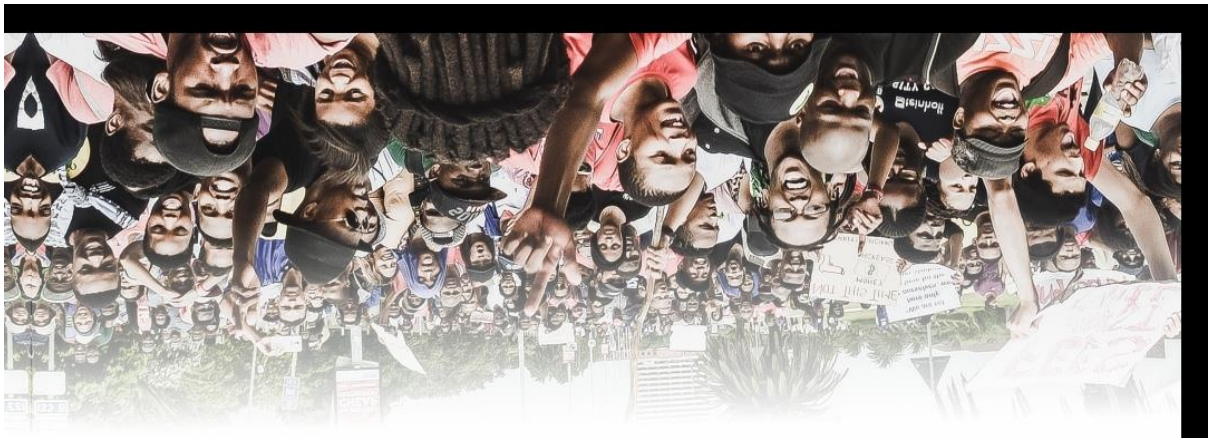

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The Morphology of the #MustFall Movement[1]

The Debate Continues

[1] *The Morphology of the #MustFall Movement is a research working group in the Chair for Critical Studies in Higher Education Transformation (CriSHET) at Nelson Mandela University*

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The Perspective Online

Student journal on the deepening of transformation, decolonisation, and the Africanisation of higher education

1st Quarter 2019 **Vol.1 No.1**

Editorial Committee

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Lastly, I want to thank the authors of the articles that are featured in this first issue, their activist resilience, commitment to the value of ideas has made the pushing of this work into being a great success a possibility. Thank you so much comrades.

The idea behind this journal

The Perspective Online journal came from a collective observation that student activism needs to also be driven by thoughtful and productive contributions to advance academic, pedagogical and knowledge renewal within the university. The journal has been positioned as a strategic resource for students to develop a culture of disciplined writing in order to bring to the fore a particular social consciousness amongst university students underpinned by robust engagement, radical contestation of ideas and critical scholarship.

As a result, *Cri*SHET, in partnership with the office of the Dean of Students, and the Department of Student Governance and Development introduced this journal which will be published quarterly and feature articles, columns, and creative work by students on the deepening of transformation, decolonisation, and the Africanisation of higher education. The journal will be made available online in al communication and media platforms, with a limited number of hard copies. It will also be available through the library platforms of the university. Writers who also intend to develop their columns into research studies and/or journal articles are encouraged to utilise this platform.

Lastly, undergraduate and postgraduate students across all Faculties are encouraged to write as individuals and/or as groups. A quarter of the journal space will be set aside for the contributions of staff and community members. Contributions must be thoughtful, considered and analytical. They must meet the general criteria of conversational-academic writing.

The Perspective Online

Student journal on the deepening of transformation, decolonisation, and the Africanisation of higher education

1st Quarter 2019 **Vol.1 No.1**

83 Youth Employability: An Entrepreneurial Curriculum to Surface a New Economy

Sandile Mjamba

Editorial Notes: The Morphology of the #MustFall Movements

Apart from the physical battle against the perceived corporate universities and violence by the state police during the #FeesMustFall protests, it looks like the difficult struggle will be the intellectual combat that the student movement must wage in the present, and urgently, to keep the decolonial rhythm intact. When we make critique the norm derived from the student's authentic urgency that is infused with disciplined writing, we could have a higher education that is shaped by the student's own credible and authoritative ways of imagining their own decolonized and Africanized university.

The authors in this inaugural edition of the journal are the activists whom continue to view the decolonial project as a continuing struggle that should be further intensified in the site of the battle of ideas. This edition begins with a piece by **Awethu Fatyela, Thanduxolo Nkala** and **Savo Heleta** who state how black students have got tired of epistemic violence that is depicted by whiteness in universities. Then, **Veli Mbele** goes further on this question to reveal how current black students' experiences are tied to the overall historical violence and dispossession of the black race by colonial empire.

Siphokazi Tau applies the feminist intersectional lens to expose how gendered protesting in Mandela University has further revealed other oppressive layers of an alienating institutional culture that is mainly depicted by masculine daily practices and epistemic habits. The journal also features decolonial possibilities wherein **Babalwa Magoqwana**'s paper excavates previously marginalized sociological canons such as *inimba* that we could derive from our African languages and households which can become theoretical concepts of understanding the abstraction of our social reality.

Lastly, **Noxolo Kali** which argues that there needs to a necessity for there to be a removal of academic silos and an injection of transdisciplinary work in our engagement with the power dynamics of knowledge production. This, as **Sandile Mjamba** concludes this journal issue, should include the nourishing of students' soft skills such as entrepreneurial competencies to generate our relational solidarities as students that we can ignite when we tap into our local economy in the university campus.

I invite you to enjoy this reading.

Pedro Mzileni
Editor
The Perspective Online

Why are Black students fed up with whiteness?

Awethu Fatyela, Thanduxolo Nkala, and Savo Heleta

During the colonial and apartheid years, education in South Africa was used to subjugate the Black majority and propagate Eurocentrism and white supremacy. More than two decades after the end of apartheid, education at South African universities remains largely Eurocentric. While the universities have been deracialised and opened up to all who qualify for and can afford university education, the historically white universities remain institutionally white spaces for Black students, staff and academics.

Suransky and van der Merwe (2016: 578) write that the universities have failed to 'address their own particular apartheid legacy and become public universities for all citizens in a democratic society.' This is reflected through financial and language exclusion, unchanged institutional cultures, racist incidents, lack of transformation in the academia and Eurocentric curriculum.

In 2015, Black students began resisting epistemic violence and racism which obliterate the linkages they may have with the prescribed texts and propagated narratives on one side, and their lived experiences, history, needs, dreams and aspirations on the other side (Heleta, 2016: 4). The epistemic violence stems from the fact that the 'colonial model of academic organisation of the university, based on Western disciplinary knowledge, was entrenched during [colonialism and] apartheid and has not been redressed in post-apartheid [era] in any serious way' (Le Grange, 2016: 5).

The universities remain spaces where Black students are 'trained to assimilate' to heteronormative whiteness in order to fit in and function in post-apartheid South Africa. Universities are 'involved in the subjectification and disciplining of Black bodies according to colonial ideals' and assimilating them into the 'mainstream' social order that in many ways resembles the pre-1994 socio-economic order and hegemony (Fikeni, 2016).

When we talk about whiteness, we are referring to the 'system of domination and structure of privilege' (Dei, 2006: 12) that has driven the colonial and apartheid racist oppression for

centuries. Whiteness – 'a belief in white hegemony in South Africa' (Sehoole, 2006: 5) – has dominated the South African academia in the past and has continued after 1994.

The resistance to coloniality and whiteness at universities came from Black 'born frees,' a generation of young people who were told they were unburdened by the past and had options, choices and freedom their predecessors never had. But, as TO Molefe (2016: 32) points out, 'instead of freedom [and choices], the students had variations of the same story: No matter how hard or far they ran, they found themselves living in the long shadow of apartheid history.'

There was a hope, if not an expectation among many that the universities – and particularly the historically white universities – would after 1994 honestly and critically reflect on their past that saw them being tools or enablers of apartheid and the white supremacist project. However, this never happened and the universities were allowed to continue with 'business as usual,' especially when it comes to the Eurocentric curriculum and whiteness.

Universities are a microcosm of the society. They exist in a society that has not transformed and decolonised, where patriarchy, sexism and rape culture are the norm and victims are chastised and stigmatised more than the acts and the perpetrators. They are a microcosm of a society where the LGBTQIA+ community and people living with disabilities are excluded and othered and where structural socio-economic inequalities are rooted in the racist colonial and apartheid past and there is a lack of political will to bring about fundamental change.

Fed up with the failed promises from the current political dispensation and alienated by the university curriculum that does not speak to or reflects on their experiences, realities and needs of their communities (Letsekha, 2013: 8), Black students have risen up to demand real change at their institutions and in the society.

But why did this happen all around the country in 2015? Why not in 1998 or 2003?

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1954) offers an explanation of why young Black South Africans began resisting the oppressive status quo and calling for fundamental change at country's universities in 2015.

For many years after 1994, Black students were supposed to be grateful for being able to study at historically white universities. In many places, they even became the majority of the student body. After access became normal for those who qualified and could afford university education, other issues and struggles moved up the list of priorities. These included white institutional cultures, racism, coloniality, dehumanisation, symbols of oppression, Eurocentric curriculum and white-dominated academia.

Young Black people who have access to university education are not satisfied with the access and the basics only, which can be placed at the bottom of Maslow's pyramid. They want more than a chance to study; they want to study the knowledge that is 'relevant to the material, historical and social realities of the communities [and the continent] in which universities operate' (Letsekha, 2013: 14). They also want to see fundamental change, dismantling of white domination and decolonisation at universities. And this is what they began to campaign for in 2015.

This can be explained through Maslow's top two needs – esteem and self-actualisation. When it comes to esteem, students want to achieve success in education and future life and be respected by others. For this, they need quality and relevant education. Regarding self-actualisation, students are aiming to achieve their full potential in education and life. Self-actualisation is also called a 'growth need.' Here, development of person's capacities is an ongoing process where 'potentialities of the self are made actual, are actualized in a continuing process of unfolding' (Heylighen, 1992).

However, Black South Africans cannot achieve this at universities which remain rooted in colonial and apartheid racism and ways of thinking and where 'European and white values are [still] perceived as the standards' (Ramoupi 2011: 5) for 'higher forms of thinking' (Department of Education, 2008: 91).

In many instances, the drive for self-actualisation springs 'from the frustration of a certain need rather than from its gratification' (Maslow, 1954, in Heylighen, 1992). The lack of fundamental change in the 'Rainbow Nation' and at its universities has greatly frustrated many Black students, driving them to organise a national movement that questioned the quality of education and called for dismantling of coloniality and whiteness.

Greene & Burke (2007: 120) write that social justice, transformation, human rights and development beyond self are concepts that become prominent when people reach the self-actualisation stage in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. As Said (2002: 30-31) points out, 'the existence of individuals or groups seeking social justice and economic equality, and who understand that freedom must include the right to a whole range of choices affording cultural, political, intellectual and economic development, ipso facto will lead one to a desire for articulation as opposed to silence.'

The student movement has since 2015 shaken the South African higher education system to its core. Student activism has ended the blatant exploitation of the poor through insourcing of workers at universities. At the end of 2017, the government committed to the free education for the poor. Decolonisation of knowledge has become the buzzword at universities.

However, in this process the movement has also fragmented. The relative unity of the student movement seen in 2015 collapsed in 2016, when politics infiltrated the space and caused mistrust, infighting, frustration and competition within the movement itself. On many campuses, students who called for anything perceived as moderate were often disrupted and sidelined, with hardline and all-or-nothing views becoming the norm.

The movement also saw a struggle over intersectionality and gender and marginalisation of LGBTIQA+ individuals and groups. Those who campaigned to end patriarchy and male domination in the society, at universities and in the student movement itself were accused of undermining the struggle by sections of the movement that saw intersectionality as a distraction from the issues related to race and class.

Despite all the challenges and the resistance by those who want to maintain the status quo, decolonisation of knowledge remains an existential project that the current and future generations of students and progressive academics must fight for. Activism may have subdued but many burning issues remain and we are still to see fundamental change. Going forward, whiteness and coloniality in higher education must be disrupted and challenged intellectually, through exposing and confronting of the racist, discriminatory and irrelevant curriculum. Decolonised curriculum that emerges in the process of fundamental transformation must be free from Western epistemological domination, Eurocentrism, epistemic violence and world

views that were designed to degrade, exploit and subjugate the people in Africa and other parts of the formerly colonized world.

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[Mis]recognitions: Black students' experiences in higher education

Veli Mbele

The general inclination in 'mainstream' political or academic discourses today is to try as much as possible to avoid the term 'black people' and replace it with soporific formulations such as 'historically disadvantaged', 'the poorest of the poor', 'students from working-class backgrounds' or 'needy students'.

In trying to make sense of this intellectual nervousness, in a paper titled 'Racism and Power, Non-racialism and Colour-blindness' (Mbele 2016), I make the point that *"when Black people have to think about thinking about their position in the world, racism has a way in which it coerces Blacks to discipline their thoughts so that, when they verbalise them, they come out as well-manicured, polite and don't offend the inventors and primary beneficiaries of racism, and produce as a response, a type of liberal discourse, which some refer to as the politics of respectability".*

Who exactly are black students?

Who exactly are black students? If we are to answer this question honestly, it may be useful to situate it within the history of black people in South Africa and, in particular, the invasion by the Dutch and the British, how our ancestors responded and how the polity today, known as 'South Africa', came into being.

'South Africa' as a polity is not a creation of the indigenous people but rather a creation of the European invaders. It came into being because of an Act titled 'The Act to Constitute the Union of South Africa of 1909', which was passed by the British parliament on 20 September 1909. Later, this Act was endorsed through the formation of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910.

The formation of the Union of South Africa is not just a consequence of European invasion, but it also means the Dutch and British invaders had now agreed to coordinate their oppression and robbery of the indigenous people. The name 'South Africa' is, therefore, a symbol of the humiliation of black people and the name 'Union Buildings', carries the same connotation.

Therefore, when we talk of black students today, we refer to the grandchildren of warriors, such as Inkosi uHintsa kaKhawuta, igorha uMavumengwana kaNdlela Ntuli, Inkosi uSekhukhune, Ikumkanikazi uManthatisi, and many others, who engaged in over 300 years of bloody resistance against all kinds of invaders. These warrior ancestors are the pioneers of the decolonisation project who fought against the first recorded legislated forms of dispossession, from the 1884 Native Location Act to the Native Land Act of 1913. Hence, through the name 'black students', we refer to the students who identify with and embrace this tradition of gallant resistance.

