Decolonising the University: A Social Realist Study of a

South African University

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Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet

requirements for any other award or credit at this or any institution of higher education.

To the best of my knowledge, the thesis is wholly original, and all material or writing

published or written by others and contained herein has been duly referenced and

credited.

Anwar Shaik

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ABSTRACT

This research is a case study that investigates the demand for decolonisation at a South African University. The University of Cape Town (UCT) is an institution that was reserved for white South Africans under the Apartheid system, until the formal abolition of Apartheid in 1994. Between 2015 and 2017 the university faced disruptive and violent student protests which halted the academic programme on several occasions. The demands of black students were focused on economic and cultural exclusion which they still experienced at UCT, more than 20 years after Apartheid. These charges of exclusion were eventually consolidated within a general demand for the total decolonisation of UCT.

The aim of this research was to understand the charge that UCT remained colonial, for the purpose of helping the institution chart an emancipatory course of action. The research therefore sought to gain an understanding of the nature of coloniality at UCT, as well as offer some new approaches for the institution to overcome the problem.

In contrast to many research projects in this field, the study was conducted from the paradigm of critical realism. This departure from traditional research paradigms was undertaken in the hope of achieving a more objective and holistic problem analysis which could result in a more coherent and unifying approach to change.

The research was designed as a single organisational case study. The public discourse record, made up of official UCT publications, public statements, interviews, recorded public events, public letters and other material since 2015 provided a rich source of data on which the study could be based. Material therefore included official university publications, video and audio material, minutes of meetings and other publicly available material which related to the protests and to the call for decolonisation. To augment the 84 open source material items used in the data analysis, a series of seven interviews with members of the university community was also conducted, and their transcripts

added to the pool of data. The interviews involved three staff members and four students, who were at UCT during the protests, but who had all, with one exception, had left UCT at the time of the interview.

The qualitative data analysis drew on recognised methods of documentary analysis, including textual analysis and critical discourse analysis. Using the lens of social realism, the central focus of the analysis was reaching an understanding of the dynamics between Structure and Agency, where Structure refers to the historically established cultural and material structure and Agency the actions of the people in response to it.

The first of two key findings that were made was that the legacy of South Africa's colonial and Apartheid past persists on campus, in the form of the material and emotional strain that it creates for black students, thereby adversely impacting on their ability to exercise Agency. Whereas economic deprivation can be quantified, and have been structurally addressed by the institution, the research found that the emotional strain caused by social and cultural neglect – and the way in which this impacts on Agency - remain a more complex challenge and in need of alternative forms of remediation. Theorising such complexity as *Student Secureness,* the finding is that coloniality is experienced as an inability to exercise full agency due to loss of secureness. The research goes on to identify possible approaches to ameliorate the effects of this form of coloniality.

The second important finding in the study was confirming that coloniality continued to be experienced in the cultural and intellectual plane - which manifested in the form of Eurocentrism in the curriculum, the domain of research as well as in the classroom and campus milieu. Going beyond this however, and in applying a social realism lens, the study infers a further and novel causal structure termed Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS). ICS is theorised as a more complex and broader explanation of coloniality, which transcends race and nationality. It is theorised as a condition in which the established actors, being colonially conditioned, are unable to make sense of knowledge that emanates from epistemic pathways outside of their ingrained sensemaking faculties,

thereby resulting in a constricted reflexivity and the formulation of an unproductive agentic stance and leading eventually to organisational stasis and socio-cultural schism. In addressing the problem of ICS, the thesis argues for the emergence of an expanded institutional identity that can generate broad commitment and institutional cohesion. A transcendent, globally relevant African identity is proposed, built on the common legacy of colonialism and the goal of an emancipated Africa, to which the entire university community can commit to, and to which the entire academic project can be directed.

CHAPTER 1 – THESIS INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introducing the Study

During the period 2015 to 2017, South African universities experienced their most disruptive protests since the end of Apartheid. At the University of Cape Town (UCT), these protests led to an unprecedented closure of the campus, sometimes for weeks on end. The protests have come to be termed Fallism, based on the operative words "must fall" in their social media tags. An enduring call that emerged from Fallist protests at UCT was for the total decolonisation of the university. UCT itself was the site of an early Fallist protest in 2015, known as #RhodesMustFall. That protest resulted in the removal from campus of a statue of an architect of 19th century British colonialism, Cecil John Rhodes.

After 2015 the call for decolonisation was embraced by the executive of the university and incorporated formally as an institutional goal (UCT Newsroom, 2016b). This research is a response to that executive commitment. It is structured to formally investigate the call for decolonisation at UCT in order to gain a deeper understanding of the challenge the institution faces. Based on such an understanding of colonialism, it then explores ideas around meeting the challenge of decolonisation.

It is necessary to, at the outset, put forward a working definition of the term decolonisation which will be assumed in the study. Decolonisation, in a literal sense has been referred to as "the process whereby colonial powers transferred institutional and legal control over their territories and dependencies [back] to indigenously based, formally sovereign, nation-states" (Duara, 2003, p. 2, my parentheses). Clearly, the case of decolonisation at UCT does not involve direct foreign legal control, and so a more metaphorical meaning must be sought. A more suitable treatment of the term decolonisation can take place if colonialism, as experienced at UCT is regarded, not as a legal imposition, but rather as the enduring legacy of colonialism. Such a view on colonialism has in fact

been adopted by many scholars and activists. Some of these see decolonisation as a process of undoing Europe's ideological and epistemic hegemony (Grosfoguel, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2016). In a similar vein, others see it as a process of physical and intellectual emancipation from an established legacy of cultural and economic exclusion and alienation (Chitonge & Horman, 2018; Mbembé, 2001; Oyedemi, 2018; Thiong'o, 1994). What is noticeable from these conceptualisations is that they all address a social and economic legacy as well as a cultural and intellectual colonial legacy. The understanding of coloniality as the persistence of (1) economic and social forms of exclusion on the one hand and of (2) cultural and intellectual forms of alienation, has in light of this been adopted for this study.

How do we apply this understanding of decolonisation to a university? Using these interpretations, I have found it reasonable to work on the assumption that decolonisation – for the university - means reversing and counteracting all economic, social, cultural and intellectual forms of exclusion and alienation with roots in Apartheid and colonialism. The study therefore sets out to investigate the problem of exclusion and alienation, framed within a broader emancipatory project of decolonisation. In the case of UCT, the exclusion and alienation that are referred to pertain to the deprivations experienced by the mainly black[1] survivors of Apartheid and colonialism.

Under this understanding of colonialism, the term *coloniality*, which emerged from postcolonial Latin American intellectuals in recent decades, seems to convey more precisely the type of colonialism under investigation here (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995; Schwarz, 2005). The term coloniality has been used in reference to the enduring legacy of colonialism. The term coloniality refers to the *legacy* of colonisation rather than its *actual* state of imposition. Coloniality has been

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[1] Throughout this thesis, when referring to black people, I use the term *black* to refer to all those who, under South Africa's apartheid laws, were legally categorised as other than 'white' or 'European'. The term 'black' therefore includes those classified as Coloured, Indian or African under apartheid.

defined as "[…] long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but […] well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations […] maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience" (Maldonado-Torres, citing Quijano, 2007, p. 243). For this study, the term coloniality has consequently been preferred in reference to the present-day continuing legacy of colonialism and Apartheid.

1.2 Context

With the understanding of colonialism and coloniality set out in the preceding section, this section provides an overview of the research context, which covers the university's history and location, the challenge of transformation after Apartheid, global pressures, local class and cultural dynamics, the Fallist protests and finally, the challenge the university has experienced in its effort to effect decolonisation.

History and Location

UCT, located in Cape Town, in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, was founded as the South African College in 1829, when the Cape Province still fell under British rule. It was constituted by Charter in 1918 as the University of Cape Town. Under Apartheid, since 1948, UCT was legally declared an institution for members of the white race and the admission of blacks, whether students or academics, was forbidden, except if a special permit was obtained. Even after strict segregation laws were relaxed, right until the fall of Apartheid in 1994, the university remained largely white, middle-class and culturally English in its student and academic composition.

