropriate (professional) behaviour and that which is inappropriate. Training of staff to analyse their own prejudices and develop insights into themselves is important in improving service delivery.

Security staff need to be trained in a security protocol that is defined, well-articulated and coordinated in its response to any emergency or issue which may arise, especially after hours. This will go a long way towards making students feel safer in residence.

Technology to improve service delivery at residence: The need to improve services, such as laundry, cleaning services, and security, was highlighted in this study. Students felt that the common spaces in residences were not clean nor conducive. Furthermore, security was ineffective so they felt unsafe. Students also complained about the lack of technological resources, such as computer, printing facilities and Wi-Fi.

There is a need to modernise and digitalise the way things are done at residences. The Residential Services Department has begun to replace the old locking system so that the students can open their doors with their student cards. Students should be able to book services online, report faults where necessary and provide digital input. The need to modernise residences and cut down on unnecessary time spent reporting incidences, waiting in line to use laundry machines, etc. would give students more time to spend on their studies or doing things which are important to enhance the quality of their lives.

9.9   Constraints and limitations of the study

It is widely accepted that the purpose of qualitative research is not to test hypotheses, but to design meaningful question to study social phenomenon (Carlson, Siegal, & Falck, 1995). In addition, it is often the only means of gathering sensitive information about the way people perceive their worlds and attribute meaning to their actions and behaviour. Therefore, it should be noted that this approach and the findings of this study do not claim to represent the population as a whole.

This study was an in-depth look at a selection of participants, using individual interviews, focus groups, Photovoice and the PLA techniques of River of Life and Community Mapping. The study focused solely on UWC residences and drew participants from both on campus and off campus residences.

The first part of my data collection included searching through the UWC archives to obtain data regarding the history of residences. The archives often lacked dates, so it was challenging to establish a chronological timelines and missing information or verification of information had to be undertaken with the older or retired staff members in residence to ensure the best

possible reliability of information. Even the retired staff members that I spoke with had problems with total accuracy around the timeline of events. For this reason, as far as possible, this information was further verified by consulting available articles on UWC published through the years.

9.10   Future research

This study has revealed interesting insights into students' experiences at UWC residences, particularly in relation to constraints and enablements for achieving participatory parity regarding student learning. It uncovered areas of interest which could form possible areas for further study. The residence population comprises a diverse cohort of students with varying needs, depending on the roles they fulfil in their lives. In order for the institution to adopt a Universal Design for Learning, further study is required to understand the needs of students at UWC more broadly to be able to interrogate the relevance of the current curriculum.

This study also revealed that there were many factors which constrain student learning and lower students' social esteem. It would be worthwhile to understand what kinds of support services students need to help them mitigate their circumstances. It would be useful for Residential Services to start understanding what impact the current developmental programming has on the lives of students and how it contributes towards their academic success.

Redesigning recreational and residence spaces was another recommendation that emerged from the findings of this study. It would be interesting to understand how students would envision a residential redesign to start accommodating student differences in residence and make an environment that will be move conducive to living and learning for everyone.

9.11   Concluding remarks

For thousands of students who leave their home each year, securing and keeping a place at university residence is important to the successful completion of their studies. Students entering the HE arena are a diverse cohort with a plethora of needs. Successful throughput is dependent on residences which are responsive to the needs of students and supportive of their holistic development. This study provides some important insights into students' experiences at UWC residences. The findings identify some key constraints and enablements to student learning. Using Nancy Fraser's trivalent theory on social justice, the study was able to identify

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constraints and enablements in each dimension and make recommendations about appropriate social arrangements being put in place to achieve participatory parity among students.

Given the constant student protests since 2015, the student housing shortage has been in the spotlight and has been a significant part of the demands made by students to improve their experiences at university. This study is important because it provides an in-depth understanding of students' experiences against this backdrop. Furthermore, it cautions decision-makers on three levels (DHET/CHE, University Management and Residential Services) to consider social arrangements which are transformative and will create long lasting change in the sector by targeting the underlying societal structures which are the root causes of social injustice.