What are the experiences of the black students in today's South African universities?

Black students in South Africa continue to live like rats. Not so long ago black students at the University of Cape Town had to erect shacks on the university campus as a way of drawing the country's attention to the accommodation crisis. Not so long ago, on this campus, black students were protesting for food.

South Africa is one of the wealthiest countries in the world; therefore, why do black students have to periodically suffer the indignity of having to fight for basics such as food? The answer is simple but not obvious. Black students in South Africa are part of the landless indigenous majority. Unlike the white minority, they or their families do not possess the capital that comes from owning property, such as land, which capital they can use to effortlessly provide for the basics, such as food, accommodation or education.

White students, on the other hand, do not have to experience this indignity. Their ancestors (who dispossessed the ancestors of black students), made sure they bequeath to them a massive institutional mechanism that dispenses privilege and power, on the basis of skin colour: racism. Put differently, unlike his or her black counterpart, a young, white person is set up for success even before she or he is born. In contrast with this scenario, the opposite applies to a young, black person. White people have created structures whereby even the most mediocre white child has a second chance, a third chance and a fourth chance to make a success of their lives.

In spite of passing various pieces of legislation calling for the transformation of higher education and the appointment of black and female vice chancellors, South African universities continue to be cold-violent, anti-black, patriarchal and Eurocentric spaces.

As part of the revolutionary intelligentsia, what role should black student activists play in universities today?

The colonial violence that the Europeans exported to Africa deliberately focused on pulverising the souls of Africans and violently infusing them with the European's concept of the self and the world. In explaining the impact of this psycho-spiritual violence, the Kenyan writer and philosopher, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, in his masterpiece, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, (1986), observes, "*The African children who encountered literature in colonial schools and universities were thus experiencing the world as defined and reflected in the European experience of history. Their entire way of looking at the world, even the world of immediate environment, was Eurocentric. Europe was the centre of universe. The earth moved around the European intellectually scholarly axis. The images children encountered in literature were reinforced by their study of geography and history, and science and technology where Europe was, once again, the centre*."

The 'European intellectual scholarly axis' Wa Thiongo' refers to continues to contort the character of the basic and higher education systems in South Africa. As a response, the black student activists of today revived the call for the dismantlement of the Eurocentric approaches to learning, teaching and research in South Africa's universities.

As part of this project, the black students of today must challenge the problematic view that presents the Greek thinkers, like Thales, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Pythagoras, Zeno, Empedocles, Anaximander, Anaxagoras or Parmenides, as the inventors of philosophy but says nothing about the fact that they were actually beneficiaries of the scholarship of black philosophers, such as Imhotep, Ptahhotep, Khety, Khunanup, Duauf, Amenemhat, Amenomope and Akhenaten.

Black students must challenge the approaches to teach mathematics and science that do not mention Africa's earliest mathematical instruments, such as the Ishango bone calculator of the

Congo, the Lebombo bone calculator of the Swazi people or the multidisciplinary genius from Timbuktu, called Ahmed Baba.

They must even dare to expose the anti-blackness of the celebrated philosophers of the white world, such as George Hegel and Karl Marx. In this *Philosophy of History*, Hegel says of Afrika, *"at this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit …what we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World's History".*

In a letter to his lifelong companion Friedrich Engels, written in 1862, Karl Marx complains about someone called Lasselle. He explains as follows: *"It is now quite clear to me that, as his cranial structure and hair type prove, Lassalle is descended from the Negroes who joined Moses' flight from Egypt. That is, assuming his mother, or his paternal grandmother, did not cross with a nigger. Now this union of Jewry and Germanism with the negro-like basic substance must necessarily result in a remarkable product. The officiousness of the fellow is also nigger-like".*

Essentially, they must continue the fight for Afrocentric approaches to understanding the self and the world. Afrocentric in this sense is defined by one of its foremost theoreticians, Molefi Kete Asante, as *"a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. The Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person".*

Concluding remarks

The misrecognition of black students is a conscious outcome of the historically evolved-globalised project of white supremacy, which has anti-blackness as its basis. According to Michael Jeffries, *"Anti-Blackness more accurately captures the dehumanization and constant physical danger that black people face.* He further says, *"the "anti" in "anti-blackness" is denial of black people's right to life".*

To help us understand why the black body automatically attracts violence and other forms of negativity, Lewis Gordon makes the point that "*In anti-black societies, to be black is to be*

without a face. This is because only human beings (and presumed equals of human beings) have faces, and blacks, in such societies, are not fully human beings..."

As 'faceless' objects there is no value in black students being apologetic or even untruthful about their position in the world. If there is an ounce of self-respect left in them, they will pay careful attention to the words of Assata Olugbala Shakur when she says, *"For centuries, we have endured beatings only to never raise our fists. We remain in subjugation, talking, listening, debating, but nothing changes. The only thing left to do is to fight centuries of fire with fire".*

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Tapping into *Inimba* to show deep Transformative Leadership in Mandela University

Babalwa Magoqwana

Nelson Mandela University has installed three powerful and imaginative black women in three of the most influential positions of the university, namely, Chair of Council, – Adv Nozipho January-Bardill, Chancellor – Dr Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi and Vice Chancellor – Prof Sibongile Muthwa. We have to ululate and celebrate, for this is history in making. Out of 26 public universities in South Africa, we have less than five female vice chancellors.

Nowhere in the country, dare I say, the continent, has the university seen such transformation in its governance. It is clear that Nelson Mandela University is positioning itself as the leader of meaningful transformation within the higher education sector where less than six per cent of A-Rated professors is black women.

Let us remember that black women were never intended to become first-class citizens of our colonial and apartheid universities. Black women were something of an afterthought in these institutions. One of our foremost international black sociologists, Professor Zine Magubane, often quotes novelist Nellie Mckay (2004, 1) in saying that "to be black and female in the academy has its own particular frustrations because it was never intended for us to be here. We are in spaces that have been appropriated for us". It is this very 'afterthought' position that makes this trio of black women significant and brave for the university.

This is why many of us are hoping that these three black female leaders will tap into new definitions and practices of power in their tenure at Nelson Mandela University. It is no longer enough to have black women as numbers at the helm of institutions; we need them to exercise radically transformative leadership that can steer our universities towards world-class, African-driven intellectualism.

After all, let us not forget that historically, power in our universities was defined from the perspective of men, white and black, usually from the middle classes. In such male-dominated contexts, Amina Mama (2001) has warned us that power structures tend to produce autocratic

women; she called them 'femocrats'. The word describes powerful women who ally themselves with oppressive male-dominance in institutions.

In order for our university leaders to move away from crushing practices of power, I suggest we begin to create new frameworks of ethical leadership that speak to our context by drawing from African philosophy and idiom. In my work as an African sociologist, I place great emphasis on studying the many dimensions of matriarchal practices amongst Africans. One concept that I find helpful in thinking of the difficulties of managing the tough process of change in our universities, is *inimba*.

Inimba (isiXhosa) is loosely translated as the unbearable pains before the birth of a child. When it is said *inimba iyasika,* it refers to these birth pains, which intensify in the lower stomach of a woman giving birth. These unbearable labour pains seem to be translated as *mahlaba* in SeSotho, which speaks to the same lower abdominal pains experienced by a woman during the birthing process. This saying is also used generally to refer to a deeply empathetic and compassionate feeling towards children – *imvakalelo*. The principle of *inimba,* is "life giving, life sustaining, and life preserving" (Oyewumi 2015, 220). These principles should form the underlying foundation for managing change in educational institutions in a violent and unequal country that has a history of brutality.

Inimba emerges as one matriarchal ideology that drives the character of African women's leadership. This is why African feminist scholars, including Nomboniso Gasa (2007), Oyeronke Oyewumi (1997), Ifi Amaduime (1987), Darlene Miller (2016), Filomina Steady (2011) and many others, have all argued for motherhood as a political tool for the mobilisation of African women. However, as Oyewumi Oyeronke says, "the challenge is to convince society that motherhood should not be the responsibility of just one woman or just one nuclear family but should be the bedrock on which society is built and the way in which we organise our lives" (2015, 220).

For me, *inimba* forms an alternative point of departure for leadership, where the governance systems in universities continue to be domains of egoism. In our universities, socially and economically precarious students, workers, and emerging and black academics are still contending with outdated curriculums, conservative senates, university councils fighting to maintain old apartheid identities, administrations that treat learning as a factory process, and

just a general disdain for the intellectual purpose of a university. The examples of regressive leadership are many. The example of a South African university where women lecturers complained about having to make slides for senior male professors in order to keep their contracts was particularly heinous. The abuse of power in our universities is systemic and often invisible to the public.

Both the newly inaugurated Mandela Chancellor and Vice Chancellor have emphasised rootedness, social justice and tapping into broader African intellectual histories in the continent at large in crafting the university's transformative identity. When I suggest that meaningful change to the university needs *inimba,* I am not trying to subject these black women to different 'moral standards' as Zenani Mandela rightly pointed out, "men and women are held in different moral standards in our society". I am advocating that we unapologetically theorise from matriarchal wisdom to break with the narcissistic model of institutional power set for us by the likes of Cecil John Rhodes, whose statue at the University of Cape Town was toppled by students in 2015.

Inimba means understanding that the black working-class students now form the majority of our higher education system and it is for their liberation we labour. *Inimba* means understanding that most of the students who enter our universities come from a place of socioeconomic precariousness. Higher education becomes their last hope in an economy and society where youth (ages 15 to 35) unemployment is approximately 60%. *Inimba* is not a soft-doting power, which is not the character of an African matriarch. *Inimba* implies a power that commands the stern but affirming respect modelled by our grandmothers, aunts, *oodabawo, makhadzi,* our mothers. *Inimba* as a matriarchal concept provides us then with an idiom of change management that dedicates itself towards the development of institutions that will use scarce resources to ensure that even the most precarious student receives the most compelling education necessary for life itself.

We know of the rich power and strong character of African women, such as Mkabayi ka Jama of the Zulu monarchy in the 18th and 19th centuries. With this kind of history, it is almost laughable when debates about 'readiness for female president' happen in South Africa. Women have always been ready; the question is, will their being women make a substantive difference or not. I hope the Nelson Mandela University matriarchal triumvirate of Muthwa, Fraiser-Moleketi and January-Bardill will show the higher education sector a radically new path.

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Body at War: Rhodes in Nelson Mandela University

Siphokazi Tau

The #RhodesWarAtNMU solidarity protest held at Nelson Mandela University in March 2018 affirmed once more, the permanent state of vulnerability that victims of gender-based violence have to live with.

The solidarity protest followed the expulsion of two anti-rape activists from Rhodes University in November 2017, after they allegedly kidnapped two rape suspects from their rooms. This action by the anti-rape activists being as a result of the university not taking action against the alleged sexual offenders on campus, after the social media circulation of the infamous Reference List, consisting of eleven alleged rapists (Wittles, 2016).

The naked/slutty[1] protest was staged by group of anti-rape activists known as *The Collective*[2]around Mandela University's Madiba shirt sculpture (a sculpture representative of the famous Madiba shirt). The shirt forms part of the university's public art legacy programme which is affiliated to the Vision 2020, which is a deliberate interrogation of the university's identity to "determine strategic priorities that will secure the long-term sustainability of the institution".[3]

The sculpture which is representative of Mandela University's vision of UBUNTU is intended to be a reminder and inspiration for one to practice UBUNTU as Madiba did.

The UBUNTU ideology is an African principle that "all humans are equal in their humanity" (Ramose, 2001). It centralizes the idea of the collective over the individual, in fact to live according to the UBUNTU principle, I would suggest that one would have to abandon themselves completely and only speak of themselves in relation to others. This relationship between the naked/slutty body, protest and place is important to note in understanding the discourse that *The Collective* brings to the surface particularly in engaging UBUNTU.

[1] Slutty wear in protests are used to critique the idea that rape is associated with clothing and the dress of the victim as that which provoked and justifies the attack.
[2] The Collective was the inclusive term used by the female and male bodied activists who formed part of the solidarity protest to refer to all those who joined the solidarity protest.
[3] Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Vision 2020 Strategic Plan. Available at: http://sustainability.mandela.ac.za/carbon/media/Store/documents/Home/Vision2020-Strategic-Plan-2010.pdf

Sultana (2014: 158) reminds us that bodies demonstrate communication and because of that, the body houses various contestations. This thus implies that as the violated (raped) body may be symbolic of shame and humiliation, it can in the same breath use its nakedness and vulnerability as a "weapon of resistance" (Sultana, 2014: 163). *The Collective*, in positioning the naked/slutty body at the Mandela shirt, is critiquing the value of UBUNTU as understood by the establishment (Mandela University and other universities), particularly demanding "the restoration of their humanity" (see Ramose, 2001).

Subsequently, the protestors in their nakedness are questioning the idea of the female body and the societal expectations placed upon it. Sutton (2007) reminds us that the female body is often viewed as a commodity and is continuously subjected to being sexualized. The body reconstructs its position in the face of the power (the university, the patriarchal sculpture of Madiba), it takes shapes and forms that are non-binary; on its conditions, it is naked on its own account, the body has affirmed itself, it resists the power (Deveaux, 2016).

This idea of reconstruction is important to note as bodies which can suffer humiliation, can through re-signifying themselves, embody a different meaning, that of resistance (see Sultana 2014). In this one-hour protest and demonstration, the body, black and naked lies on the ground, silent and bare. Displayed for all to place their gaze on its supposed inactivity and of stillness. The body in this protest, the naked body lies on the ground, 'stationary', next to this sculpture representative of human dignity. The body in this protest is a language in and of itself.

Contrary to this analysis, the body in this act of supposed 'stillness', is in actual fact imposing itself on the audience. In *The mute always speak: on women's silences at the TRC*, Nthabiseng Motsemme (2004) suggests that expressions of silence by women (living with violations) need to be interpreted as a language in itself that is of pain (physical and mental) and grief (loss of consent). The politics of space and what that space is meant for is in tension with what the body decides to do within that space. The university space, as an intellectual hub, is challenged by the naked body that confronts, firstly, what an intellectual space is supposed to appear like and the pedagogy one would then use to spark an intellectual debate. Secondly, I suggest that through challenging this perception of an intellectual space, the body challenges the inherited perception of the naked black body. The black body I suggest is critiquing its 'value' in relation to the value of UBUNTU that the Madiba sculpture represents.