Post-Apartheid Transformation

The post-Apartheid government, after 1994, introduced a series of national policies with which to bring about transformation in the higher education sector. Much of the new government's policy efforts was aimed at reshaping the racial profile of universities such as UCT, while simultaneously

addressing the pressures brought about by higher education globalisation (Cloete, Pillay, Badat, & Moja, 2004). As a result of global pressures, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) took a sharp free market policy turn shortly after coming to power, which was incorporated within its change agenda. The early national euphoria caused by the fall of Apartheid has been seen as the reason that this political sidestep went unchallenged (Bond & Garcia, 2000; Desai, 2003; Narsiah, 2002). Writing about the changes brought about by the ANC government in the 1990s for the university, Weber states

> In South Africa, as elsewhere, the collegial relationships that characterised the academic workplace have been replaced with what has been called the "new managerialism." The language and requirements of performance, measurement, accountability and evaluation, competition, effectiveness and efficiency have gained precedence over the intellectual model of the university and its role as public good. (Weber, 2011, p. 2).

Cloete et al. list the six core ideas promoted by the ANC's higher education policy in the 1990s as "Equity and redress, quality, development, democratisation, academic freedom, institutional autonomy, effectiveness and efficiency and public accountability" (Cloete et al., 2004, p. 7). Clearly, some of these ideas such as "efficiency" and "accountability" signaled the state's neo-liberal turn and its abandoning of some key social developmental goals to the vicissitudes of the free market. From 1994, in line with this neo-liberal agenda, the state gradually reduced its financial support to universities, who were required to replace lost finding by increasing their tuition fees or by generating alternative sources of revenue, if they were to maintain their standards (Mouton, Louw, & Strydom, 2013). At UCT, the net effect was that the tuition fees for a B.Com degree climbed 375% from ZAR[2]

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[2] ZAR stands for Rand, the international abbreviation for the South African national currency.

16500 in 2005 to ZAR 62000 by 2015 (UCT Website [Archived], 2005: eNCA News, 2015), more than double the country's annual inflation rate.

Globalisation

The term globalisation in reference to the modern university has been used to refer to

> systems and relationships that are practised beyond the local and national dimensions at continental, meta-nation, regional and world levels. These relationships can be technological, cultural, political and economic as well as educational. They can be expressed in flows of ideas, images, and people, or in terms of flows of money, goods and services.
>
> (Harman, 2005, p. 121).

Altbach sees globalisation as

> broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education, [the] use of a common language for scientific communication; […] society's mass demand for higher education (massification) and for highly educated personnel [and] the "private good" trend in thinking about the financing of higher education.
>
> (Altbach, 2006, p.123).

Since the early 1990s already, even before South Africa transitioned to democracy, globalisation was already becoming a key factor that was driving change at institutions such as UCT (Altbach, 2004, 2006; Salmi & Altbach, 2011). Globalisation brought the added pressure on the university to become more business-like or managerial, meaning that budgetary and financial considerations were elevated above the considerations that traditionally shaped the university. The challenges that came with globalisation have been well documented. These include unrealistic work pressures on academics (Kok, Douglas, McClelland, & Bryde, 2010; Oleksiyenko, 2018), the increased pressure on governments to reduce grants to universities (Orr, 1997; Wilkins, Shams, & Huisman, 2013), standardisation of curricula (Keating, Ortloff, & Philippou, 2009), standardisation of English as the

global language (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009; Ricento, 2000) and stricter budgetary controls (Altbach, 2004, 2006; Salmi & Altbach, 2011).

Finally, the reliance on market forces also drove the university towards the needs of industry, while diminishing or abandoning other traditional goals of the university such as building good citizenship (Case, 2013).

The Fallist Protests

It is within this climate of globalisation and the persistent social and economic legacy of Apartheid that the Fallist protests erupted at South African universities in 2015, 20 years after the end of Apartheid. During these years of violent and disruptive protest at UCT, the campus was shut down for extended periods, numerous students were arrested, property worth millions of South African Rand was damaged, and thousands of staff and students suffered severe emotional trauma.

A more detailed synopsis of Fallism is provided here, in sketching the context. An event that marked the start of Fallism was the public hurling of excrement at the statue of Cecil Rhodes by student activist, Chumani Maxwele on 9 March 2015 (Langa, 2017c; UCT Communication and Marketing Team, 2015; UCT YouTube Channel, 2015c). The action was a well-planned spectacle which ended up being broadcast widely in the media, thus eliciting a strong public response. An early response of the UCT administration to the action was to call for a campus-wide open debate on the removal of the statue. This response was met by a very strong rejection from sections of the campus community, which may have caught the university administration by surprise. The administration's vacillation on the issue resulted in a public flaring up of anti-colonial sentiment (UCT Newsportal, 2015).

A split along cultural and ethnic lines was visible early-on in the protests, discernible from video footage (UCT YouTube Channel, 2015b). The opposition to the statue came mainly from black members of the university community, while white, or more accurately put, culturally more

integrated members of the university, appeared indifferent to the presence of the statue on campus. Some social media posts of the time in fact show that many regarded the outcry against the Rhodes statue as overblown (see South Africa Subreddit, 2015).

On 25 March 2015, as part of the consultation process, the university executive convened an assembly where the statue's removal was to be discussed (UCT YouTube Channel, 2015b). This meeting turned into a protest platform where almost all the speakers shared personal testimonies of feeling alienated or excluded at UCT, to loud applause from the crowd. The video footage shows an explosion of victim solidarity at that meeting and the forging of a new movement. If viewed from the perspective of Margaret Archer's (1995) concept of morphogenesis[3], this almost certainly is the moment when the hitherto passive agents made common cause, and emerged into a powerful corporate agent. The end-result was a massive intensification of protests which, in the end, caused the statue to be removed two weeks later on 9 April 2015 (UCT IRTC, 2019).

The victory of #Rhodesmustfall was the precursor to stronger and more vigorous protests. In the latter part of 2015, the success of #Rhodesmustfall spurred new protests at UCT, with the activism of earlier that year fully absorbed within the new campaign against hefty fee increases and financial exclusion (Langa, 2017a). The protests grew in intensity from 2015 into 2016, by which time protesting students acquired a much more defiant attitude at protest meetings, protest marches, sit-ins and placard demonstrations (Chronicle Digital Youtube Channel, 2016). The protests also saw an increase in violence and anger and in November 2017 a local newspaper reported that protestors tuned violent and "blocked entrances, slashed the tyres of buses and flung human faeces in a lecture hall" (Cape Times Online, 2017, 1st Paragraph).

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[3] Morphogenesis, literally meaning "the emergence of a new form", is a concept in Social Realism that is to be addressed in more detail later on in the thesis.

Race and Class Dynamics

The unique class and racial profile of the Western Cape province of South Africa, and its transformation over recent decades, has played a part in racial and class sensitivities at UCT. As will be seen throughout this study, culture plays a prominent role in the unfolding of the protests and in the conceptualisation of coloniality.

The Fallist protests must therefore be contextualised within South Africa's unique race and class dynamics, which UCT is integrally part of. South African society has a complex race and class composition that is rooted in the social divisions institutionalised by its colonial and Apartheid past. Apartheid's formal ethnic and racial designations, namely that of African, European, Coloured and Indian, were carried into post-Apartheid South Africa, albeit in a nuanced way and often with some awkwardness (Thompson, 2001; Vail, 1991). One can take the contradictions with the term *African* as an example. Although the term is correctly used to refer to the continental affiliation of all South Africans, in common usage it is still used and understood as referring to those who were classified as black African under Apartheid, meaning essentially those who speak an indigenous African mother tongue. Another term mired in contradiction is the term *Coloured*. Under Apartheid it referred to people whose racial origin was mixed or ambiguous. Although it was always seen as an offensive and baseless term, many South Africans have over time come to colloquially use it as an ethnic designation that refers to South Africans of mixed South-East-Asian, Khoisan and European cultural heritage. 'Coloured' South Africans insist on being African (continentally speaking), as well as being black victims of Apartheid and colonialism. Many 'coloured' people in fact played leading roles within all the liberation movements and are highly visible in the post-Apartheid government – not as by virtue of being coloureds, but as black Africans.