In summary then, this study contributes to a growing body of knowledge on students' experiences within a residential context by:

- Helping to understand the issues of the student cohort who reside in residences;
- Shedding some important insights into constraints which arise from the economic, cultural and political dimensions that prevent students from participating as equals with their peers;
- Revealing some of the enabling factors which assist in student learning and which can be improved and built upon;
- Making recommendations to decision-makers to put in place appropriate social arrangements to achieve participatory parity; and
- Providing a space where residence students have been given a voice to document their experiences.

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CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Social justice and participatory parity: Students' experiences of university residence life at a historically disadvantaged institution in South Africa

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way.

I give consent for the use of the following:

☐ Community Map

☐ River of Life

☐ Photo story

☐ Individual Interview

☐ Audio recording of the interviews/group discussions

Participant's name………………………..

Participant's signature……………………….

Witness……………………………….

Date………………………

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact the research coordinator:

Researcher Coordinator: Faeza Khan

University of the Western Cape

212

Private Bag X17, Belville 7535

Telephone: (021)959-3896

Cell: 0823096003

Email: fakhan@uwc.ac.za

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Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa
Tel: +27 21-959, Email: fakhan@uwc.ac.za

INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Social justice and participatory parity: Students' experiences of university residence life at a historically disadvantaged institution in South Africa

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Faeza Khan at the University of the Western Cape. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a residence student. The purpose of this research project is to understand the constraints and enablements of residence students at UWC that impede or enhance their ability to learn and their ability to achieve participatory parity.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to attend a group discussion which will take place at a suitable venue on residence. You will be asked to draw your River of Life and Community Map of your residence and to discuss this in a group discussion which will be audio recorded. In a second group discussion at another date I will conduct a mini workshop to help you understand what a Photovoice project is all about. You will be asked to take photos of your enablements and constraints at residence and complete the necessary form which will help you to explain why you took the photo and what it means to you. A representative group selected by yourself will adjudicate the photo images and narratives to select the best 40 images which we will make posters for to host an exhibition to share your experiences with other students as well as management. You may also be asked to participate in an individual interview which will be audio recorded to ensure accuracy of information captured.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

We will do our best to keep your personal information confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, your name will not be included in any of the tools or the interview. A code will be placed on the River of Life, Community Map and your discussion of these, including the interview. Through the use of this code (identification key) the researcher will be able to link your information to your identity. Only the researcher will have access to the identification key. All collected data will be

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placed in a locked filing cabinet and all transcribed dated will be protected using password –protected computer files.

If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about the conditions at residence. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of the constraints and enablements that impede student learning at residence.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Should you be affected emotionally by anything that may emerge as a result of the research counselling will be provided.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by *Faeza Khan, Department of Social Work* at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Faeza Khan at fakhan@uwc.ac.za or on 021 9593896.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Department: Dr Marcel Londt or Prof Vivienne Bozalek

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences:

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

Appendix Three

Interview Schedule

1. The South African Government has provided free education to those students who fulfil the criteria and is able to demonstrate that they qualify. Has this new policy assisted you and fellow students to come/continue to study at university? Explain?

2. How do you survive at university? Who provides for your financial needs?

3. Do you think yourself and fellow students have sufficient resources to assist you to be successful in your studies? If you say yes, please give examples. If you indicate no, please indicate what is needed?

4. What can Residential Services (UWC) do additionally to support students with their studies?

5. Our sexual choices are our right and must be respected by fellow students as well as the University. Do you think that students who are Gay, Lesbian, Bi-sexual, transgender or intersex enjoy the same rights and respect as heterosexual students do? If you say yes, please explain. If you say no please give examples of why you say so?

6. Do you think that Residential Services and UWC does enough to protect the rights of students who are Gay, Lesbian, Bi-sexual, transgender or intersex? Please elaborate.

7. What can Residential Services and the University do to promote the rights of Gay, Lesbian, Bi-sexual, transgender or intersex?

8. UWC is home to students from across the African Diaspora. Do you think Foreign National students experience the same rights and respect as South African students? If you say no, please explain their challenges. If you say yes please give examples of why you say so.

9. What can Residential Services and the university do to address the challenges experienced by Foreign National Students?

10. Differently abled students have a unique set of challenges at residence and in the classroom space. What do you think these challenges are?

11. What has Residential Services and the university done to address these challenges?

12. In your opinion what should be done by RS and the University to address the challenges of differently abled students?