The silence is deafening, the body lies in the scorching sun for an hour, bare, displayed for all to see, for the power (patriarch) to dare to come at it. It speaks to those who did not have the strength to fight, it speaks solidarity, it screams that you are not alone, and where your voice fails you, the body will go to war for you. And so, as our bodies go to war, when we protest and make political demands without uttering a word, the space where it chooses to demonstrate, those spaces become elements/attributes to staging the political, the space becomes political too.

These bodies, although political and powerful, are still precarious, they are delicate and insecure in the same breath. Butler (2009) reminds us that precarity is associated with gender expectations and norms. And how one appears in the public will determine who will receive or not receive protection by the law and establishment (Mandela University and other universities).*The Collective*, in staging the demonstration, exposes the inconsistency and absurdity of hypervisibility.

Hypervisibility is linked to the idea of one being the "visible other and that otherness becomes your defining characteristic. When people see you, they don't see you – they see your visible characteristics and don't move past that." (Sostar, 2017). What this suggests, is that the female body has to be in constant negotiation with the space in which they find themselves in. In essence, when *The Collective* argues that there is an entitlement that people and in particular men feel towards women's bodies, which manifests through gender based violence, there is a need to defy "this entitlement that is created by patriarchal systems that we are brought up in, we are reclaiming our power back" (Nangamso Nxumalo, from The Collective).[4]

The courageous demonstration by *The Collective* reminds us that at times acts of courage at their core require us to be vulnerable, it necessitates that we are deliberate, that we are militant, even as a few, it reminds us that sometimes wars are won by the underdogs.
That courage reminds us that we are "wordless without another" and that not all just wars are understood as that at first.

[4] Personal interview with *The Collective,* by Siphokazi Tau

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Urban property relations on higher education and student accommodation

Pedro Mzileni

Increased access to higher education in South Africa post-1994 has created an infrastructure crisis in the former white minority institutions. In particular, there has been an evident demand for student accommodation across all the institutions of higher learning in the country. While on-campus housing accommodation is limited, there has been a massive growth of the off-campus student accommodation component in universities. The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) reveals that the overwhelming majority of students enrolled in South African universities reside in off-campus residences, which are spread across the cities of South Africa (DHET 2010; DHET 2011).

The historical property relations of the cities impact the structure of each institution's higher education system. The property relations of the city determine where a particular student will stay in the city and the quality of life of that student during his or her university career (Mhlonyane 2016). The property relations of the city determine the fees structure of the university; they impact its budgetary framework, its key priorities and the overall political economy of the institution. Universities are built in the urban centre of the city where land is rated highly expensive by market forces. Universities as physical buildings and the education they offer are a service that takes place in close proximity to the market economy of the city (Mzileni 2018). Universities are also employers of the labour power that is settled in the city.

It is evident, therefore, that fees charged by student residences that are privately owned and closer to the university will be more expensive than any other type of accommodation located somewhere else in the city (Mzileni 2018). In the case of Port Elizabeth, the Summerstrand area offers exorbitant fees that students must pay to be in close proximity to the Nelson Mandela University campuses, which are based in the mentioned suburb (Mhlonyane 2016). Students from privileged families are able to afford fees charged in the Summerstrand area; they are closer to the university campus and spend less time travelling across the university to arrive for their classes and social activities (Wallace 2012). These students become academically and socially integrated into the university more easily and they have a fulfilling living and learning experience as students (Tinto 1993; Tinto 2010). They can walk to the university campus and they have access to its resources. In addition, they have access to a

quality service that the local government has to offer, such as good infrastructure, security and close proximity to food outlets and entertainment areas (Mzileni 2018).

On the other hand, government bursaries and scholarships cannot afford to pay fees in private properties that are at close proximity to the university where the value of land and rent is costly. Instead, government funding would rather pay low monthly rates of rent for student accommodation that is further from the university in an area that has a cheap value of land and rent in order to cushion a larger quantity of students (NSFAS 2015). In the case of Port Elizabeth, over 500 poor black students, funded by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) stay in a single and large property that was formerly used as a factory, which is situated in Korsten Township. This property is approximately 20km from the Summerstrand campuses of Nelson Mandela University and students spend over 30 minutes on transport twice a day travelling to and from the university using the ascribed bus shuttle daily that is procured from a private company, which offers the service at a profit (Muthwa 2015).

This student accommodation conundrum also envelops the government apparatus and its key priorities. A municipality at a local government level relies on generating municipal rates from student residences for its financial sustainability from the portion of the rent charged by the property owners. This rent is expected to be financed by student bursaries and loans controlled by the national government. As a result, due to the high rentals charged in the municipal jurisdiction, the national government is compelled to maximise the stretch of its resources to as many students as possible who are in need by providing financial aid to those students who will be staying in cheap areas of the city that are far from the university, such as North End and Korsten. This practice comes at the detriment of the quality of living and learning for these students, particularly the poor, who are a government priority in terms of graduation throughput and a university priority as far as student retention is concerned (Tinto 1993; Van Der Merwe and Van Reenen 2016).

Since off-campus residences are stationed at a distance from the university campus and are characterised by limited safety and security measures, such shortfalls invite the university and government to attempt availing their limited resources to cushion the social capital of students in the form of transport, meals and bursaries, to name a few (DHET 2011). Initially, universities are not conceptualised as housing entities, instead, they are mainly concerned with the learning

project. Thus, the provision of student housing tends to be a neglected issue that seems to catch South African universities and government unprepared (DHET 2011, 22).

This article has established that the land question does affect the system of higher education. It remains uncertain as to whether or not the #FeesMustFall campaign conceptualised the fact that the property relations of a city resemble the fees structure of a university, shape the overall political economy of higher education and affect the living and learning experiences of students. Universities cannot be moved from the urban centre where land is deemed expensive by market forces. However, what can be done by the state is to have an equitable intervention on property values that are in university suburbs to have them re-zoned for a public purpose. Higher education is a social justice instrument for the health of South Africa's democratic project (National Planning Commission 2011) and available mechanisms for the state to transform urban land property relations for the benefit of the poor and the students for the greater good of the country must be used, even if it would mean that such urban land must be expropriated.

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The need for rethinking the South African Higher Education Transformation discourse: An argument for change from the bottom-up

Luzuko Buku

Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, the discourse on transformation of universities and broadly the higher education sector has been filled with various attempts to effect changes at a systemic level. What this has produced are bulk nice-to-have policies which are giving government and the sector challenges with regards to optimal implementation. These are policies such as the *Higher Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education* (1997), the *Higher Education Act* (1997), the *National Plan on Higher Education* (2001), *Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education* (2002) and recently the *White Paper on Post-School Education and Training* (2013). The outcomes of these policies have been difficult to monitor, and this is also revealed by the 20 Year Review of the sector published by the Council on Higher Education (CHE) in 2016.

This article makes a case for the need for the research and the discourse on higher education transformation to be grounded and brewed from the universities. The top-down national government policy driven logic has as its foundation the mistrust of the academics that the democratic government found in the sector. I want to argue that whilst the necessary exercise of caution is important in how the academics are viewed, there needs to be an understanding that the project of transformation is located in the universities and this is where it can be best advanced. The students as the primary stakeholders of universities are the central pillar of this programme.

The Pre-1994 Higher Education Reality

It is important to view universities, like any other educational institutions, as microcosmos of society and as such they are a replica of what is generally prevailing in society. This approach helps to better understand that the nature of the fragmentation of higher education pre-1994 is intrinsically linked to the manner in which the system of colonialism and apartheid deliberately designed South Africa.

In advancing his conceptualisation of hegemony, the Italian theorist, Antonio Gramsci (1971) makes a point that oppressive societies develop their methods from coercive to manipulative systems of domination through the use of various superstructures such as education, religion and the media.

This argument by Gramsci is further expanded by Louis Althusser (1971: 36) in his conceptualisation of the Ideological State Apparatuses when he states that:

"…for their part the Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly *by ideology*, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic."

Before 1994, education, as one of the 'ideological state apparatuses,' was used to affirm the hegemony of apartheid and consolidate its existence in measures that were more sophisticated that the repression and brutal killings that the system meted. It was part of a complex web of creating a manipulative system of domination over the South African population.

The higher education landscape and the various higher education institutions were designed to entrench the dominance of apartheid. The system was highly skewered in favour of the white population and to the detriment of the majority black population. Higher Education Institutions were also designed for the exclusive use of the racial groups with 19 institutions being designated only for whites, two for the coloured population, two for the use of Indians and six for the exclusive use of Africans (Bunting, 2006). The underdeveloped institutions in the apartheid Bantustans were also for the exclusive use of the black population.

The South African higher education was therefore physical, racial and intellectual fragmented, characteristic of South Africa at the time. Teaching, learning and research was very distinct, with many institutions existing for the support of the regime. Apartheid's involvement in the academy further created a base of conservatism and racism in the faculties and the management of the various institutions. There were some institutions that were known for having few academics that resisted the system but the official posture of even these universities was not anti-apartheid. Struggles by students and academics were also repressed by both the management of the institutions and the apartheid state itself.

This is the higher education reality that the democratic government inherited in 1994 and various systemic interventions were deployed to change this picture. A question that remains is whether the transformation project has made significant strides and what methods should be adopted going forward.

The Post-1994 Interventions and their weaknesses

Ever since the end of apartheid, the South African government and some commentators have always approached higher education from the top-down. What this created are systemic impact policies with the good intention of fixing the system for the better. This started from the outcomes of the National Commission on Higher Education which laid the foundation for the *Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education* and which also led to the enactment of the *Higher Education Act* in 1997.

These policies led to a broad understanding of the transformation objectives for the sector with the sole intention being to create a system that would play an active role in the non-racial, democratic and no-sexist progressive ideals of the new government. It also underscored the need for the production of critical citizens and graduates who would be skilled enough to easily contribute to socio-economic transformation and development.

The creation of the Council on Higher Education (CHE) as a statutory body responsible for the general oversight of the sector and for giving informed advice to the Minister was birthed by these initial processes which were intended to transform not only the sector but the country. The CHE would later have its mandate expanded into a quality assurance entity for higher education sector, through its permanent committee, the Higher Education Quality Committee. The 2001 *National Plan for Higher Education* and the mergers and incorporations became some of the vehicles that were used to transform the sector.

The democratic government is implementing the programme of transformation through three steering mechanisms; enrolment planning, funding and quality assurance. These three top-down mechanisms are still being applied but the higher education system continues to experience challenges and there are many critical problems in the various universities which continue to hinder access, success, equity and redress.

The top-down national-government-policy driven approach that the first democratic administration took had as its foundation the mistrust of the academics that were in the sector at the time. It therefore co-opted the few progressive academics that existed in the system into top-down policy designers based in Pretoria. This was not supposed to end at this broad systemic level if higher education was to be truly transformed.

The limitation of how higher education transformation was approached over the past 24 years is that it has cornered the entire sector into a debate about institutional autonomy, academic freedom vs public accountability, equity vs quality and many other side shows. Over the years we have been discussing powers of the minister over universities, more particularly regarding transformation.

A careful look at most of the amendments to the Higher Education Act demonstrates that the intention has been firming up powers of the Higher Education Minister or expanding powers of the various national bodies responsible for higher education. All indications are that we are continuing on this path as there is a process to draft a National Plan for the post-school sector. It is my view that though collectively defined and centrally coordinated, transformation does not need to be only implemented from above. The National government and the Council on Higher Education should coordinate the sector in developing a common understanding of transformation and find ways of infusing this to the primary stakeholders of the universities; students and academics. It is through these interventions that we will find differentiated responses appreciative of the peculiarities of the institutions. The concerted struggles by students and academics is what will better achieve meaningful transformation.

Towards a grounded discourse of transformation

The #MustFall phenomena of 2015 and 2016 already provides an example. This does not have to take the form of protests, but it can be in the detail of the scholarly work that is being undertaken and the various discussions in institutional forums, at Senate and at Council. This is where I locate the role of bodies such as the Chair on Critical Studies in Higher Education Transformation (*Cri*SHET).

The argument that I am making should however not be interpreted to mean that government must begin to play a lessor role in higher education. We need a hybrid approach coming from both directions. We still need government to continue to play a role in higher education

transformation by using the three steering mechanisms but also create the necessary conditions for transformation from below.

There should also be an understanding that transformation is not limited to changing the apartheid and colonial character, system and manner of academic provisioning at our institutions. There are a number of things that are beginning to emerge in society. Universities for instance need to be transformed in their attitude and actions towards climate change, technological development and how they relate to differently abled people.

It is not a false argument that the various policy interventions that were designed by the democratic government have not substantially achieved meaningful transformation in institutions of higher learning. There are various cases which point to this reality and these include the challenges relating to the untransformed and alienating institutional cultures, high levels of dropout by black students, low participation rates by the black student population, an untransformed academy etc.

Conclusion

The argument that I have presented in this paper is that there is a need for institutions of higher learning to be treated as the sites of struggle and that their opening up for transformation will mainly come and be defined from within. Scholarship and policy making on higher education transformation should thus begin to focus on debunking, encouraging and carefully steering the struggles that are taking place at universities.

The transformation of universities should be the main political agenda of scholarship and this is not because it is a correct route to take but it is an essential choice for the survival of free academic thought, research and debate. The scholarly, disciplined and dedicated activism of students and academics should therefore be encouraged as this is how our universities will open up from being enclaves for the sustenance of residual apartheid.

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Gender activism at Mandela's University

Nobubele Phuza

In 2014, women made up 58.3% of the total student enrolment in public higher education institutions (DHET 2014). Nelson Mandela University showed a similar trend where women constituted more than 52% of the student population since 2016. As Jacobs (1996, 167) noted in an early study on *Gender Inequality in Higher Education,* women do well in accessing higher education institutions (HEI). Women's experiences in HEIs are, however, extremely different from those of their male counterparts. In distancing this work from the binary nature of his study, I wish to state that current research has shown a more complicated correlation between diverse social identities and university experience (Bennett 2005; Clowes Ngabaza, Shefer, Strebel, 2018).