Apartheid did not only entrench racial divisions, but it also assigned social and economic opportunities based on those divisions. Nowhere are the effects of these divisive policies more pronounced than in the city of Cape Town. In Cape Town, it resulted in racial and ethnic divisions

being closely aligned with social and economic divisions. In Cape Town, whites were then and now the most privileged class, while Africans were during and after Apartheid, the most deprived group socially and economically. In Cape Town, where 'coloureds' constitute a majority, a substantial non-white 'Coloured' middle-class is present, while 'coloureds' at the same time constitute the majority of the poor and working class of the city. Africans have always, and do still, occupy the lowest ranks socio-economically in Cape Town. Racial and class prejudice does consequently occur and was in fact encouraged for many decades under Apartheid. UCT, in an effort to extend its black African student enrolment, drew much of its black African student component from a growing black African middle-class in other parts of the country (Bond, 2000; Gibson, 2011; Hart & Padayachee, 2013). The challenges experienced by such students, coming to Cape Town, with its cultural and social hybridity cannot be ignored. It is these racial and class dynamics that form part of the context within which the Fallist protests emerged in 2015.

Although the protestors were the most motivated and energised group on campus, and voiced honestly held grievances, video footage shows that the majority of students and staff at UCT chose to remain aloof (Chronicle Digital Youtube Channel, 2016). Gauging from the many recorded videos and images of protest meetings, demonstrations, publications and other forums where the call was made most vocally, it is very clear that the main demographic advancing the cause was culturally African (UCT SRC Manifesto 2015, 2015; UCT YouTube Channel, 2015a, UCT YouTube Channel, 2015b). This must be seen within the context that the breakdown of student enrolment at UCT in 2015 was 27.9% African, 15.9% Coloured, 8.1% Indian, 35.8% White and 12.3% non-disclosed (UCT Marketing and Communication, 2018, p.97). That means that the protests in 2015 would seem to have been spearheaded by a specific cultural base within the university community. It suggests that the protests were fuelled by grievances which most strongly affected the black African members of the campus community. That is not to say that no members of other groups joined the protests. There was, since the very start of the protests, a substantial solidarity element from many who were

not black African and therefore not personally affected by alienation and exclusion. A good number of white students can be seen in the protests, especially in its early days (Chronicle Digital Youtube Channel, 2016; UCT Newsportal, 2016; UCT YouTube Channel, 2015b). The words of the Vice Chancellor, Max Price, enforces this point, when he stated in a public address in 2015 "this is not a small, radical, extreme group that is holding the campus to ransom. This is a widespread range of issues, with significant support […] and while I believe there are only a few students who actually want to shut down the University, and invoke disruption, there were many who aligned themselves with the cause" (UCT Vice Chancellor, 2016, p.4).

The Passion of the Protestors and Executive Responses

Several forces were operating at the height of the crisis, which the administration was struggling to formulate a clear response to. The university administration faced pressure from two main quarters, namely from students and staff wanting a restoration of the university programme on one hand, and from the protestors who vowed to continue the disruption of classes and the daily routine until radical changes were made. Other forces were also operating though. The protestors had acquired substantial sympathy from sections of the media, who seemed to play a cheerleading role at times (Jansen, J. D., 2017). Media reporting directly affected the image of the institution and was therefore a factor to be considered when any executive action was contemplated. Additionally, some activist academics had begun to also organise events where they expressed solidarity with students, while adding their own grievances (UCT Newsroom, 2016a). This complicated the matter for the university administration as it made the establishment seem like a divided house. Internal division within the ranks of staff therefore became an additional challenge which the executive had to deal with.

This result of the multiplicity of pressures, and the unprecedented nature of an organised challenge to the university from activists, caused visible executive indecisiveness. This created an impression with some sectors on campus that the university had surrendered to the protestors within a climate

that had turned toxic – a view articulated by a UCT professor in an article (Politicsweb, 2017). The hardened attitudes at the heart of Fallism are clearly discernible from the discourse. The two excerpts below, from a letter of demand, are illustrative of this.

> Dear *Colonial Administrators*, ... the British empire and the Apartheid government had no trouble finding and installing Black people to carry out their diabolical tasks. P*lease don't confuse your steady rise through an unjust system by stepping on the heads of Black students as "empowerment" - don't insult us and the rest of our people [...],*
>
> It is clear as day that this team has been constituted to protect the Vice Chancellor. You, [name of official], have made a decision to act against programmes *that ultimately stand to work to the benefit of you and your children and you must prepare to face the consequences of what you're doing.*
>
> (UCT Internet Portal, 2016, my emphasis)

The university eventually did take action which included deploying additional security on campus, taking out court interdicts against some protestors, expelling some students and also calling in the police to enforce court interdicts. These measures were however not successful in restoring order and resulted in a further escalation of violence. The outcome in 2016 was the burning of university property, including a bus, and the destruction of several other items of substantial value. The anger of protestors, initially focused on the statue of Cecil Rhodes, was also now directed at university administrators, who were painted as sell-outs and betraying the plight of protestors (Politicsweb, 2017).

Global Connectedness

An indication of the intensity of the protests was its global ramifications. The demand for decolonisation ended up reverberating as far away as the University of Oxford (Newsinger, 2016). Oxford students responded in their own way by staging a march in support of decolonisation in 2016.

The reality of global influences on South Africa can also not be discounted. The protests that occurred in South Africa and at UCT were not a uniquely South African phenomenon, and similar eruptions took place around the same time in other parts of the world. Protest movements opposing the prohibitive costs of university education throughout the world are well-documented (Altbach & Klemencic, 2014; Cini & Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Rao & Haina, 2017). These could have had an inspiring effect on South African students.

Present Situation

Although the idea of decolonisation has come to be accepted at UCT, the university has called for and embraced an inclusive process with which to advance it. This inclusivity is endorsed in the final report of the IRTC, one of two flagship executive initiatives undertaken to respond to the call for decolonisation. This endorsement of an inclusive process is contained in the words "the process of decolonisation should go ahead to the extent agreed by the university community…" (UCT IRTC, 2019, p.69). The final passage, "to the extent agreed by the university community…" places a proviso of consensus or broad coherence on any programme of decolonisation. Placing that proviso also implies conceiving of decolonisation in broadly coherent terms, rather than as a partisan project. The problem however is that the trajectory of decolonisation since 2015 does not reflect such coherence, but instead shows signs of institutional fragmentation and malaise.

By 2020, UCT had acquired a new VC and an almost entirely new executive management team, who have seemingly embraced the mission of decolonisation, however there are signs that this has not brought UCT closer to a full resolution of the problem of finding a coherent and unifying approach to decolonisation. That decolonisation efforts since 2015 were not part of a comprehensive approach and failed to secure broad support, is evinced by several debilitating and even tragic developments. Some of these developments since 2015 were:

- The tragic suicide of the black Dean of Health Sciences in 2018. Immediately after the dean's death, reports appeared in the media that the emotional pressure from activists who

denigrated the black professor as a white stooge, coupled with immense work pressures lay behind the tragedy (News24, 2018).

- The UCT Law faculty faced withdrawal of their national accreditation to give out law degrees due to their national body found them failing to provide the necessary support to black students (The South African, 2017).

- The university faced pressure to revise its ties with Israeli universities, which resulted in a split between the senate and the council on a boycott of Israeli universities (Daily Vox, 2019).

- A crisis developed around the appointment of a new dean to the Faculty of Humanities when a black academic sabotaged the voting process instituted by the VC and openly destroyed ballot papers (Sowetan Live, 2019).

- The publicly expressed protest against the Curriculum Change Framework (CCF) document also spilled into the broader media and forced the VC to release her own public statement on the matter. The document has since seemed to lose much of its currency and no major strategic initiatives, emanating from it can be identified (Politicsweb, 2019).

These developments show that decolonial change at UCT is far from a simplistic matter, and in need of more reflection and analysis. It is within this context that this study adds to the analysis and pursues the possibility of a coherent and unifying approach to decoloniality that will take on board the interests, ambitions and concerns of the entire university community.