13. UWC is a diverse campus and students come from different race groups. Have you encountered any form of racism on residence or know of someone else who has? Please explain.

14. What does RS and the University do to promote racial harmony in residence? Should RS be doing special interventions?

15. What is needed to address the challenges of racism?

16. Have you experience gender discrimination at UWC residences? Please provide examples.

17. Do you think that the university and RS has done enough to protect students against sexual violence? Please explain your response

18. There are students at residence who grapple with physical and mental health issues. What does RS do to assist these students? Do you know of any incidence of students in residence who have these challenges- please explain?

19. English is the medium of instruction at UWC. How does this language policy affect your ability to succeed at university?
20. Please give recommendations of how this can be improved at University?
21. What characteristics do you feel is valued at UWC and at residence?
22. How are your issues represented at residence? Do you feel that the student voice is sufficiently heard by management and student leadership? Explain
23. What can be done to improve the consultation structures that are in place at your residence?
24. Do you feel that you cultural practices is valued and understood at UWC residences and within the university? Please explain your answer.

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Appendix Four

INDIVIDUAL REFLECTION WORKSHEET

| Participant Code:		Institution:	UWC
Date:			

Framing Question: The theme of the photo stories will examine your experiences of living at your residences, specifically highlighting the areas which you feel could be improved in respect of the kinds of developmental programming which could enhance your own academic learning.
Brief Description of the Photo:
I want to share this photo because…
What is important for people to understand about this photo?
What does this photo tell others about me and my residence?
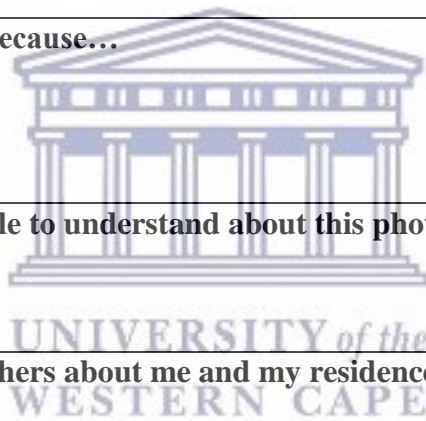
Appendix Five

Turnitin Originality Report

- Processed on: 27-Mar-2019 21:37 SAST
- ID: 1100930349
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PHD By Faeza Khan

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https://koersjournal.org.za/index.php/koers/article/download/2325/2822
⊠<1% match (publications)
"Socially Just Pedagogies, Capabilities and Quality in Higher Education", Springer Nature, 2017
⊠<1% match (Internet from 08-Jul-2014)
http://repository.uwc.ac.za
⊠<1% match (Internet from 23-Aug-2018)
http://www.scielo.org.za
⊠<1% match (Internet from 08-Sep-2018)
https://allafrica.com/stories/201809070002.html
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http://www.thisability.co.za
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https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/41129/Maree_Barriers_2014.pdf
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⊠<1% match (Internet from 04-Apr-2017)
http://www.socialsciencespace.com
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Submitted to Swinburne University of Technology on 2018-09-13
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Submitted to Taylor's Education Group on 2016-04-27
⊠<1% match (publications)
Hölscher, Dorothee. "Considering Nancy Fraser's Notion of Social Justice for Social Work: Reflections on Misframing and the Lives of Refugees in South Africa", Ethics and Social Welfare, 2014.
⊠<1% match (Internet from 14-Jul-2013)
http://www.britishcouncil.org.za
⊠<1% match (Internet from 10-Oct-2018)
https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/equityinstitutionalculture/documents/Rethinking%20Social%20Spaces%20in%20Higher%20Education.%20Exploring%20Undergraduate%20Student%20Experience%20in%20a%20Selected%20South%20African%20University..pdf
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⊠<1% match (Internet from 07-Jul-2014)
http://repository.uwc.ac.za
⊠<1% match (student papers from 27-Sep-2006)
Submitted to (school name not available) on 2006-09-27
⊠<1% match (publications)
Yasmine Dominguez-Whitehead, Kevin A. Whitehead. "Food talk: a window into inequality among university students", Text & Talk, 2014
⊠<1% match (Internet from 11-Oct-2017)
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