My current preoccupation is how the participation of women in HEIs, particularly Nelson Mandela University, has not translated to a significant change in professoriate demographics or increased representation of women in positions of power (Zulu 2017, 196). Since the 2008 Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education, there are still less than six women Vice Chancellors in the 23 public universities in South Africa (De la Rey 2018). In 2017, Nelson Mandela University made history by appointing black women in the three highest positions of leadership at a university. These appointments should signify progress in the advancement of gender equity and portray the image that it is now a powerful position to be a woman. However, the pervasive gender violations at Nelson Mandela University (and elsewhere) reveal a disjuncture between the representation of gender equity and on-the-ground experiences of vulnerable bodies. Various forms of harassment (sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment) are experienced and reported, mostly by women and a growing number of men in sexual minority groups. This has created a hostile climate for women on campus by reproducing traditional gender hierarchies. Put differently, gendered violations remind us that although much has been done to advance gender rights and opportunities, the social status of 'the feminine' remains unchanged (Crossley 2017, 30). The pervasiveness of gendered violations necessitates a much bigger question of whether Nelson Mandela University campuses are really equitable for women?

Arguably, this was a key question in the 2015/16 #MustFall movements. Students were united in the rejection of the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum and the demand for fee-free education, but student masses were fragmented along cleavages of gender and sexuality. Misalignments occurred when activists communicated the naturalisation of male dominance, misogyny and gender-based violence in HEIs. However, these campaigns, such as the #RapeMustFall and #PatriarchyMustFall, received little focus, engaged in a 'by-the-way' fashion instead of problems on their own (Du Preez, Simmonds and Chetty 2017, 98). The plight of intersectional feminists of #MustFall has been to bring gender on the same analytical plain as social class inequalities and race rather than variations thereof (Risman 2004, 431).

Gender activism and transformation has come under scrutiny at Nelson Mandela University following student protests around gendered violations and male dominance. In the following section, I aim to show how activism at Nelson Mandela University has always been a) gendered and b) specific to time and place. Central to interrogating activism in the context of Nelson Mandela University is theorising the legacy of Nelson Mandela in ways that demystify his roles in perpetuating gender equality, notwithstanding his efforts to advance gender-equitable ideas.

Mandela, women and gender

Nelson Mandela did a lot for women empowerment. Within the African National Congress (ANC) he advocated for gender quotas, particularly during the 1991 ANC conference (Seidman 1999). In his presidency, the representation of women in parliament increased from 2.7% during apartheid to 27% after 1994. Under his leadership, women and children received free health care, free contraceptives and access to abortion services (Naidoo 2014). Mandela continued these endeavours after 1999, with his wife, Graça Machel.

Mandela understood inequality

The first consideration is how gender concerns became part of national debates. Nelson Mandela is often lauded for understanding gender inequality and aligning with feminist ideals. As Seidman (1999, 296) proposes, part of Nelson Mandela's willingness to hear gender matters was to link South Africa to the broader global discourse around gender inequality, which was rising. Feminist ideologies were often carried by returning exiles who had visited European and American countries. In the CODESA talks, feminist intellectuals, such as Thenjiwe

Mtiniso and Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, were critical in articulating the gendered nature of citizenship and the need for strong mass movements, like the Women's National Coalition.

Autobiographies of the stalwart reveal that the sensitivity of Nelson Mandela to the plight of women (and later gender matters) began at an early age, while he was still in rural Eastern Cape, but to the knowledge of the researcher, there was no intentional effort of transformation until 1991 where he argued for gender quotas. His appointment of Dr Frene Ginwala, as his advisor on gender matters, and later the Speaker of parliament brings into question the depth of his understanding of representation and real transformation. At the 1985 Nairobi Women's Conference, Dr Ginwala stated, "It would be suicide… for women in the antiapartheid movement to discuss gender inequalities. To do so might undermine the struggle for racial justice by creating division and rancor." (as cited in Sieman 1999, 287).

Dr Ginwala's words are evidence of how women can be loyal to their party (and leadership) to a point of dismissing the vision that they were intended to uphold. This has been repeated with President Cyril Ramaposa's appointment of Minister Bathabile Dlamini to the Women's Ministry in 2018.

The second consideration is the reliance of anti-apartheid movements on foreign donors. Intuitively, stories on black South African women receive a more sympathetic ear from donor agency personnel who themselves were influenced by the emerging feminist discourse. Therefore, there was a need for considering gender implications of all projects, interpreted to imply a need for women to participate in political organisations. I do not disregard the agency of black South African women through these considerations but seek to complicate how Nelson Mandela came to a place of knowing.

In the final consideration, I propose that Nelson Mandela's consciousness was increased by the ungendered enslavement and oppression of black subjects by western civilisation. As Curry avers, "Enslaved Blacks were denied manhood and womanhood; they were defined as beasts of burden whose bodies were used at the discretion of whites" (Curry 2017, 158). Guided by this argument, I suggest that Nelson Mandela, and all black people, were feminised relative to whiteliness because white civil society placed black people outside of the normative male-female binary. It follows then that all black men have the capability to understand gendered oppression on some level.

Alternative masculinity

Holland, Rabelo, Gustafson, Seabrook and Cortina (2016, 19) report that men who engage in feminist activism deviate from traditional masculine expectations. This is only partially true of Nelson Mandela who is presented as an egalitarian masculinity. Nelson Mandela was perceived to represent a 'new' masculinity that was different from the violent and authoritarian masculinity exhibited by white male politicians during apartheid. Unterhalter (2000) goes as far as describing it as heroic (cited in Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger 2012, 17). It was publicly nonpatriarchal, advocating for men to cook and look after children (a statement Mandela made as President while visiting his home town). Relatedly, this heroic masculinity was different from the traditional, African masculinity of Bantustan leaders. In the struggle towards positive and equal gender relations, it serves feminist activism to have vivid examples of alternative masculinities. I must caution, however, that to have Nelson Mandela at the helm of gender movements implies, at least in part, a fragmentation of masculinity as a social category. It uncenters masculinity in the discussion on gender as a social structure and places an emphasis on individual men or varieties of masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 832) aver that men who are not physically abusive or violent are also complicit in maintaining masculine hegemony, including Nelson Mandela.

Mandela: gender activist?

Scholarship on Nelson Mandela's legacy is retrospective in nature and centres on how he was an activist rather than what activism is. To outline the underpinnings of activism is beyond the scope of this work, but I have briefly proposed that Nelson Mandela cannot be offered as the saviour of women. He is presumed to be a neutral, colour-blind and agendered carrier of justice that, while flawed in deeply consequential ways, should remain our primary reference point when seeking to end any inequality. As Nxumalo (2018) argues, "the legacy of Nelson Mandela is overburdened". Gender matters must contend with all the other social matters limiting thereby the potential of focused solutions and real transformation.

If Nelson Mandela University is to address male dominance, gender-based violence and its profound love for patriarchy, the sensibility of this institution cannot be staged responses as incidents arise. Between massive eruptions of protest, which are necessary, the broad gender

equality movement must sustain itself within the borders of the academy. Adopting Verta Taylor's (1989, 762) term of abeyance structures - spaces that retain challenging groups by offering alternative structures that channel the energy of a movement into another form of legitimate and acceptable activism - the broader mission of this university should be to link one upsurge of activism to another. The movement is absorbed into the abeyance structure to promote the survival of the activist network, sustain a repertoire of goals and tactics, and promote a collective identity that offers participants a sense of mission and moral purpose. Thus, a movement in abeyance becomes a cadre of activists who create or find a niche for themselves. Such groups may have little impact in their own time and may contribute, however unwillingly, to the maintenance of the status quo. However, by providing a legitimating base to challenge the status quo, such groups can be sources of protest and change.

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International students' experiences in the South African academic environment

Samantha Msipa

International students constitute a minority yet important group in the South African universities. Not only does the university benefit but the community as well. The diverse cultural backgrounds, together with the local culture, truly re-emphasise South Africa as a rainbow nation. For the student, proximity from home, affordability and quality of education make South African universities the ultimate study destination.

However, international students have been in the shadow when it comes to integrating into the institutions. From the harsh treatment at the South African embassies to the borderline segregated treatment in the institution, South African universities are yet to realise that this impact goes beyond economic gain but also the leadership and political relationship with the other African countries. This article serves to discuss the impact of international students, mainly from the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) countries, on the South African universities. This includes the struggles that they face as well as the benefits of having foreign students to aid in internationalising these institutions.

There is no greater feeling that can trump that moment when your study visa finally is approved. After all the paperwork and queues, it is finally happening. What the others see as a rich foreigner coming to indulge in all the pleasures known to the post-teenage mind, is in all reality what defines the bare meaning of struggle and sacrifices that have been made and is only a taste what is to come. All this does not stop one from having pursued these hopes and dreams.

International migration is an emerging practice of our times. In my view, the most significant pull factors to study in South Africa are affordable fees, proximity to home, the cost of living and government subsidies for the students from the region (Jenny and Sehoone 2015). However, accommodation difficulties, lack of opportunities, lack of support and xenophobic tendencies were found to be among the key detrimental factors for the SADC students.

The South African embassy experience is a nightmare for prospective students. Many have been victims of mild xenophobic attitudes and utterances, ranging from derogatory remarks all the way to unadulterated insults while following, ever patiently so, the winding queues under the baking heat of the sub-Saharan sun in an effort to process their visas. The new immigration laws which were introduced to ease the pain do the very opposite, they introduced a new domain of complexity to what was already a tumultuous affair. Previously, you could travel while awaiting a decision from the consular, holding on to the receipt as proof that you had indeed applied for your study permit. Wielding receipt as proof of an application has been abolished. Expired visas are no longer attracting a fine but are deemed undesirable. Crossing the borders without a valid visa makes you 'undesirable' in terms of S27 (3) for a period between twelve months and up to five years (Government Gazette 2002). Therefore, one cannot simply return to South Africa and study while the visas are being processed. Those who wanted to begin their studies, consequently, had to suspend their studies.

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has outsourced the services of the Visa Facilitation Services (VFS) (Government Gazette 2002). There is confusion as to the correct requirements because the information provided by the DHA and the VFS are different. It is costlier to apply for a study permit for students from the SADC region.

The forward-thinking student resolves to make ends meet by working shifts at the local restaurant to alleviate the financial burden, whereas the study visa permits students to work for only 20 hours per week; a pity indeed. -abiding companies become reluctant to hire international students due to these restrictions. Moreover, sad enough, permits can only be renewed in the respective student's home country. The effect of this is that international students requiring work experience may be unable to complete their studies in the minimum prescribed time if they need work experience to complete the course (Le Roux Attorney 2019).

It is understandable that there is a need to keep abreast with standards that effectively and efficiently assist in managing migration. However, this seems to be detrimental to the internationalisation and transformation of the South African tertiary education system. The laws have become a push factor. It is essential to have international students who can incorporate their knowledge into the education system while also strengthening their global position.

The South African tertiary education system has been in the process of transformation for a significant amount of time. There are various funding opportunities available for students that are not limited to vacation work. Regardless, for the international student, the struggle continues as there is never enough information available. In reality, there is always a strong preference to hire local students, which, in turn, leads to their colleagues from across the borders, becoming less than reluctant to apply for the opportunities available.

In terms of tuition fees, international students are required to pay the full tuition fee before registration. In special circumstances and after negotiation, arrangements can be made for those who cannot afford to pay the amount within a prescribed time. Should push comes to shove and they still cannot pay within that time, then they are subjected to an interest fee, more fuel for the fire.

The universities need to review their policies to include international students. These students are the leaders of tomorrow, regardless here nor there. They are going to shape Africa's tomorrow; their experiences predicate their future relations with South Africa and the continent as a whole. The tertiary education sector should work together with the Department of Home Affairs to establish a better system that resolves the challenges faced by the tertiary education sector and prepares the country and the continent as a whole for world-class leadership and talent.

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Some conceptual tools for imagining the nature, purpose, and role of universities

Anele Dloto

This short paper outlines the emerging conceptual thinking of the nature, role and purpose of the university, and what it could become. This is achieved by setting forth pre-existing ideas and assumptions that the goal of universities should be to contribute significantly to developing and sustaining democratic learning spaces (formal and non-formal), communities and societies. Moreover, the aim is to show how these ideas connect to an emerging conception of a progressive social justice education system. A historical and contemporary case is provided to illustrate that the democratic mission of South African universities is understood as a necessity to the success of national efforts to boost productivity, competitiveness and economic growth (Bloom *et al.,* 2006). This is contrary to previously held conceptions that universities play a small role in promoting poverty alleviation. The implication of these realities is that the role of the university – indeed of public education, in general - has been severely compromised by marketisation that followed the economic downturn of the 1970s. The phases of the compromise are aptly captured in Clover's review of *The Great Mistake,* authored by Christopher Newfield, using Newfield's description of the reasons why universities have declined.

This paper further puts forward arguments and claims that the university has several related purposes in the context of present-day South Africa. Universities must contribute to and support the process of societal transportation outlined in policy with its compelling vision of people-driven development leading to the building of a better quality of life for all, which equips individuals to make the best use of their talents and of the opportunities offered by society for self-fulfilment. Therefore, making a university a key allocator of life chances is an important vehicle for achieving equity in the distribution of opportunity and achievement among South African citizens. Thus, universities should address the developmental needs of the society and provide for the labour market in a knowledge-driven and knowledge-dependent society, with the ever-changing high-level competencies and expertise necessary for the growth and prosperity of a modern economy.

What is happening in universities?

Many universities are confronted by widespread poverty, inequality and unemployment. The graduate unemployment rate is exponentially increasing. The implication has been that universities manufacture and produces highly trained graduates who end up unemployed. The question is then, what is the role of the university in responding to these societal problems? Drucker (1997) put forward a shocking message when he stated, "Universities won't survive" and argue that "today's [college] buildings are hopelessly unsuited and totally unneeded". Although Drucker was perhaps exaggerating with this prediction since universities are still around and continue to grow, he helped us to recognise that while higher education is becoming a dynamic, global enterprise, the strategic management of higher education facilities is becoming increasingly complex. Recent problematic tendencies within higher education have been 'academic capitalism'. Although university staff are still largely state-funded, they are increasingly driven into entrepreneurial competition for external funds. Under such pressure, staff devise "institutional and professorial market or market-like efforts to secure external monies" (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997).

Beyond simply generating more income, higher education has become a terrain for marketisation agendas. Since the 1970s, universities have been urged to adopt economic models of knowledge, skills, curriculum, finance, accounting and management organisation. They must do so in order to deserve state funding and to protect themselves from competitive threats, this because of the hegemonic neoliberalism ideology. Moreover, higher education has become synonymous with training for 'employability'. These developments in academia threaten what people may value in universities, the space for critical engagement and analysis. Marketisation agendas have provoked new forms of resistance around the world. An extreme case was the 2015-2017 student protest on the call for free education up to university level, which became a test case for the potential nationalisation of the public good. Similarly, Barnett (20131) talks about the "lack of ideas of the university that are critical in tone, positive in spirit, and with an awareness of the deep and global structure that underpin institutions".