1.3 Rationale & Research Problem

One of the aims of this research is to achieve a unifying and broad conceptualisation of decolonisation that avoids the type of schismatic thinking that has led to malaise. "Schismatic thinking" within social analysis has in fact been identified as a problem that can have adverse practice implications (Case, citing Moore, 2013, p.11). What is the basis of this schism? I will in this section argue that the problem of schism in social analysis can be traced back, at least in part, all the way to the scholar's core assumptions about social reality. In particular, a fundamental distinction in

scholarship is whether aspects of society are vested in people's minds, or whether they have an objective and independently verifiable existence. Applying this distinction to our topic of investigation, the question then is whether coloniality is founded in human beliefs and perceptions or whether it has an objective, real and verifiable existence. Opting for one or the other of these two positions in order to construct a path to knowledge, cannot but lead to schism. In the following paragraphs I will explain my position and establish the importance and relevance of ontology in research of this nature.

The two core assumptions I mentioned in the previous paragraph correspond to two important research paradigms in social research namely logical positivism and social constructionism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Moses & Knutsen, 2007). The core feature of logical positivism is that it sees knowledge as being nothing more than what is empirically observable and demonstrable (Danermark et al, 2001; Lee, 1991). The problem is that an exclusively logical positivist methodology for identifying the nature of coloniality will not offer a sufficient explanation. Hill and Godfrey (1995), in referring to research within organisations, point to the problem of empirically unobservable factors or phenomena. The overlooking or discounting of any undetectable causes and factors also has an effect on the causal analysis. When social analysis relies strictly on a finite set of observed 'variables', then the existence of undetected causes will result in an incomplete causal analysis. It is for this reason that Bhaskar (2008) charged logical positivists with committing the ontological fallacy, which he explains as conflating what is known of an object, with its real being. Shiva refers to this problem as "…discrepancies between the methods of knowing and the interpretations of the world" (Shiva, 1993, p. 1).

Social Constructionists on the other hand, from the alternative paradigm, have attempted to address the inherent deficiency within logical positivism by declaring as 'real', and 'legitimate' all knowledge that is socially constructed within a defined social system (Lee, 1991). The task of the researcher is then to arrive at meaning through a process of interpreting the perspectives of the

subjects within the system (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). This raises another problem. This interpretive approach to knowledge results in an analysis that is idiosyncratic and "owned" by a defined group or system. In higher education research, interpretivist studies have been seen as bearing little relevance beyond the immediate context of the problem (Cohen et al., 2007). Gray adds that "Perspective-seeking methods tend to be more interpretivist [and the outcomes] should be treated as tendencies rather than as laws" (2014, p. 30). The outcomes of such research, being perspectival, lacks the power and the potential of setting a broad, institution-wide agenda for social transformation, as will be required in a broad decolonisation agenda. Bhaskar therefore rejects interpretivism for committing the "epistemic fallacy", meaning confusing what is known about reality with the actual nature of reality" (Bhaskar, 2009; Earl & Varaki, 2015).

It is the premise of this research that a coherent and broad understanding of the problem of coloniality will offer the potential of a coherent and unified programme of decolonisation. To achieve this, it is my contention that the problem of intellectual schism must be addressed. If intellectual schism can be seen as competing truth claims borne from competing paradigms, then a transcendence of paradigms could be the route to a coherent understanding (Thompson, 2004). That means that a research paradigm that rationally consolidates the key concerns within both these traditional paradigms, must be found.

A research paradigm which allows for such transcendence is one originally coined as "Transcendental Realism" by its founder, Roy Bhaskar (2008). Bhaskar's Transcendental Realism retained human perspective as an aspect of reality, however not to the point of reducing reality to the perspective of people. Bhaskar's Transcendental Realism, known today as Critical Realism (CR) - adopted as a third paradigm by a large section of scholars globally – has the potential to deliver a more comprehensive, less schismatic understanding of coloniality. The belief that a transcendent research paradigm may yield a transcendent, unifying, comprehensive and coherent understanding of coloniality and decolonisation, lies at the heart of this research. CR departs from pure

perspectivalism in one important way in that it avoids conflating the perspectives, ideologies and opinions of people with the actual nature and state of reality[4]. On the other hand, CR rejects uncompromising empiricism and logical positivism, that views empirical evidence as the complete and unquestionable state of reality. CR thus remains committed to objective reality, but a reality that is perspective-laden and not perspective-founded.

Unlike social constructionism, CR offers a pathway to knowledge that offers independent verifiability (or falsifiability) beyond the immediate research project. As such, it offers broadly scoped inferences, with the power of prediction, seen as core to the purpose of social theory (Archer, 1995; Giddens, 1979). Through remaining based in objective reality, the trap of pure perspectivalism or relativism is avoided, and we are able to arrive at conceptualisations of reality that can be demonstrated as being more valid than other. CR thereby sets the scene for research findings that have broader appeal while also being transformative and emancipatory (Bhaskar, 2009).

It is hoped that, through a critical realist ontological grounding of the research, the decolonisation discourse will be placed on a more inclusive footing. By employing social realism as a framework that crosses the divide between constructionist and purely logical positivist methodologies, new and unanticipated new insights and findings may be possible through this investigation. Chapter 2 provides a more in-depth explanation of how theories based in critical realism have underpinned this research.

1.4 Research Questions

The research is predicated on the assumption that a coherent, broadly scoped response strategy to decolonisation is elusive due to the way in which the problem has been intellectually framed thus

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[4] There are many more powerful critiques by critical realists of perspectivalism and logical positivism which include the works of Archer (1995) and Bhaskar (2015).

far. The assumption in this study, from critical realism, is that there are indeed social realities that have real and objective existence beyond the mere subjective perspectives of members of the institution; but that such realities are subject to conditioning rather than being wholly lodged in the mind of the subject or in the social narrative (Danermark et al., 2001; Fletcher, 2016).

In light of the stated definition of coloniality, the context, problem description and rationale, the research questions which underpin this research have been formulated as two core questions. To each of these questions, a corollary question was added, which adds an important practical and emancipatory element to the research:

Research Question 1

In the context of South Africa's legacy of colonialism and Apartheid and from a critical realist perspective, what is the nature of social and economic exclusion experienced by students at UCT and how has such exclusion given rise to Fallism?

Corollary to Question 1: Based on the explanation above, what should be the features of a coherent institutional response?

Research Question 2

Assuming cultural and intellectual alienation to be a key aspect of coloniality and assuming that such alienation amounts to a denial of identity, what, in critical realist terms, is the nature of cultural and intellectual alienation at UCT?

Corollary to Question 2: Based on this explanation, how can a consolidation of identity between the institution and all the agents be accomplished, that will energise a unified emancipatory decolonisation project?

In social realist terms, the first question addresses the social and economic structure of coloniality while the second question addresses the cultural and intellectual structure of coloniality, referred to respectively as the material structure and the cultural structure in social realism (Archer, 1995).

1.5 About the Researcher

UCT players have contributed extensively to the discourse on decolonisation by engaging in inhouse research, offering their reflections and theories, and participating in initiatives on the problem of coloniality. The body of written, audio, video and conference material collected for this research, as will be seen further on, is evidence that. A complicating factor which the insider researcher faces however are the power dynamics around contentious issues within the organisation. (Groundwater-Smith & Mockler, 2005; Hamilton & Appleby, 2016; Merriam et al., 2001). "Micro-politics" may also make it more complicated for the insider to address some issues without having his or her motives questioned (Clegg, 2012, p. 416). Groundwater-Smith and Mockler (2005) additionally link the reliability of in-house practitioner research to its purpose, finding that it is possible that inhouse research could serve as a tool of implementation by management. Ashwin (2008) raises a few crucial questions about in-house research, which will allow the researcher to gauge the quality of data that is to be gathered from subjects that are close to the researcher. Two of the questions he raises, which I see as relevant in this study, are "How much are individuals free to decide on their own actions and how much are they constrained by the social settings in which they operate?" and "Are explanations […] to be found at the micro level of the individual or at the macro societal level?" (Ashwin, 2008, p. 153). These questions and complexities of in-house research presents an opportunity for a relatively independent practice-based researcher to investigate an organisational problem – such as decolonisation – while avoiding the political pitfalls.

In my case, being a researcher that is less prone to micropolitics, has not however meant being disconnected from the university. I have several ties that have always kept me close to UCT, since my own UCT student days in 1995. Firstly, I remain connected to UCT as a member of UCT's alumni. Secondly, I am a parent and sponsor of two recent UCT graduates, with who, on multiple occasions during 2015 and 2016 I had to deal with the direct consequences of the protests, albeit from a concerned parent's perspective. Thirdly from my previous professional interactions with the

university. As a government policy developer, I was in regular contact with academics and other staff within the health sciences faculty around bursary allocations and the funding of certain faculties. I also chaired a focus group with UCT health science academics to discuss the transformation of the profile of the medical registrar and how such transformation affected the curriculum for medical registrars. Finally, and most importantly for this research, I have augmented the textual analysis, which forms the basis of the data-analysis in this research (as will be seen in Chapter 3), with a series of interviews with students and staff members who directly experienced the protests[5]. These included two members of the senior executive – both of whom were pivotal institutional actors during the Fallist protests. I therefore consider myself an independent researcher, with a relatively good insight into the institution.

My work experience and academic background have lent further advantage to me conducting this research. My professional experience is essentially of an education and training policy maker and strategist. I currently serve as a lecturer and consultant in the non-governmental organization (NGO) sector, based at the Grassroots Education Trust, since 2007. My role in Grassroots is focused on enabling adult learners, from poorer backgrounds, to gain access to further education and training education opportunities. Other prior professional experience that built my proficiency for research of this nature were the central role I played in the cultural transformation of the South African National Parks (1995-1999), my strategic role in the restructuring of training operations in government (1999 – 2003) and the drafting of the human resource policy and strategy for the newly established Robben Island Museum. Academically, I completed the coursework component of a Doctor of Education degree at the university of Liverpool – coursework which the university rates at

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[5] All four students had already left UCT at the time of my interviewing them, while two of the three staff members who experienced the protests, were no longer at UCT at the time of them being interviewed for this study.

the level of a master's in research. Since 2018, I am enrolled as a doctoral candidate at the University of Liverpool (UoL), under the supervision of Dr Peter Kahn, who is an accomplished expert in Higher Education development, as well in CR research.

The question of the positionality of the researcher does need to be addressed (Merriam et al., 2001). In my own case, I consider myself to have an "inside" view of the black perspective and hence of those who were excluded and alienated by the system. My biography is as an activist and practitioner, implying a bias for practice and action. There was therefore a constant need for awareness of this positionality when undertaking inferencing, analysis and theorising. The role of my supervisor was helpful in ensuring scholarly care.

My claiming of veteran status in Africa's last colonial struggle, is based on the fact that I served in the national liberation struggle since the age of 16 when I was first elected in 1980 as a high school student leader, trying to conscientise my fellow students and constantly dodging the security police. Then becoming radicalised at UCT when I encountered for the first time a profound level of indifference to the plight of my fellow oppressed from most of my white classmates. A radicalisation which led me to find an intellectual home in Black Consciousness as a philosophy and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) as the organisation which championed that philosophy. My activism landed me in Apartheid's jails on four occasions, expelled as a teacher on two occasions and at the receiving end of the Apartheid police's teargas, baton and whip on many other occasions.

As activist and struggle veteran, having suffered incarceration, black-listing, economic hardship and physical assault, I have much reason to harbour resentment. This is not however the emotional place from where this thesis came. I wrote this work 40 years later, no longer as an angry young man, but rather as someone who has acquired a solidarity with all humanity. A solidarity that transcends race and all other superficial categories.

I however still had to battle my activist instincts throughout this project. This emerged at times in the form of rushing to conclusions or failing to explicate important assumptions and knowledge just

because I took them for granted. This battling of the activist instinct, in favour of greater scholarly rigour often meant discarding and rewriting major parts of the work over the past six months. It was however crucial that the data was honoured as well as the scholarly work that was done before me, and that my personal life passion for social justice and emancipation be subordinated to these.

CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Chapter Introduction

This chapter covers the theoretical framework within which this research was undertaken as well as a review of the literature that is pertinent to the study. The purpose of the literature review is to establish what is known about colonialism, as well as to identify knowledge around the topic that may not be fully established. As was explained in Section 1.3 of the previous chapter, this study derives its rationale from attempting a departure from traditional perspectives on institutional and social change. It seeks to accomplish this by assuming the Critical Realist paradigm and applying Social Realist theories in its analysis. Using the perspective of social realism (SR), instead of decolonial theory does require the research to explain how the Eurocentric conceptualisations of key ideas within SR such as rationality, reflexivity, subjectivity and agency are to be employed in the research. To this end, in this literature review, a connection is established between traditional concepts prevalent within postcolonial literature and key concepts within SR. This is done in order to illustrate that a sound foundation for SR research is in fact discernible from postcolonial texts. The structure of the chapter reflects this approach. Whilst section 2.2 sets out SR theory, sections 2.3 and 2.4 relate ideas from decolonial literature to SR theory.

A very important objective of this chapter is to take the concept that lies at the heart of SR, namely Human Agency and to establish that it relates integrally to established core ideas of Fanon, Biko, Memmi and Césaire – all celebrated African decolonial theorists. This is required in order to establish the validity of the lens of social realism in understanding decolonisation. In Section 2.3.2, for example, there is an explicit focus on the damage to the black psyche, theorised by Fanon (see Bulhan, 2010) and Biko (1987) – as a result of prolonged material and cultural deprivation. In that section, the reasonable inference is made that the loss of "will", "self-confidence" or "self-esteem" of the oppressed, theorised by Fanon and Biko, corresponds with the Archerian concept of passive

agency and fractured reflexivity or to what Flam (2013) describes as the repressed reflexivity of marginalised members of society. The paradigm of critical realism is therefore not intended to vacate the element of emancipation from the study. On the contrary, in assuming the critical realist paradigm, the research also aims to build on the emancipatory ethos present in the work of Roy Bhaskar, who states "It is my contention that [...] liberation [...] is both causally presaged and logically entailed by explanatory theory, but that it can only be effected in practice" (Bhaskar, 1986, p. 177, original emphasis).

The structure of the chapter is as follows. The theoretical framework, based on social realism and analytical dualism as theorised by Margaret Archer, is set out in section 2.2. The next two sections 2.3 and 2.4, comprise a review of key aspects of colonialism and the legacy of colonialism, derived literature which includes colonial texts. These two sections are intended to respectively form mirror images to Archer's conceptualisation of material and socio-cultural structures (explained in detail in section 2.2). Section 2.5 is an additional section which contains a review of a few prominent publications that emerged during and shortly after the Fallist period. In the concluding section 2.6, I advance a preliminary understanding of colonialism, as well as the gaps in knowledge which the empirical part of this study will cover.

The aim of the literature review was to seek an understanding of colonialism and coloniality from a critical realism perspective, prior to commencing the empirical study. An exhaustive literature search for material that investigated coloniality from a critical realism perspective, which included traditional postcolonial databases and journals as well as critical realism journals, yielded a disappointing result. The search strings that were used included the terms "critical realism", "social realism" and "decolonisation", where these terms appeared in the same text. The search thus revealed that there was a limited literature base covering the topics coloniality, post-coloniality, decolonisation or colonisation exhaustively from the perspective of critical realism. That meant that research conducted from alternative paradigms had to be relied on. Such research was incorporated

by duly correcting for the fallacious assumptions which critical realism ascribes to them. Consequently, logical positivist and realist research literature was incorporated, but only under the proviso that such research was interpreted in light of its context and perspective (Bhaskar, 2008). On the other hand, postmodern research required the application of Judgmental Rationality[6] and other forms of corroboration in order to correct for the epistemic fallacy (Bhaskar, 2008) and ensure that an objective stance was maintained.

The choices which were made in terms of the types of literature cited should be explained. The scholarly literature that I have cited in this chapter was augmented by the writings of revolutionary theorists such as Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko. I included the ideas of these revolutionaries because of their influence over the thinking and the actions of activists over the years. Their work also possesses unique value as personal testimonies of those personally affected by colonialism. Where these ideas were included however, they served as augmentation and reinforcement of the scholarly literature.