> *"Massive global forces affecting universities, such as the emergence of a global knowledge economy, marketization and neoliberalism. More recently, two global changes in knowledge creation and circulation have been noted, so helping to form cognitive capitalism. Partly because of such global forces, we are witnessing the rise*

of the entrepreneurial university. This is a university that has come to understand that it is in command of services and products intimately connected with the formation and transmission of knowledge that have exchange value in the market economy."

In his introductory chapter, titled 'No one to blame but themselves', Motala (2014) puts forward a very provoking view on rethinking the relationship between education, skills and employment. He further states, "accepting the link between education and training and economy, and the idea that higher education has a defining role in promoting individual economic capability and national economic performances, requires critical reflection". The role and the purpose of the university are understood through the crude and uninformed formulation of many business leaders, experts, economists, and even some of the higher education leaders and academics.

What is then the nature, the role and the purpose of a university?

Emerging concepts

Universities across the world continue to maintain the prestige's status, and as a space that is dynamic, but also a space for rethinking and creating possibilities for social change**.** Lebakeng *et al.* (2006) argue that universities in South Africa lack a pre-accusative autonomy and scholarship is essentially derivative. This framing argument informs us that the legitimacy of South African universities is consciously and consistently clear within the framework of the various western philosophical and methodological institutions. Dewey (1941) states that universities, like families and like nations, live only as they are continually reborn, and rebirth means constant new endeavours of thought and action. This means an ever-renewed process of change and that the goal of universities should be to contribute significantly to developing and sustaining democratic learning spaces (formal and non-formal), communities and societies, and how these ideas connect to an emerging conception of a progressive social justice education system.

Levidow (2002) argues that universities represent the needs of the state and capital, as the needs of society, while adapting the skills of professional workers to labour markets. Despite this role, often university spaces are created for alternative pedagogies and critical citizenship. He further puts forward a critical argument by saying that as part of that long-standing conflict,

marketisation tendencies have a long history. Student numbers have increased while teaching has been under-resourced, which results in an 'inefficiency' problem, and suggests a solution by standardising curricula. Knowledge remains packaged in textbook-type formats, resulting in students who become customers for products. I see university as not necessarily located in a fixed space but rather situated in community spaces and working in community institutions, which exist for the common good. I conceived a *university* as a network of community-learning spaces, involved in formal and non-formal education. I see university as not necessarily located in a fixed space but rather situated in community spaces and working in community institutions, which exist for the common good. Therefore, university by its nature is not divorced from the realities of our community; we see university as an institution which is located and embedded into the struggles of communities.

Dominant forms of knowledge uphold existing social relations and are often embedded in our curricula, which are presented as either 'common sense' or hidden knowledge (Apple, 1990). We need an education that helps us produce transformative forms of knowledge (Mezirow, 2000) – "really useful knowledge" (Johnson, 1988) that would help transformative social relations to take root. We have thought about *curricula* as 'living', in other words, fluid and emerging, rather than as a fixed set of established content and associated educational practice. For me, the purpose of a university should be to develop curricula that bring pedagogy and different knowledge systems into a whole, enable questioning and provide the generation of 'really useful' knowledge for the betterment of society.

The architectural model of a university is one comprising a multifunctional space, which gives access to the teaching and learning spaces (lecture theatres, tutorial rooms, laboratories and libraries), administrative areas, and social and leisure environments. These spaces support a range of cultural expressions, such as community theatre, writing and poetry sessions, and the exploration of indigenous knowledge, which incorporates ecologically friendly design and practices.

Conclusion

The concepts in this paper are not fixed. They represent our current emergent thinking. They are currently effective but need us to question them too. As we connect thought and action to a constructive interrogative tension situated in everyday life and work, learning becomes the movement of consciousness between thought and action (Carpenter and Mojab, 2011, 13) that

leads us to deeper understanding and intentional considered action. Such learning opens us to the recognition that the world is not given but made and we hold the power to re-imagine and remake this world.

A starting place for our thinking has been to see *university* as not located in a geographical space but also as a community of interest (Tett, 2010). However, my conception of the university has been that it directly implicates the societal realities and it is not divorced from the problems that communities encounter and it has a role to place. The notion of the university arises from the idea that a university is a highly complex societal institution that has evolved from the pre-feudal age to the modern era, and the university will likely continue its transformation into the future.

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Precariat experiences: Narratives of casual academic staff in South African universities

Bongani Mavundla

This paper seeks to discuss precariousness in the context of academic staff. To achieve this aim, firstly, I provide a genealogical context of the emergence of casualisation of academic staff in universities. Secondly, I provide a discussion on precarity in context of academic staff. Thirdly, I make the case that using the Foucauldian view on experience can help us understand precarisation as an experience beyond the predominant political-economic approach often utilised. Fourth and lastly, I provide a conclusion.

The genealogy of casualization of the academic profession

The rising casualisation of academic staff cannot be explained away from the intruding impact of neoliberalism on higher education. Curtois and O'Keepe (n.d: 39) argue that policy positions that have sought to promote the knowledge economy have led to the legitimisation of neoliberal policy being implemented in higher education and that this had resulted in universities operating like corporations.

The two main contributing factors to this has been the massification of higher education, which has precipitated the high rise in the number of students in higher education and the declining contributions of government subsidies to public higher education institutions (Courtois & O'keefe, n.d: 43; Ivancheva, 2015: 39). The reason for this is that the neoliberal rationale postulates that governments should cut on public spending as a means of decreasing the burden on the public purse (Bond, 2003; Pennington, Mokose, Smith & Kawana, 2017). However, these cuts on subsidies have had an impact on universities with various consequences in different areas. This has led to the predominance of corporate principles such as competitiveness, performance and profitability (Courtois & O'keefe, n.d: 43).

Corporatisation has resulted in the restructuring of universities and this in turn has resulted in the rise of bureaucratisation and managerialism, the rising costs of fees, but more importantly for this paper, it has also affected the nature of academic roles. This change of academic roles has led to the increase of higher education institutions making use of cheap and flexible labour

by adopting a system of short-term research only and teaching only positions that are in line with institutional short-term productivity aims (Courtois & O'keefe, n.d: 44). The end result of this has been stronger bureaucracies that apply strict regulations and audits on academic work while academic workers have become more precarious and deprofessionalised (Ivancheva, 2015: 40).

Precarity in higher education

Guy Standing (2011:10) argues that the precariat is made up of people who do not have access to seven types of work-related securities namely: (1) Labour market security, (2) Employment security, (3) Job security, (4) Work security, (5) Skill reproduction security, (6) Income security and (7) Representation security. This shows us that this is a group of workers that does not enjoy the securities and protections of the ordinary worker often protected by legislation for the purpose of development and social reproduction. Standing (2011:16) refers to this group of workers as "living in the present, without a secure identity or sense of development achieved through work and lifestyle". One can say that the lives of these people are often defined by a sense of anxiety, uncertainty and an inability to adequately plan their future because they are never sure of their circumstances.

Unfortunately, the exact extent of the problem in the context of South Africa has not been established, and this is evident in the lack of available literature (at least to the author's knowledge) on the problem in South African universities. However, this should not give an impression that this is an issue not worth serious scholarly consideration. The effects of precarious employment on the lives of working people and their job conditions in other sectors outside of universities have been widely studied in the past decades and it is important that same be done with regards to universities as social institutions. One can argue that casualization has universities has turned into institutions that reproduce social inequalities, strict control of populations and promote instability of families in some instances.

This has taken place in the following ways. Firstly, because casualized academic workers do not qualify for workplace benefits such as study benefits they often find difficulty with studying further to increase their chances of permanent employment. This gives the ones from privileged families the opportunity to study further, while the rest remain behind with low wages. This is one in which inequalities are reproduced. Secondly, in other cases, those who receive fixed

teaching contracts also encounter problems in that they are often swamped with a lot of work to the extent that they cannot prioritize research in their own time. This minimises their chances of visibility in a sector defined by a culture of publish or perish and this often results in them losing their jobs. Thirdly, casualization also disturbs the positive development of familial and social ties. Sometimes the unavailability of jobs forces people to move and stay in different countries for a few months or years depending on their contracts. This often destabilises family and reduces the extent to which one can maintain social and professional networks that may be beneficial in terms of career upward mobility. Fourthly, due to reduction of labour costs casualized staff often finds themselves being paid low wages to the extent of having to more than one job and even sleeping in their cars as a result of not affording housing costs. In some instances, some have even had to resort sex during the night to supplement their low incomes. Fifthly, casualization has enabled quite an efficient system of managing casualized workers to ensure they work in line with the short-term benefits of the institutions. This in turn has had negative consequences such as people losing their jobs for standing up for themselves against departmental bullies and even losing their jobs if they do not receive positive assessments during student performance assessments of casualized staff (Courtois & O'keefe, n.d:; Ivancheva, 2015; Neff, 2017).

The case of Foucault's understanding of experience and precariousness of academic staff

For Foucault experience should be understood as the result of interplay between "games of truth, forms of power and the regulation of selves". Foucault (1997:297) argues that games of truth are a "set of rules by which truth is produced". This means that for Foucault truth is not about absoluteness or relativity, but truth is a result of certain practices and power relations that form a consensus around an idea or set of ideas. When the respondents were asked how their experiences were made sense of by society, they pointed at different influences that shaped how they precarity was viewed by others. The pointed to the (1) national discourse on jobs, (2) their university and (3) their families. With regards to the national discourse they felt that their plight was not given adequate attention and that most focus was on outsourced workers. Their situation was a sort of misrecognition because they felt that it would be an embarrassment for the government and universities if the broader society knew that educated people earned very little money. With regards to their university, they felt that universities were taking advantage of the fact that large graduates were not being absorbed by the labour market, so they knew that people would stay in those jobs because they had nowhere else to go.

They pointed that their jobs were portrayed as a form of job experience gaining opportunity that would benefit them and felt dispensable because they know it would be very easy to find a replacement for them. With regards to their families, they felt their families had little understanding of their circumstances, the impression of their families was often that since they worked in a university and were educated they had to have a lot of money and that this made it to embarrassed about their jobs especially when they had to ask for financial assistance from their parents when they run out of transport money or food in the middle of the month. The responses were as follows:

> There is a lot of silence about situation in the national discourse, fees must fall managed to shed light on the plight of outsourced workers, but the labour regimes of the universities were never investigated. Maybe, this is because it would be embarrassing for government and our institutions to admit that they oversee such exploitation of educated people and also this need for jobs in South Africa forces to be appreciate of the little jobs we work although we are not happy about them and government wants to give the impression that the country is not moving slowly in the direction of insecure forms of employment (Respondent 1).

> Our universities gives the impression that what we have are not real jobs, that they are giving us an opportunity to earn something while we wait for real jobs or that it is opportunity to gain experience. You won't see in official documents, but you know things are kept going by those things that are not spoken of. These are things that often said in passing to us, but what can we do? There are no jobs out there and if I talk too much I won't receive a contract the following year and they can just replace with someone just graduating who is excited about earning an income (Respondent 2).

> You now our families don't understand our situation. For them because we are educated and working for a university we must be swimming in big money. However, that is not how things are, sometimes I often find myself having to ask for money for food or transport from parents in the middle of the month and its embarrassing (Respondent 3).

This shows that conceptions of truth with regards to circumstances are shaped by multiple factors. The respondents understand that the structural level, their problem emanated from the

economy which was not labour absorbing and moving towards insecure forms of employment. But they also showed how at the meso-level and interpersonal level, their universities and families viewed responded and viewed their precarity.

Foucault's view of power is multidimensional and consists of four aspects. "*Firstly*, he sees powers as a set of force relations, *secondly* as processes through which relations are transformed, *thirdly*, systems that are constituted by the interplay between force relations, and *fourthly* larger strategies with general and institutional characteristics that emerge from these relations, processes and systems." (Lynch, 2014: 19; emphasis added). What can be seen is that Foucault's analysis of power starts from the micro-level and builds up to the macro-level. He does not define power in the instrumental sense, but refers to it in the relational sense by considering how practices and processes can make up systems and how at the macro-level these relations, processes and systems can influence the make-up of institutions.

The respondents were asked if they could identify any power mechanisms that they could identify which contributed to their circumstances. The different answers pointed to four factors, (1) government, (2) short-term contracts and (3) knowledge on how to organise labour for efficiency and (4) Models of external universities in Europe and America. The responses were as follows:

> I can identify the government. Reason for saying is that it is government that sets parameters in which the economy is going to function. Now what we have in our case in South Africa is neo-liberal policies, these policies encourage that government cut on social spending and promote liberalisation of the economy. Liberalisation of the economy means reducing government intervention in the economy and promoting the idea that the market laws of supply and demand to precedence on how the economy functions. This is the reason wages are low, because there is a high supply of unemployed labour and there is a little demand for labour. This is the keep wages low. But we are not the exception; this is happening in countries in America and Europe and its way worse there. What I failed to understand is why we are importing models that are already in crisis in their places of origin. I also saw that these types of workers are unionising in those nations. We don't know what will happen. So I can say the power mechanisms I can mention government policy and our universities copying outside with

> giving attention to the consequences of those models in their places of origins and how they would play out in South Africa's situation (Respondent 1).
>
> The contract is definitely a way of control. You know if you will rebel against their nonsense around September, then it's over for you. You won't be given a renewal contract for the following year. They have different hour regimes, for example below 10 hours, below 30 and 40 hours. Funny enough, you will never know how to get to the higher hours. We don't have offices, so we cannot consult with students when they don't understand. This also diminishes our authority in front of the students. We don't get paid for marking and preparation at home. It's bad, but what can we say (Respondent 3).
>
> I think knowledge plays a very huge in how the management justifies to itself how it structures labour contracts and so forth. I remember attending a workshop when I was a student and the facilitator there was telling us that we should use interns as way of decreasing costs in our business and when I got into this situation. I realised that was exactly what was being done to me. I don't have benefits such study ones or medical aid even pension. So a lot of money is being saved…we live by faith my brother even if get sick you just pray it is not bad because you can't afford a full medical check-up. It's either food or medicine (Respondent 2).