2.2 Approaching Decolonisation from Social Realism

This section sets out the theoretical framework of the study based on the social realist theories of Margaret Archer (1995; 2000, 2003). I am not presenting an exhaustive exposition of Archer's theories, only the aspects that are pertinent to the study. The framework includes a laying out of the key concepts and their interrelationships. Included in this is an explanation of analytical dualism in

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[6] Bhaskar (2009) draws a distinction between *epistemic relativism*, i.e. that all knowledge is temporally and spatially situated, and *judgmental relativism*, which takes epistemic relativism to the irrational extreme where all truth claims are ascribed equally validity. To counter this excess, critical realists adopt the assumption that certain versions of truth can be shown to have greater rational explanatory power than others. This is referred to as Judgmental Rationality.

social analysis as theorised by Margaret Archer, and the concept of emergence as it is conceived of within the morphogenetic approach.

The structure of this section of the chapter is as follows. I firstly define the concept of social agency from an analytical dualist perspective. Having established an understanding of agency within analytical dualism, I contrast this understanding with alternative understandings of agency. Once the distinction is drawn, I introduce human reflexiveness as the key mediator of social agency. I also show how human concerns, personal and group identity and, finally, social action are all integrally connected within a comprehensive understanding of social agency.

The overall theoretical model being presented can be summarised as follows: Reflexiveness is the dynamic cognitive weighing of personal and collective concerns in relation to the reality that humans encounter. Such reflexiveness lies behind any person's autonomous action in the world. Healthy reflexiveness mediates human agency. Identity is a function of ultimate and deeply held personal and group concerns. Identity is relevant to reflexiveness in that a person's or group's identity within which their ultimate concerns are tied up, generates their reflexive responses or actions in the world. In summary, personal and group identity are put forward as the outcome of the successful formation of a body of ultimate concerns, which comes into play within reflexivity. The successful process of reflexivity leads to the individual or group acting intentionally in the world. A more detailed explanation of this model, including the related ideas of structure and emergence will be covered in more detail in the rest of this section.

2.2.1 Human Agency

The Centrality of Agency

Human agency is a fundamental concept in this discussion of decolonisation since it alludes to the most basic need of humans to act with effect in the world – to know that their thoughts, needs and concerns count. Agency therefore should be at the core of any emancipatory move to rehumanise

those dehumanised by colonialism. According to revolutionary thinkers, there can be no emancipation without a radical transformation in human agency. Steve Biko for example, alluding to the loss of reflexivity and personal human agency, states that "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (1987). The following passage attributed to Fanon, describes the loss of agency that colonialism brings about:

> When a member of the oppressing group meets a member of the oppressed [t]he former exudes confidence and a sense of entitlement; the latter betrays self-doubt and a readiness to compromise. Consciously and unconsciously, each know that their personal encounter is also an encounter of two collectives with unequal power. The prevailing ideas, values, and rules of conduct serve the former; they entrap and frustrate the latter. The one who is a member of the oppressing group exploits all this; the other compensates with his personality and individual resources.

> (Fanon cited in Bulhan, 2010, p. 123)

The central focus of this study, as with any form of emancipatory-driven social theorising, is therefore the unfolding drama between people as the agents and the social world that confronts them.

Agency vs Structure

In social science, the material world within which a person finds him[7] or herself is termed the social structure. Because social theorising entails the constant study of agency in relation to the social structure, there is a need to understand the concept structure firstly. Structure is the pre-configured arrangement of rules and resources. More formally, social structure has been described as "law-like

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[7] Throughout this thesis, I try to generalize any attribution or personal reference to both genders, however not religiously so. Sometimes, where this makes for cumbersome reading, I use the male pronoun, which should then be read as inclusive of the feminine, unless stated otherwise.

regularities which govern the behaviour of social facts", "girders of a building", and as "patterned social relationships" (Loyal, 2002, p. 74). Giddens sees social structure as "rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems" (1979, p. 64).

Agency, as the human proclivity for acting or engaging causally or effectively in the world, must be theorised in conjunction with the social structure within which it is exercised (Côté & Levine, 2002; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Unlike Giddens (1984), who subsumes agency into structure, Archer (1995) upholds the discretionary independent power that human agency possesses, even amidst social structural constraints. She sees agency as an outcome of entirely different causal factors from structure. These alternative causal factors include human reflection (internal reflection) and reflexivity (reflecting on oneself in terms of the world). She elaborates as follows on reflexivity or the "inner conversation" about the world that underlies human agency:

> "[The] world […] confronts us with three inescapable concerns: with our physical well-being, our performative competence and our self-worth [and yet] we react back powerfully and particularistically, because the world cannot dictate to us what to care about most: at best it can set the costs for failing to accommodate a given concern" (Archer, 2000, p. 318).

Harré confirms agency as human autonomy albeit restrained structurally, and states that "it is people who are the efficacious agents. How to improve the social world – change the rules, change the customs, change these overt things which people could write down" (2016, p. 122). Loyal agrees that agency is structure-laden and not structure-dependent as is argued in classic Giddensian (2002) social analysis.

Under social realism, agency is seen as the individual or collective human will that engages independently and dynamically with structure. In this regard, agency implies the power of action. It is the strength of that power of acting, and the complex cognitive processes that underlie it, that are central in theoretically examining agency for the sake of understanding it (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). They locate agency psycho-socially stating that "the *social-psychological context*

encompasses those psychical structures that constrain and enable action by channeling actors' flows and investments of emotional energy, including long-lasting durable structures of attachment and emotional solidarity" (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, 970 (in footnote)). Society, in its structured composition therefore impacts on the nature of the person's reflective processes, in a constraining or enabling way, affecting the strength of investment, and the direction of that investment of personal agentic energy (Côté & Levine, 2002).

In terms of a study on decolonisation, this understanding of agency and structure suggests an analysis of how agency fares under colonial conditions, and how it should transform to become instrumental in a programme of emancipation. The transformation of agency or its *emergence* is a key concept within social realism and is addressed further on.

Dualism in Social Analysis

Archer sees the exclusive focus on structure – in other words, seeing the social world only as structure – as 'downward conflation', stating that the problem inherent in it is that "Individuals are held to be 'indeterminate material' which is unilaterally molded by society, whose holistic properties have complete monopoly over causation, and which therefore operate in a unilateral and downward manner" (Archer, 1995, p. 3).

The converse – seeing the social world only as individual agents – where the agents, as a loose conglomeration of the average of individual or sectional positions generate the structure constitutes 'upward conflation' according to by Archer. She refers to it as the case where "structure is held to be the creature of agency" (1995, p. 20).

There is a third form of conflation arises when structure and agency are seen as one indivisible whole. Social realists also reject such elision or binding of structure and agency (Archer, 1995; Porpora, 2013). The merging of structure and agency in social analysis, such as undertaken by Anthony Giddens, assumes structure and agency to be mutually and simultaneously co-constituted. Giddens

himself refers to this co-constituted reality as the "duality of structure" (1979, p. 5), and his theory has become known as structuration theory. In Giddens's view the social system is "Reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organised as regular social practices" (1979, p. 66). Archers sees the idea of the duality of structure as central conflation, where, again as with upward and downward conflation, an independent examination of structure and agency is rendered impossible.

In contradistinction to the above-mentioned monadic forms of analysis, social realism assumes an independence between agency and structure. At the heart of a social realist analysis lies the assumption that agency and structure remain independent, though intertwined. They are parts of social reality in need of separate investigation. The reason why social realists maintain that agency be kept independent in any social analysis is that it allows for agency to be theorised in its own right and with its own unique properties. Sayer (2011) for example counters the reductionism of agents to their role in the structure stating that "values, feelings and emotions need to be taken more seriously in social science" (Sayer, 2011, p. 4). Adding to this, Archer states that "[h]aving refused to bundle all interests into roles, it is now possible to see how broader categories of social agents confront problem-ridden situations in relation to these wider interests" (Archer, 2000, p. 285). Archer and Sayer's position both amount to a holistic understanding of what is means to be human, and that, instead of the structure defining the person, it is personal concern that shapes him or her – that the interaction of people with the real world allows for a qualitative growth (or emergence) of personal consciousness, identity and emotionality (Archer, 2000; Archer, 2010; Sayer, 2011).

The Emergence of Agency

In calling for analytical dualism, Archer states that "social realism implies a methodology based upon analytical dualism, where explanation of why things social are so and not otherwise depends upon an account of how the properties and powers of the 'people' causally intertwine with those of the 'parts'" (Archer, 1995, p. 49), where 'parts' denote structure. The prospect of some type of resolution

of tensions then arises in the form of an elaboration qualitatively or quantitatively, of the agents and the structure. This elaboration becomes the outcome of this dynamic interplay between structure and agency. Archer (1995) identifies this dynamic elaboration of agency and structure, over time, as the property of emergence as theorised in critical realism and realist social theory. Analytical dualism offers a framework for pursuing this much sought-after dynamic elaboration as a restoration of social balance (or social harmony), amidst the ebbs and flows of agency and structure. It offers the prospect of a framework from which to draft coherent and comprehensive emancipatory action.

The emergence of agency with respect to structure provides a powerfully different and alternative approach to understanding decolonisation. The contention in this study is that social realism, as put forward by Margaret Archer (1995, 1996; 2000), its dualist analysis, the idea of emergence intrinsic within it and its objective realist ontology, offers an alternative, and potentially powerful analytical tool with which to place ourselves on a sound footing towards a broad unifying emancipatory strategic decolonial practice.

Agency and Social Causality

As has been illustrated, human agency is a critical element within social realist analysis. Bhaskar even goes as far as stating that human agency forms the basis of all social reality by being "the sole possible mode of material existence of social forms" (Bhaskar, 2009, p. 198). By implication, social forms are brought into existence and maintained through the mediation of human agency. Archer uses this as her departure point and then proceeds to seek an understanding of the deeper causal power behind agency. She identifies the inner conversation or "self-talk" of each human being in regard to the reality around him/her, as an efficient causal mechanism behind human agency. In her words "The account of how structures influence agents […] is entirely dependent upon the proposition that our human powers of reflexivity have causal efficacy - towards ourselves, our society and relations between them" (Archer, 2003, p. 9). When contemplating the inner voice or reflexivity of human beings, it is important to also note that human beings are sentient beings

(Branson, 2008; Sayer, 2011), who, according to social realists, act out of concern (Archer, 1995; Porpora, 2013; Sayer, 2011). As shown in Figure 1 below, human action follows a clear causal line, which takes the form of (1) experiencing the existing structure (2) feeling personally affected (3) reflecting dynamically on those feelings, and forming an intention to act, and (4) taking action.
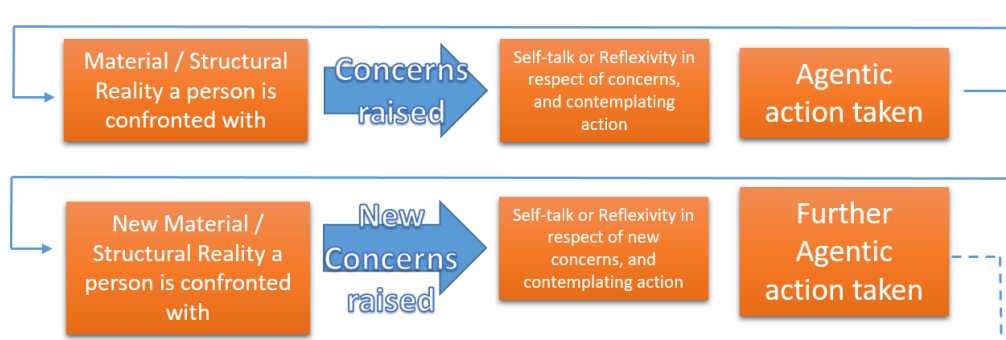
Figure 1 - Structure, agency and reflexivity in relation to each other

In Archerian terms, this is the efficient causal process that shapes social and individual action. This interplay between agency and structure can be graphically illustrated as follows:

What I have simplistically introduced as 'feelings', is more accurately identified by Archer as human concern. Through an empirical investigation, she was able to characterise the deeper structures that underlie human concern. In exploring the features of human concern, Archer finds human concern as grounded in (1) personal human needs (2) performative needs and (3) social belonging needs (1995). Concerns, when activated sufficiently, are therefore behind human action. It is this human subject and its objects of concern that are theorised by Archer in terms of reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the dynamic process whereby the human subject considers him or herself in relation to the object. Self-interests can be a very powerful consideration when the subject reflects on an object, as can a sense of 'doing the right thing' or 'fitting in with society' or 'being successful'.

In this research, I undertook the novel approach of carefully assessing the human concerns that were made explicit in the wake of Fallism, in order to develop an understanding of coloniality. This framing – being grounded in an objectively observable cognitive and social reality - is what sets my

research apart from other perspectivalist studies. The elements of this cognitive and social framework are further set out in the remaining parts of this section of the chapter.

2.2.2 Reflexivity as the Mediator of Human Agency

In the previous section, I illustrated that thoughts cause actions and consequently, social phenomena. These thoughts are however not random, undirected thoughts, but a very specific type of directed thinking. A thinking or reflection that shapes the individual's actions, based on a complex and constructive cognitive weighing process which pits the deeply held concerns of the person against the reality he faces. The term reflexiveness refers to this unique form of inner reflection and is important to understand within social analysis.

Archer (2000), by means of an empirical investigation, identified three modes of reflexivity, termed 'communicative', 'meta' or 'autonomous'. These three modes are associated with the reflexive thoughts of any functioning human agent as he or she encounters the real world. Firstly, communicative reflexivity is reflexivity that is practiced out loud, using language and a human interlocutor. Autonomous reflexivity, on the other hand takes place solely in the mind of the agent, who takes personal charge of any action. Meta-reflexivity refers to a mode where the agent is weighing up several competing courses of personal actions and outcomes, when reflecting on a situation. The role of meta-reflexives is especially important in this study, as will be seen later on in chapter 4, section 4.2.2. It is important to therefore note that, in practice, Archer (2000) found meta-reflexives to be associated with subversion of the structure. These, according to Archer are the normal modes within which reflexivity shapes human action. She does however identify a case where reflexivity breaks down, and where the person is unable to mount a constructive agentic response to real-world challenges. She refers to this case, where normal reflexivity is suspended or interfered with, as *fractured reflexivity* (2003).

Fractured Reflexivity

When reflexivity is blocked or obscured in any way, meaning that a person is prevented from constructively bringing his powers of thought to bear on a reality facing him, then this is referred to as fractured reflexivity (Archer, 2003; Kahn, 2014; Maccarini, 2013). This may be occasioned by a situation where the person suffers confliction when attempting to act on a concern. It may also happen when a temporary fracturing happens in terms of the concern that is felt for the object, which could happen when the person is unable to resolve the tensions between the reality they experience and their own concerns. They are therefore rendered unable to formulate a course of action to meet that reality in any planned or intentioned way. Archer also refers to these individuals as passive agents, left in the end to the viscidities of the structure and the designs and devices of the active agents. Figure 2 below shows graphically how a fracturing of personal reflexivity leads to a failure to bring agency to bear on structure.

Figure 2 - Fractured Agency in relation to the structure

Another result of the failure to mount reflexive action is a heightened state of personal anxiety and the emotional reactions often associated with such anxiety. Flam (2013) takes up the case of fractured reflexivity further by associating it with vulnerable and oppressed sections of society. According to Flam, prolonged oppression results in these groups developing fractured forms of reflexivity. This takes the form of completely shying or shrinking away or become ambivalent and internally conflicted about the oppressive reality they experience. When they do rise to exert themselves as agents, the ridicule of the powerful simply becomes too overbearing to overcome. Flam states that social movements then often provide vindication and a therapeutic release, when

these are able to be mounted. These theories about the silenced or oppressed aligns very closely with how Spivak (1995) has theorised the Subaltern. In her own words "The 'subaltern' describes 'the bottom layers of society constituted by specific modes of exclusion from markets, political-legal representation, and the possibility of full membership in dominant social strata'" (Spivak, 2005, p. xx).

Luckett & Luckett (2009) highlight fractured reflexivity in the context of the curriculum, where knowledge is imparted to the learner, without making allowance for the exercise of agency by the learner. In a study of human agency and the curriculum, they establish that suppressing the exercise of agency in the structuring of the curriculum, results in a loss of performance by the student.

2.2.3   Personal and Social Identity from Archer's Social Realism

Coloniality holds clear implications for the identity of the excluded. I have until now not provided a theory or a technical working definition of identity. How do we theorise identity for the purposes of this research? What we will need as we undertake a detailed study of how identity is impacted on, is a clear theoretical understanding of identity that takes into account the role that structure and agency play in the formation of identity.