This actually shows how power relations permeate the respondents' circumstances. It seems that they do not perceive their circumstances as a result of their own failures, but relate it to the broader forces at play in society. Respondent has even managed to show us how power relations are accompanied by types of reasoning about phenomena.

Relations of the self refer to what he called the technologies of the self. Technologies of the self in simple terms refer to modes of self (O'Leary, 2008, 17). In detail, generally one can relate this to Foucault's view on subjectivity. Foucault understood subjectivity as a form of performance, an activity that takes place within a context of limitations (Taylor, 2014: 173 - 174). This means that it was certain practices that constituted subjectivity, meaning that we make ourselves through different practices and he argued that these practices were shaped by institutional constraints. To express this one can say that we make ourselves but the practices that we use to make ourselves are limited by institutional constraints. The respondents were

asked how they made sense of precarity personally and it affected their self-image. The impression that could be gathered was that the respondents felt that they were denied a sense of security that they felt they had earned. They felt that they were objectified and were only useful to the extent that they served the universities short-term objectives. The responses are as follows:

> Precarity is not knowing where you will in your life in the following year, that inability to plan because your income is not secure. You can't get a loan from a bank, which means I am still going to rent for some time to come. I think it influences my life in the sense that in as a much as I have appreciated the knowledge I have gained through education. I think universities do not attribute the same value to the education they give us when one considers the salaries we get. This is a contradiction when one considers how expensive education is. To some level, I have started to lose respect for the higher education sector and for myself in the process because I often find myself feeling sorry for students who do not know what lies ahead for them. This is a crisis in the making. I also find myself angry most of the time. Sometimes people will tell you that academia is not for people who want money, it's a calling and not a profession. Mind you, the people who tell us these things are living better lives than us (Respondent 1).

> I feel like precarity in my case is a form of super-exploitation. I used to happy when I first got my job, I saw myself as a freelancer, but little did I know that things are not that nice. You are given the impression that you are serving a greater mission, but that is a lie. Precarity is the inability to assist your family back at home after they spent their money on you sending to university. I know a lot of people won't say it, but we still get assistance from home to live and if you don't have family that can assistance, you get a partner that works whom you can share living costs with. The days of men who provide are over; we can't afford to pay for that role anymore (Respondent 2).

> I feel like a machine that is expected to produce what is wanted. The yearly contracts are like when you fix something. Everything has its sell-by date. I don't when mine will come. Precarity for me feels like being denied a future I worked hard for through getting education and I am not that optimistic about the future (Respondent 3).

The interplay of different facets of the theory constitutes what Foucault refers to as experience. Generally, this interplay is often referred to as the combination of "knowledge/power-relation of self" (O'Leary, 2008, 21).

In addition to the case above, applying this model to the plight of casualized academic staff, scholars can explore how their precarity is often communicated in official discourse. The games of truth show that truth or legitimate knowledge is often built on the exclusion of other types of knowledge and uses that exclusion to the function of that which is included. This can lead us in the direction of seeing alternative modes of employment that universities can use or have not explored and try to understand their justifications for taking alternative positions. With regards to the power/knowledge, it can be explored how universities' governing of labour relates to a particular political reasoning. In order for an institution to govern, the practices it employs need to be accompanied by certain rationale; this may show us the contestations of relations of powers in institutions and how authority is organised, packaged, enacted and justified in different institutions. Lastly, by considering the relation of all these forces, scholars can explore and provide a genealogy of precarity as a state of being and also how it operates a sort of organising or regulating mechanism that influences how individuals make sense of themselves in relation to the operations of society.

Conclusion

This essay sought to put across the idea that precarity of academic staff should be given attention in scholarly circles. More than anything, the value of the Foucauldian approach is that it problematises relations from the micro-level. The fact that most approaches are macro based makes us take micro relations for granted. One's impression is that this stems from the tendency of often viewing the university as a microcosm of society; such as an approach blinds us from seeing how universities may be spaces consciously implicated in the reproduction of the status quo and injustices. It is important that all spaces be viewed are nodes of entanglements of power relations, although the spaces may not carry equal weight in terms of influencing the final make-up of the society. This is because power relations do not play themselves out in all places in the same way. Scholars therefore have to be sensitive to the "micro-physics" of power at our own institutional level.

It is only through doing this that institutions of higher learning can be re-politicized and issues be given the necessary attention before crisis erupts. The Foucauldian view can show us that precarization can also be seen as a sort of means of conduct that can be imposed on a person's life. The contract, student evaluations, and faculty members all serve as devices that regulate the temporary academic staff's life. They seek to fashion a particular self out of the temporary staff according to certain standards. It seems that methods being employed by universities are similar to those of the production line with efficient mechanisms in place to make a particular standard of products and if the product does not meet the standards, it is put aside. This is the political-economic logic that informs the conduct of temporary staff.

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Decolonising the market space: An intersectional approach to neoclassical economics

Nangamso Nxumalo

"What Africans must be vigilant against is the trap of ending up normalizing and universalizing coloniality as a natural state of the world. It must be unmasked, resisted, and destroyed because it produced a world order that can only be sustained through a combination of violence, deceit, hypocrisy and lies" (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2013, 10).

Coloniality's epochal condition, which is racially hierarchised, imperialistic, colonialist, Euro-American centric, Christian, heteronormative, patriarchal and violent, categorises people to notions and binaries of civilised against primitive, cis against trans, heterosexual against homosexual, developed against underdeveloped – as well as black against white (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2013, 11).

This order of importance, which we find the world over, is as a result of colonial beliefs and the need to entrench white supremacist ideas. These are the people responsible for coloniality and the existence of an asymmetrical systemic power structure.

The recognition of universities as sites of the perpetuation of this oppression is the key reason for this article because western investigations into social realities are heavily conditioned and distorted by limited paradigms of thought and experience. With a lack of diverse perspectives, we fall into the trap of what Vandana Shiva's book (1993) calls the "monocultures of the mind".

Unfortunately, it has become a self-fulfilling prophecy as Eurocentrism has hegemony over all other knowledge systems. According to Shiva (1993), this is the root cause of why we have pitted equity against ecology and sustainability against justice. As a result, this has had devastating effects the world over as "the knowledge and power nexus (inherent in the dominant system) is associated with a set of values based on power which emerged with the rise of commercial capitalism. It generates inequalities and domination by the way such knowledge is generated and structured, the way it is legitimised, and alternatives are delegitimised, and by the way in which such knowledge transforms nature and society" (Shiva

1993). This is contrary to the process of knowledge construction, which Reviere (2001) says should not take precedence over the well-being of the people being researched.

In terms of the study of economics, its elitism disempowers and silences the voices of non-experts. Currently, the analysis and advice of experts are often comprised of their position in the economy, which is hierarchised in terms of their race, gender and class – often leaving a majority of ordinary citizens in a worse-off position.

I have come to believe this is as a result of how the economics curriculum is structured. This kind of economic literacy sounds more like brainwashing than education as it only seeks to regurgitate, perpetuate and to uphold the complements of capitalism which are inequality, poverty and exploitation.

A decolonial teaching of economics would be one which helps meet human and environmental needs. This teaching will usher in an alternative economic system motivated directly by the desire to improve the human and ecological condition, rather than filling this exasperated hunger for profit. This then begs the question: what is needed to decolonise and transform the neoclassical economy?

There are three identifiable structural challenges that need to be looked into that would contribute to the re-imagination and, ultimately, to the decolonisation of the economics curriculum at the Nelson Mandela University, namely, the curriculum, academics and the university's institutional culture.

Curriculum

According to Muller (2017), the fundamental source of the problems with the economics undergraduate curriculum is that it is not orientated toward providing a well-rounded economics knowledge and qualification that will serve us, as students, well after graduation. It deliberately prepares and/or selects a very small proportion of undergraduates for postgraduate studies (Muller 2017). This, I would believe, would be a consequence of gatekeeping by certain academics. This gatekeeping is explained later on in this article.

He mentions that another identifiable matter is the fact that it does not provide a good return for the amount of money paid for it. This is mainly because a lack of well-coordinated accountability avenues, in terms of teaching and learning quality, ensures that this epistemic injustice continues.

This can be seen through the textbooks that are used to teach economics at the Nelson Mandela University. The textbooks de-link the Mandela University student from their social context as the books, which are used to teach, are from the United States. This results in a very limited substantive engagement with the content by the students.

These particular books also endorse and are conveying vehicles of the status quo – a status quo that has been problematised by students during the "Fees Must Fall" movements as being colonial in nature. The "colonial" aspect is found in the nature that curricula "[have] been developed based on superiority of one culture/society/race/group over another, [considered an] imposition of foreign knowledge without regard to local contributions or circumstances, ahistorical analysis of current phenomena taught in such a way that portrays some cultures/societies/races/group as inherently superior to others and/or without regard for the experiences of groups that have suffered discrimination, and lack relevance to the problems and interests of local economies" (Muller 2017).

These textbooks deliberately conceal the messy histories of South African intellectual progress and reframe them as linear development towards some Eurocentric form of superior knowledge. This is compounded by the late introduction of the history of economic thought and economic history as it is only introduced in the third-year level of studying. The lack of critical reading, thinking and writing skills honed from a first-year level is also a problem.

Academics

The transformation of South Africa's higher education institutions does not only have to do with becoming more representative of the country's population demographics. This is because "transformation must interrogate the nature of privilege, the distribution of power in society and the process through which social exclusion is maintained" (Soudien 2010).

"A particular problem is the degree to which representativity masks the continued presence of racism or sexism within the university space, and the emergence of difficult manifestations of exclusion that representativity by itself is unable to resolve. This is maintained by the introduction of academics who still seek to uphold the cultural and historical decision-making of problematic historically white universities" (Booi, *et al* 2017).

This, therefore, comes with stigmatisation. It can also persist within a representative entity, therefore, alienating and excluding certain individuals – mostly black and female academics who seek to disrupt the historical and cultural realities deeply entrenched within these institutions.

Institutional culture

An institutional culture encompasses values and behaviours that contribute to the unique and psychological environment of an organisation.

In the absence of institutional cultures that place enough value on the university's fundamental societal role in transmitting knowledge, teaching critical thinking and engaging social challenges, even with rhetoric or dialogue, is not going to lead to fundamental improvements. It is important that a university's economics department's research agenda are geared towards a decolonial teaching of economics. This, however, is not the case as financial incentives for universities do not encourage high-quality undergraduate teaching and post-graduate financial incentives are not geared towards an endorsement of a decolonial teaching of economics.

"It is therefore not an exaggeration to say that undergraduate [as well as post-graduate] students may be "indoctrinated" with conservative, free-market notions of how economies and societies function, even if that indoctrination occurs as the result of a variety of different dynamics and incentives rather than explicit, deliberate intent on the part of institutions" (Muller 2017, 90).

Solutions

The current curriculum needs to be structured that is fixated on the idea of creating economists that are highly socially aware. This can be achieved through an intersectional or multidisciplinary approach, which includes art, history, sociology and law, in the teaching of

the economics curriculum. This would challenge the "binary that only class relates to economic interests while gender, race, citizenship and sexuality relate merely to issues of identity" (Aboobaker 2016).

Students and those who pay fees should add more pressure for the following:

1. A more targeted and descriptive framework, which the academics who are appointed by the faculty, need to fulfil.

2. A compulsory experiential portfolio inclusive of dialogue attendances, reviews thereof, critical readings and writing regarding the application of economic models to the South African context-related matters. This portfolio ought to span across the course of a student's undergraduate degree.

3. The creation of an incubator which entails collaborative work between the economics department and different sectors of the economy (government, non-governmental organisations, non-profit organisations, co-operations, public and private enterprises) that is research orientated which aims to bridge the gap between what the society needs and what the society is offered. This could potentially assist the markets to cater to the needs or could foster entrepreneurship for various students and/or the society at large. This research must be of such a calibre that it could potentially contribute to economic policy, even from an undergraduate level and it must be community-based.

Conclusion

Given the overarching importance of the economy to our social conditions, people are entitled to more genuine and far-reaching forms of economic democracy and accountability. "Economics has an important role in the analysis of the contemporary national and global order, it thus holds an important role in questions of ideological orientation and strategy for social movements [and developments]. An intersectional economic theory holds the prospect of informing the development of a more complete analysis and strategy for social movements that speak to broad coalitions of oppressed groups interested in furthering progressive agendas" (Aboobaker 2016).

For an intersectional economic theory to work, constant collaborative work between communities, students, institutions of higher learning, social justice movements, as well as public and private business, is needed. This will disrupt the very problematic binary thinking of limiting economics to a scientific approach as this reinforces the colonial aspect of neoclassical economics, which will fall foul of an analysis that has any relevance to the problems and interests of local communities.

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Intersectionality, safe spaces and transformation: Is the South African higher education realm capable of and ready for creating extra-binary safe spaces?

Yona Siyongwana

Transformation is a term with a broad meaning but little agreement as to what it is and what it could be. Soudien (2010, 4) attributes this to the complexity that characterises the South African higher education system post-apartheid with regards to the weight that apartheid legacies carry, as well as the complexity of the structural cobweb of social and economic inequalities. These inequalities are posited as being "accompanied and underpinned by a complex skein of discriminatory political and cultural attitudes, dispositions and orientations" (Soudien 2010, 4). Furthermore, it is also deeming the generation of historically conscious responses that acknowledge the gains of the apartheid era and the democratic dispensation necessary while remaining staunchly opposed to a reduction of said dialogue to the defences of the regime and its instances (Soudien 2010, 4). This very complexity lends the transformation discourse within the South African context its contentious nature, despite the general consensus. This broad agreement on the *principles* of transformation is essential, thus, requiring the recognition of the *central* contention.

The call for transformation is not unique to the South African higher education system, nor is it endemic to South Africa. However, it is fluid and dynamic in nature, sculpted to the national needs and histories particularly impacted by phenomena such as imperialism, slavery and colonisation. The South African education system is no exception to this rule, while Soudien (2010, 4) notes the apartheid era's higher education as the arena for fierce contestation with regards to the creation of progressive and inclusive resistance movements. Multiple bodies, for instance, organisations, individuals and institutions position themselves at the forefront of the anti-apartheid discourse (Soudien 2010, 4). However, it is important to note that transformation ought to be regarded as more than the presence of *particular* numbers as part of a "demographic intervention around the imbalances of race, gender, class and language" (Soudien 2010, 4). Soudien (2010, 4) terms this the representativity approach of transformation or the ideological engagement with domination and emphasis on the distribution of political and economic power, and the execution of social inclusion and exclusion through societal processes as an alternative approach. Instead, in order to

adequately investigate and critique the transformation process, it is crucial that representation and ideology are not distinctly segregated but instead, are understood to be part of an intersectional, holistic understanding of higher education.

The higher education system of the apartheid era was notorious for its highly inefficient and racialised hierarchical institutional order and severe marginalisation of black students. This essential architecture is still very much present in the infancy of the democratic regime. As per the National Commission on Higher Education's (NCHE) 1996 report outlining recommendations for a new higher education policy framework alongside initiatives for schooling, the post-1994 democratic dispensation found itself tasked with reconstructing this order through the establishment of a "single, coordinated, national system of education premised on a programme-based definition of higher education". This definition of higher education is structured to "promote access, and cater for the significant increase in numbers of people seeking to enter higher education" (NCHE 1996).

These elements also coincided with the overarching objectives of social development and economic growth. This report also was the basis for the 2001 National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE), the intended blueprint for the "radical reform of the higher education system", focussed on the achievement of equity also informed by the 1997 White Paper, one of the most important higher education policy statements of the post-apartheid era, and its vision of promoting ''equity of access and fair chances for success', 'eradicating unfair discrimination' and 'redressing past inequality'' (WP3 1997, 14, as cited in Soudien 2010). The NPHE also aimed to ensure representativity through progressive staff and student demographic profiles reflective of the South African society pertaining to race and gender, increased participation, success and graduation rates of black students with a particular focus on African and coloured students, as well as the increased representation of Blacks and women in senior academic and administrative positions (Soudien 2010, 7).

However, these measures do not necessarily guarantee transformation, especially when considering the whiteness of senior staff in most South African universities (both historically black and white), and for the most part, blatantly exposes the class cleavage between lecturer and (black) student, often accentuated by differentiated cultural, social and economic experiences.

However, although much of the NPHE was implemented, with a reconstructed architecture evidenced by the reduced number of institutions from 36 to 21, improved access to primary school education in rural communities, and funding and monitoring and evaluating vehicles constructed to build cohesion and compliance, only 5% of black children who enter school in any one year graduate in comparison to 60% of white children (Nelson Mandela Foundation 2005; Soudien 2010, 9–10). Furthermore, African student populations are underrepresented in higher education, and even more so in universities, with lowered access to secondary school education also serving as an obstacle.

This glaring disparity highlights the elephant in the policy room – student success and access at university – and how certain elements of civil society are left to atrophy despite a lauded policy framework and deep insight into the concepts of inclusion and exclusion, and the workings and redress of discrimination. Despite the high enrolment volumes, the value of schooling is very much in question in light of the differential distribution of educational quality in the context of the "skewed revolution" of access that characterises the migration of previously excluded groups to formerly white, coloured and Indian communities and schools, leaving more often than not the poorer and vulnerable (marginalised) societal demographics behind, bringing about a distinct differential to their higher education experience.

The transformation agenda pertaining to black female academics, albeit legislatively sanctioned, is often hindered by the academic space, characterised by white, middle-class cisgenderism which does not align with the realities with which this specific group identifies. This usually results in intersectional oppression which in some cases may be expressed in exclusionary organisational culture and erasure. The following section seeks to discuss this erasure within the African context.

The erasure of the black female academic

The narrative of the exclusion of black women from spaces of an academic or educational nature is one not particularly foreign to the African continent. In actual fact, it is one seemingly endemic not only to the continent but to the African diaspora. Characterised particularly by the use of female labour in the domicile context, black women are often excluded from gaining access into educational or academic spaces, hindering them from

actualising their capacities, as well as developing their skill sets to fluidly capacitate their integration into an ever-changing global society. This, in conjunction with the vulnerabilities to risk factors, such as race, class, gender, poor health and the perpetual cycles of poverty and crime, exacerbate the societal ills that black women face, as compounded by the coinciding and inseparable identities of gender and race which accentuate and qualify the black woman's navigation through her respective reality.

However, it would be naïve to assume that the challenges women face by virtue of their exclusion from the academic environment are solely the property of those on the outside. Butler-Adam (2015, 1) notes four fundamental causes of the story of female scholars' exclusion with reference to the fields of Mathematics and Science, namely a glaring gender-based disparity in access to education itself, the ghost of inadequate teaching methods inconsiderate of gender parity, collapsing institutional structures incapable of supporting women, as well as remnants of (c)overt discrimination in academia.

Black female academics find themselves on the perpetual backfoot, with reference to the matrix of domination particularly sustained by the patriarchal order. Lomax (2015) notes this as the collision of the academic industrial complex, sexism and black lives which do not matter, whereby vulnerabilities such as race, gender and class profiling, unequal and often inadequate access to education, employment discrimination, unequal pay and increased punishment levels in the academic environment are rife. The matrix of domination, which speaks about the fluid, intersectional nature of oppressions premised on constructs, such as gender, race and class, which permeates through the spaces that black women access, marginalising their experiences and effectively excluding them. This is true of the academic-institutional space. The pattern of underrepresentation is not novel to the black female academic and does not necessarily stick to the norm of the heteronormative, transcending into invalidating the perspectives of queer female bodies functioning in this sphere.

Heleta (2016) notes some epistemic violence associated with current institutional, research and curriculum-based norms, especially within the higher education system. This violence does not manifest in a physical manner, albeit an occurrence. Instead, this violence is mechanical and systematic, thus, giving it an air of discreetness, as it lurks in the shadows, suffocating the black female existing and functioning within the system, and invalidating their experience and identity within it.

Unfortunately, this ultimately results in the erasure of the black female academic, not only in their extra-academic lives but also within the academic-institutional space. One ought also to note that the call for decolonisation within the higher education system is not necessarily one to be restricted to overturning the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Instead, it also ought to be considered as an overarching transformative call for access, legitimacy, representation, and visibility, not solely within the historical and lingual contexts but also within the personal wherein audiences previously excluded have a voice and can develop the agency they have been deprived of to truly engage the spaces they wish to, and in the same vein, transform them to spaces of progressive, dynamic and vibrant engagement.

The erasure and neglect of bodies that fall out of the norm is a reality known all too well by the LGBTQIAP+ community, one which is often marginalised and sidelined. This community often finds itself having to navigate the heterosexual space that higher education characterises itself to be, often at risk of being abused, exploited and endangered due to their gender identities and/or sexual orientations, while these violations are compounded by classism, sexism and racism. The following section seeks to investigate how queer bodies function in heteronormative higher education environments while also seeking to deconstruct these same ecologies, using student movements as their primary means of engagement and resistance in the #FeesMustFall era.

Disrupting the norm – the LGBTIQAP+ story

In the post-Rhodes Must Fall era, decolonisation has become a discourse that has generated much anxiety and excitement. Kessi (2018, 101) attributes this to a fervent and urgent need for South Africa to define itself as a society, as well as locate itself within the global environment with the university as the locus in the post-apartheid era. As such, noting the university as a medium to access global civilisation, which possesses coloniality as its foundation, decolonisation seeks to rid this institution of this quality. This, according to Kessi (2018, 101–2), can only be achieved through the development of an approach more sensitive to apartheid and colonial legacies, and subsequently the encouragement of a shift in attitudes, mindsets, institutional systems, and structural changes at micro and macro levels, moving the transformation agenda beyond demographic change brought about by the need for the redress of apartheid inequalities in historically white institutions (HWI) through employment

equity and affirmative action policies.

The university environment, often viewed as a safe space, is not so for marginalised groups such as black women and non-conforming gendered identities and sexual orientations, forming part of a critique of the establishment as a space for discrimination due to its often "racialised, hetero-patriarchal, middle-class and Euro-American" patterns of behaviour (Sennett *et. al*. 2003; Walker 2005; Woods 2001, as cited in Kessi 2018, 101–2), and similarly, fertile ground for the germination of resistance movements, such as Fees Must Fall, where the narrative of black pain is an illustration by student activists of the critical need for change and the need for spaces of belonging while bringing issues often sidelined in higher education to the forefront (Ndebele 2016; Matandela 2015, as cited in Kessi 2018, 101–2).

The development of student movements also depicts a need for the university establishment to urgently move away from colonial and apartheid policies that are still prevalent in the space in the form of the intersectional regulation of the sexual and racial, translating into the historical erasure of LGBT bodies and women from "histories of black revolutionary thought" and their reception of exclusionary practices and denial of specific need catering (Davies 2014; Mwikya 2014; Hames 2007, McKinney 2005; Msibi 2013, as cited in Kessi 2018).

Bennett (2005, 18) also alludes to "policy richness" within the academy, where the nuanced needs of queer bodies are left hanging and are sandwiched into the binary where relationships and rites of passage occur within a heterosexist context, and do not allow room for extra-binary rules of engagement due to a policy drought in terms of sexual orientation. These experiences are also compounded by the inability to raise awareness of sexual diversity and tolerance and acceptance thereof due to a lack of support from academics in senior positions who are seldom familiar with intersectionality, its dimensions and general feminist discourse, serving as an intersectional and complex understanding through which the decolonial agenda can be forwarded.

However, this decolonial agenda can only be fleshed out when understandings of the historical, cultural and social contexts that compose institutional DNA generate substantive evidence of the micro- and macro-adjustments that go beyond the numbers question, and

instead, seek to address institutional practices and their associated values, beliefs and principles that perpetuate institutional racist culture.

The shift from transformation to decolonisation allowed for black female and LGBTQIAP+ students to locate and identify with themselves in a manner that made sense to them, especially when functioning in an HWI. The psychological element that is often triggered by systemic violence through misrecognition was for students a context that was easily identifiable through student movements, such as Rhodes Must Fall, allowing for identity reconstruction as "other" and an understanding of the narratives that they wish to create. This was most poignant for black students who are often viewed as the bodies never meant to be, in a constant state of "gratitude" for occupying the university space, and finding themselves having to navigate a system that "undervalues their identities, knowledges and capabilities" (Kessi 2018, 107). This is a glaringly evident display of the disjuncture between the expectation of a safe space and the realities that students endure.

The violently white, cisheterosexual, middle-class environment that epitomises the university environment is often the sunken place that trans-individuals find themselves in. Often invisible and without the proper lexicon in which to grasp their experiences, they struggle to legitimise their position on the institutional totem pole where cisgenderism is the dominant culture (Seelman 2014). This space, under a decolonial microscope, ought to be observed through how knowledge, identity formation and institutional culture interact to either expand or suppress the liberties of the student populace, dimensions that Kessi posits as "significant dimensions of the decolonize imperative" (Kessi 2018, 112). This erasure further extends to curriculum content, a vital component of the university career. Formby (2017, 8) notes sentiments of inadequate or absent representation of LGBT matters in the curriculum in the United Kingdom, while a few feel comfortable to discuss these subjects in class (also see Ellis 2009, National Union of Students 2014).

In the South African context, the education system is viewed to need collaborative content, generated by both scholars and educators alike, enabling open and frank dialogue about sexuality, gender identity and sexual orientation. However, this may be stifled by the educators' own attitudes pervaded by religion and culture, which, in the case of some Life Orientation educators interviewed by Nell and Shapiro, leads to the exclusion of this topic despite the availability of learning materials, and in the case of scholars in township schools,

a more judgmental attitude toward queer relationships, outcomes of a conservative and traditional upbringing where "a patriarchal culture of male dominance and machismo dominate". Despite these obstacles, though, the societal landscape is slowly on the move, with civil society playing a larger role in LGBT activism and the generation of a general consciousness of LGBT matters. However, it is time for the dialogue to progress and become an open and inclusive engagement for all, as to encourage greater diversity, inclusivity and tolerance of non-conforming identities across races and genders and deconstruct present structures that seek to suppress as opposed to expand and create a truly safe, transparent and vibrant university space.

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Transdisciplinary attempts at psychiatric health care and political power: The Life Esidimeni tragedy and the commodification of public health care

Noxolo Kali

Judge Moseneke (2018) revealed that in 2015 over 143 mentally ill people died from neglect and starvation, while 1418 patients were traumatised and several injuries were reported at Life Healthcare Esidimeni in Johannesburg, South Africa. This was a tragedy that shocked the world and warranted the appointment of an alternative dispute resolution process by the government (Makhura 2017). The appointment was made by means of an arbitration commission, chaired by the former Deputy Chief Justice, Judge Dikgang Moseneke.

Government officials, who were leading the Finance and Health Departments at the time of the tragedy, and representatives of the deceased appeared in front of the commission to testify on the events that led up to the tragedy. The commission completed its work at the beginning of 2018 and Judge Moseneke delivered the Commission's final report, commonly referred to as the 'Life Esidimeni Report' on 19 March 2018 through a national television broadcast.

Analysts, commentators and social media characterised the process of the commission and the overall experience as evidence of the government's incompetence, corruption and inhumanity (Al Jazeera 2018; BBC Africa 2018; News24 2018). In the report, Moseneke characterised the government systems and its officials as dysfunctional, inhuman and anti-poor (Moseneke 2018, 41). Furthermore, the mentally ill deceased people came from poor families and needed government support to be accommodated in the private health care facility of Life Esidimeni.

This paper explores the tragedy of Life Esidimeni as a manifestation of a financial intersection of both the government and business in the privatisation and commodification of health care at the disadvantage and subjugation of the poor and mentally ill people. The Marxist social conflict theory was applied to this exploration to demonstrate how the government as a state entity has institutionally subjugated the poor and mentally ill people to a point of their death by averting health care from them in the Life Esidimeni Healthcare facility.

Quality health care in South Africa is commodified and privatised. It is expensive for a poor person. As a result, it is accessible exclusively to the bourgeoisie of South Africa as per the

Marxist conceptualisation. Therefore, in preventing the poor and mentally ill people from accessing health care in Life Esidimeni, the government operated as an agent of the ruling class to secure the class interests of the rich people who are entitled to commodified health care.

Details of the Life Esidimeni tragedy

The Life Esidimeni Report indicates that 144 mentally ill people died after the government moved them out of the private health care facility called Life Esidimeni after 1 October 2015 (Moseneke 2018, 2). The government moved the patients to ill-equipped and understaffed facilities around Johannesburg. These facilities were operating as non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The type of facilities used by the NGOs ranged from houses and shacks to inappropriate clinics in townships (Moseneke 2018, 32). The patients were moved, precisely, from a private health care facility to dumping sites by the government.

In giving her testimony to the commission, the provincial Minister of Health in the Gauteng Department at the time, Qedani Dorothy Mahlangu, stated that a contract that the government had with the private Life Esidimeni Healthcare facility was terminated due to budgetary considerations (Moseneke 2018, 19). At the time of terminating the contract, over 2000 psychiatric patients were kept at the Life Esidimeni hospital receiving highly specialised, chronic and psychiatric health care. According to Qedani Mahlangu, this financial obligation became unsustainable for the government and, as a result, the patients had to be moved to the care of affordable and volunteering NGOs to save costs. Others were discharged and sent home to be with their families.

In December 2015, three months after all the patients had been discharged, Qedani Mahlangu reported to the national parliament that 36 former Life Esidimeni patients had died in one of the NGOs. Parliament noted the report but did not take any immediate action. In the following year, 2016, it was revealed that the NGOs, where the patients had been transferred, had poor facilities to accommodate the patients. In addition, the NGOs did not have specialised treatment for every condition of each patient. The NGOs were using standardised and inexpensive medication for almost all the kinds of conditions of the patients (National Assembly 2017).

It is worth recalling that the provincial Minister, Qedani Mahlangu, and her Department of Health were warned extensively to take action against the developing tragedy surrounding the

mentally ill patients that have been transferred to incapable NGOs. For instance, the Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) observed in 2015 that while the contract between the government and the private Life Esidimeni Healthcare unit was financially unsustainable, measures had to be taken immediately to rescue the situation before there could be dangerous consequences to the patients. This warning to the government went unheard. Instead, the government failed to adhere to the recommendation of the AGSA by conducting a monitoring and evaluation process of the situation in assessing the feasibility of the NGOs' capability to provide specialised care to the psychiatric patients (Makgoba 2016). The rest was history.

Marxist conceptualisation of commodified health care

Marx was a critic of capitalism based on the conceptualisation of the world and its communities as categories of commodified products. In the market economy of capitalism, every sphere and object of life can be bought and sold at a price. According to the logic of capitalism, basic human needs, such as water, shelter, clothing, health care, education, communication, food, and transport, are all traded in the market at a price (Christiansen 2017).

Books, wine, food, soap, property land, cell phones, holiday vacations, labour, concerts and water must be sold the same way in the market economy with a profit motive (Marx *et al.* 1988, 197). Under capitalism, it is deemed impossible for a human being to obtain anything for nothing. As the saying by Mall in 1942 (Dryer 2010, 240) goes, "there ain't no such thing as a free lunch". The Marxist framework refers to this phenomenon as commodification.

Commodified products are affordable to those who have the means to purchase them. Health care, a human need that is also a scarce resource, is in high demand globally from world citizens. In capitalism, citizens, or rather human beings, are consumers. The logic of capitalism dictates that when a resource is scarce and in high demand, it becomes expensive. In addition, the labour power required to produce such a scarce resource tends to be expensive as it is highly specialised and costly to train such skills in a commodified education system (Marx *et al*. 1988, 19).

Doctors, nurses and medical practitioners are the affluent labour power that is in high demand in the health sector. The commodification of their trade also invites them to demand an incentive of high value in the form of exorbitant wages for compensation. This conundrum

makes the entire value chain of health care unaffordable to ordinary people and the governments of poor and developing countries (Christiansen 2017).

The state as a class oppressor of the poor

The state in the form of a government is usually the entrusted institution in a country that bears the responsibility of providing health care to all its citizens. Health care is a basic human need. It becomes the responsibility of the state to "respect, protect and promote the rights of the citizens which are outlined in the Bill of Rights" (Constitution of South Africa 1996). The South African state though, similarly to the majority of states globally, operates within the framework of the market economy underpinned by capitalist fundamentalism (World Bank 2017, 19). In such an economic arrangement, the state depends on taxes collected from its active workforce and corporate industries to function in the execution of its public responsibilities.

The size of the *fiscus* of a state reflects the strength of the market economy in which it is based (Gamange 2010; National Treasury of South Africa 2017; Office of Management and Budget 2017). In 2017, the state of the United States of America (USA), with an unemployment rate of 4.1%, had a large *fiscus* of $3.8 trillion (Office of Management and Budget 2017), as compared to the state of South Africa which, with an unemployment rate of 26.5%, had a moderate *fiscus* of $122 billion (National Treasury of South Africa 2017). The relationship between the market economy and the *fiscus* of the state is a matter that Marxist scholars observe as the manifestation of class power by the market over the state for the benefit of the propertied ruling class.

The history of colonialism in South Africa inflicted poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment on the black population. On the other hand, it has created a skewed market economy that is still owned by the historically privileged white minority. This puts the South African government in the position where it has to face a complex socio-economic contradiction wherein it collects tax revenue from a tiny basket of the employed workforce to serve an unemployed and poverty-ridden majority of the population. As a result, the tax revenue of the South African state and its overall budgetary framework of government tends to be unable to satisfy the needs of the population. In some cases, the government has to face

a trade-off between providing health care to the poor or investing in the higher education of its youth (Zibi 2018).

In the South African context, rich people are the white minority group that has been exclusively benefiting from exclusive, quality, private and commodified health care since the apartheid colonialism period. Rich people remain with their own privatised institutions of health and education intact. They can afford the commodified and private health care. Nzimande (2009) observes that South Africa is characterised by a "funding [system] of health care [that] is a two-tier system which grossly discriminates against the working class and the poor in favour of the rich and propertied classes". Discrimination against the disadvantaged is to the extent that a patient, who does not have a private medical aid cover, does not receive treatment from a private health care institution, irrespective of the level of the emergency (News24 2017).

The weak currency of South Africa and its low-growth economy results in a struggle to recruit the best medical talent, medicine and equipment that is of excellent quality to the public hospitals. These world-class incentives, rather, are accessed by the private health care system (Nzimande 2009). In addition, the state subsidises private health care in large amounts in order to make it affordable to the low-middle-income earners of South Africa. The subsidisation of private health care by the government negatively affects its *fiscus* due to the exorbitant market value of private health care. The national Minister of Health, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, highlighted the unacceptable levels of government funding of private health care and committed to seeking the regulation of the sector in the 2018 Budget Vote speech in parliament (Motsoaledi 2018).

Though the government subsidises private health care, it remains exclusionary to the poor. Attempts made by the government to create the private-public partnership provision of health care for the benefit of the poor people through initiatives such as the National Health Insurance have been met with rejection by the stakeholders of the private health care system (Nzimande 2009; Motsoaledi 2018). Therefore, private health care remains exclusionary, expensive and heavily funded by a government that is supposed to represent the most vulnerable population groups in society. This quagmire is evidence of how the government is a class oppressor of the poor. As per the conceptualisation of Marx, the government, in this instance, has operated as an agent of the ruling class to secure the class interests of the rich people at the expense of the poor.

The South African government is not a stranger to acting in the interest of private capital against its own poor citizens. On 16 August 2012, the South African Police Service used live ammunition and killed 34 mineworkers during a protest for a living wage of R12 500 ($984) in the platinum mine of Lonmin in Marikana. Lonmin is a private company that owns a platinum mine in the township of Marikana. It makes billions in profits and contributes significantly to the economy of the country. However, it was paying its workers a poverty wage of R4500 a month ($354).

The Farlam Commission report revealed that while Lonmin had resources at its disposal to provide its own security to manage the protest and protect its own property, the government saw it necessary to provide subsidy to the Lonmin company in the form of availing its police to barricade the protest and to kill the workers in protection of the private property and profits of Lonmin (Farlam 2015). This was another instance of the active role of the state in the conflict between private capital and poor people. The state operated as an agent of the ruling class to protect the interests of the propertied bourgeoisie who owns Lonmin.

Marxist analysis of the government's role in the Life Esidimeni tragedy

The overarching theme of Judge Moseneke's report on the Life Esidimeni tragedy was the violation of human dignity by the government (Moseneke 2018, 62-4). It is important to note that the violated people consist of human bodies who are at the bottom of the hierarchy of human life in the South African context. The face of a dignified and rewarding life in South Africa is a white male. In contrast, the face of dehumanisation, humiliation, poverty and disease is a black, poor, rural, uneducated, unemployed, disabled and female person (Gqola 2015, 37; Crenshaw 1989). The intersection of all these categories of disadvantage gives the bourgeois government the go-ahead to violate the dignity of the mentally ill, black and poor patients. The government operated under the assumption that there would be no consequences for violating such cheap lives. Moseneke (2018, 76) emphasises that the mentally ill deceased patients were humiliated both "in life and in death [and] their families were also treated as sub-human and devoid of any worth".

Comments from the public commentators towards the responsible government officials were also as unforgiving. Hardly anybody had sympathy for the national Minister of Health, Dr Motsoaledi, when he cried during his testimony in the commission chaired by Judge Moseneke.

Mr Julius Malema, the leader of the opposition party in South Africa, the Economic Freedom Fighters, rejected Motsoaledi's emotional testimony and referred to his stunt as "crocodile tears" (Independent Online 2018). Civil rights organisations, such as the Treatment Action Campaign, have called for the criminal prosecution of the former provincial Health Minister of Gauteng, Qedani Mahlangu (eNCA 2018).

The testimony by health and finance officials in the commission was based on the theme that the government had to move patients out of the private health care unit of Life Esidimeni due to budgetary constraints. Private health care for mentally ill patients proved to be too expensive for the government to afford. Moseneke (2018, 22) acknowledges such an observation by the government officials by stating, "I readily accept that on all accounts, the Department, like the rest of the State, [is] faced [with] financial constraints". Nevertheless, how, and when the mentally ill patients were discharged by the government from the Life Esidimeni facility, is the action that Judge Moseneke describes as being unlawful. "Their irrational and thus unconstitutional decision was the reason for the death and torture [of the mentally ill patients] that ensued [in the NGOs after they were discharged]" (Moseneke 2018, 75).

The above-selected content of Judge Moseneke's report validates the collusion of the state and private capital in the violation of poor citizens. First, the state, operating in a capitalist market economy, failed to regulate the exorbitant cost of private health care and also failed to halt subsidising such an anti-poor and exclusive sector. Second, the prices of private health care continued to rise in the laissez-faire economic system of South Africa up to a point where "the mental health budget [began], at the relevant time, decreasing" (Moseneke 2018, 22). Last, the government behaved similarly to how a factory business owner would when faced with rising costs in a capitalist economy. When faced with high input costs, the factory business owner would retrench workers (Marx *et al*. 1988, 19). In this case, when the government was faced with high health care costs at Life Esidimeni, it retrenched the lives of innocent people to eternal rest.

Conclusion

The death of 143 people is a catastrophe no matter how one looks at it. It fittingly shocked the whole nation and the world. The hegemonic examination of the tragedy though was focused on the political and administrative failures of the government of the ruling party (Al Jazeera

2018). Other groups in society, such as opposition political parties, went to the extent of tabling a motion of no confidence on the Premier of the Gauteng province in the provincial parliament. However, this paper was seeking to draw a different narrative in analysing the tragedy that happened in the Life Esidimeni Health unit in Johannesburg, South Africa, by placing the problem at the commodification of health care.

The Marxist social theory of conflict was used to determine whether the problem in the Life Esidimeni crisis was rather the power and the position of the state in the market economy and how it colluded with private capital to disadvantage its own poor citizens. The bourgeois state that operates in the bourgeois economy for the economic interests of the propertied, private medical-aid-owning class has been uncovered for its violent conduct. The government officials, who were leading the Finance and Health Departments at the time of the tragedy, and the representatives of the deceased appeared in front of Judge Moseneke in a class conflict commission between these parties. The events that led up to the tragedy where the points of convergence and divergence in the model of divulging the pitfalls of a commodified health care system. In preventing poor and mentally ill people from accessing health care in Life Esidimeni, the government operated as an agent of the ruling class to secure the class interests of the rich people who are entitled to commodified health care.

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Youth Employability: An Entrepreneurial Curriculum to Surface a New Economy

Sandile Mjamba

In the years 2015 and 2016, students pursuing further studies in institutions of higher learning took to the streets to protest against the exorbitant costs associated with accessing higher education. This student revolution was coined as the 'fees must fall' campaign. This action emphasised the pressing matters of the financialisation of higher education and the anti-poor social approaches and norms that the university system tends to reproduce.

This student action unearthed alternative economic questions in academia. In the main, campus-related matters, such as student hunger and the dysfunctionality of state bursaries, for example, the National Students Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), to provide cash allowances on time to students, brought forth the question of student entrepreneurship as one of the mechanisms that the university environment should explore to alleviate the current plight of disadvantaged youth students.

According to Pouris and Inglesi-Lotz (2014), universities are domains of knowledge and in their character, they are critical catalysts for employment, social mobility and economic growth. In order to align the universities' output of human capital with the country's socio-economic demands, universities must also become a breeding ground for innovative thinking and must manufacture a timber of entrepreneurially inclined graduates. Student entrepreneurship stands at a unique position of being viewed as a surfacing space that can be used by the university stakeholders to secure the social capital that the disadvantaged students desperately need.

It becomes very strategic and this current conjecture is to develop a synchronised approach of entrepreneurially inclusive teaching and learning curricula that could help our state improve its entrepreneurship development efforts among the youth. Statistics South Africa (2018) reveals that the youth unemployment rate averaged 51.93% from 2013 to 2018. In addition, there are an estimated 9.3 million unemployed citizens in South Africa today while six million citizens of that figure are under the age of 35.

The need for South African universities to become entrepreneurial universities should be considered as a primary priority in order to use the quantitative potential of the new graduates entering the economy with capable tools on their hands to make their own living, supported by a progressive state that avails start-up capital for the disadvantaged and the unemployed, in particular. This is no longer an option but a fundamental, socio-economic and national obligation that a government is supposed to carry out.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (2012) highlights key ways to achieve economic prosperity for the youth as follows: (1) there must be a focus on leadership and governance, capacity-building of staff, entrepreneurship development in teaching and learning, pathways for entrepreneurs, and (2) universities must forge partnerships between businesses and academics to share knowledge and skills with a global focal point.

Therefore, South African universities, in partnership with student leaders, cannot ignore their own local responsibility of positioning student entrepreneurship along its other programmatic priorities of the democratic state.

A university must be encouraged to provide the necessary support to its student entrepreneurs such as infrastructure, seed funding for ideas, mentorship, access to markets, pitching dens, and opportunities, business leadership master classes, and business development support.

Over time these young business owners may become household names and big brands that employ thousands of the unemployed group for the sake of our *fiscus* potential and the socio-political responsibility we have on the generations that come after us.

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