Archer (2000) sees identity as a fundamental property of being human. From Archer's perspective, individual and social identities "[b]oth hinge upon our ultimate concerns and commitments" (Archer, 2000, p. 2). These concerns are vested in the realms of the natural, the practical and the social. According to Archer, our individual and social identity is shaped by these ultimate concerns. We act in terms of what we hold most dear. In Archer's own words " we prioritise our 'ultimate concerns', with which we identify ourselves" (Archer, 2003, p. 32). Somewhere else, she spells her conception of identity in respect of agency and the structure in the words

> [W]e are who we are because of what we care about: in delineating our ultimate concerns and accommodating our subordinate ones, we also define ourselves. We

give a shape to our lives, which constitutes our internal personal integrity, and this

pattern is recognisable by others as our concrete singularity (Archer, 2000, p. 10)

Sayer expands on this conception of identity by stating that our "[c]ommitments come to constitute

our character, identity and conception of ourselves, such that if we are prevented from pursuing them,

then we suffer something akin to bereavement, for we lose not merely something external, but part

of ourselves" (Sayer, 2011, p. 125). Porpora (2013) adds to this by referring to the identity of a

person as constituted by the nature of his or her relations with other subjects. In summary, Social

Realists agree that we are what we embrace and care about most.

How does identity translate into social action? Personal and collective identities are a function of

ultimate concerns, commitments or relations. Earlier I mentioned that commitments shape the

actions of the person and can therefore be seen as a critical component of agency. People are who

they are based on their commitments and ultimate concerns, and they act in the world based on who

they are. As was stated earlier also, commitments or concerns are of three types namely (1) physical

well-being, (2) performative competence and (3) self-worth in the context of society. The figure

below illustrates the way in which structure, agency, reflexivity and identity are related.

Figure 3 - Graphic representation of the way in which identity shapes agency

This conception of identity allows for a more complex understanding and for greater flexibility

around how identity works within the social order. In identifying a stratified view of ultimate

concerns – seeing these as stratified into physical, performative and self-worth (or socially counted),

identity is raised to more than a mere social level, such as being promoted by the New Social

Movements[8]. Identifying people simply by ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual preferences or race creates immutable social categories that ignore the underlying personal values or deeply held concerns they may have. This view on identity also overcomes the problem inherent within Giddensian organisational change which see the individual actors' identity being merged with the identity of the institution.

2.2.4 Morphogenesis (Archer, 1995)

Margaret Archer locates her social theory of transformation, termed Morphogenesis, firmly within the paradigm of critical realism. She confirms this in the words "Bhaskar's philosophical realism is therefore a general platform, capable of underpinning various social theories [and] his Transformational Model of Social Action [...] leaves room for exploring whether it can be complemented and supplemented by the morphogenetic/static approach" (Archer, 1995, p. 136). Central to social realism are the concepts Structure, Culture, Agency, Level of Integration and Emergence. I provide a summary of the meanings of these concepts here, and present their conceptual interrelationship graphically, using Archer's nomenclature. It must be kept in mind that the various conceptual components are separated for the sake of the analysis but do not, in the real world, act independently, but rather in a complex, integrated way.

Social Structure (SS), being the hard-coded arrangement of the material resources within the social system is the social reality that is inherited from a previous time (T^1). The people who function within the structure find themselves conditioned within that structure, bequeathed to them by a previous generation of agents. As time goes by $(T^2 \rightarrow T^3)$ the agents interact and engage with the social structure. In their engagement or social interaction (SI) with that structure though, the present

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[8] Explained in more detail in section 2.5

generation of social agents experience various degrees of integration with that structure. At one extreme, they could be experiencing negative integration, meaning they could find the structure to be completely contradictory to their needs, while, on the other extreme, they could find themselves well-integrated into the structure, meaning that the structure complements their needs and aspirations. As agents, they react to the structure by either defending the structure, when the structure works for them or eliminating it, should it prove to work against them. Social interaction on the structure has the effect, over time of changing the structure, which results in a morphed structure over time (T^4), or at a retained structure over time corresponding to morphogenesis or morphostasis of the material structure respectively. The following graphic representation illustrates this morphogenesis of structure.
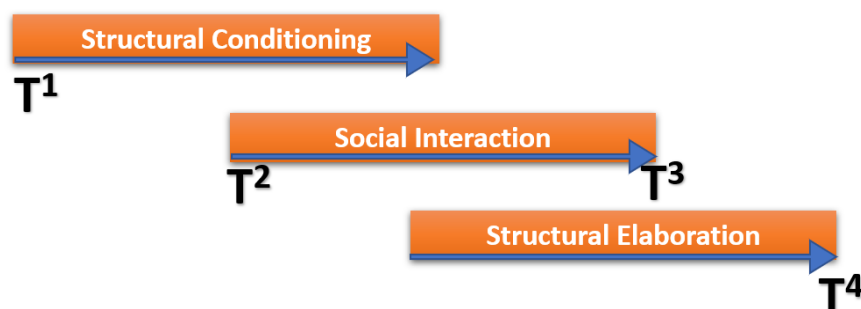
Figure 4- The Morphogenesis of Structure (Archer, 1995, p.193)

The same sequence can more or less be applied to the Socio-Cultural structure, which refers to the sum-total of intelligibility of the social system, which includes ideas, symbols, language, customs, protocols, taboos or any other form of ideational conditioning which the social agents find themselves in at T^1. Archer uses the abbreviation CS for indicate the cultural system and S-C to indicate the social interaction with the cultural system. The following graphic representation then illustrates the morphogenesis or morphostasis of culture over time.
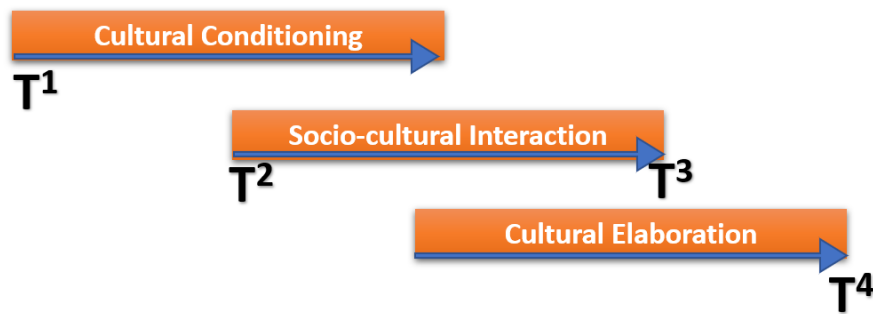
Figure 5 -: The Morphogenesis of Culture (Archer, 1995, p. 193)

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the morphogenesis of structure and culture. In light of the dualist form of analysis though, Archer also call for the analysis of agency as an aspect of social reality that requires analysis in terms of its own morphogenesis. The graphic illustration below therefore completes the elements that make up the overall social morphogenesis. The following graphic representation then illustrates the morphogenesis of agency over time.
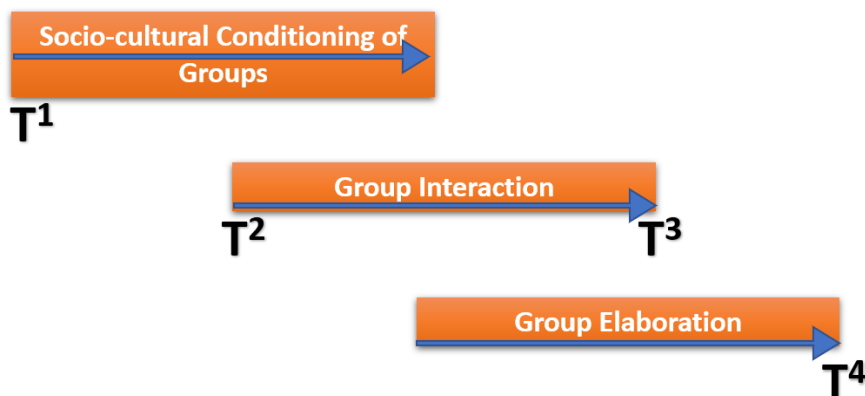
Figure 6 - The morphogenesis of Agency (Archer, 1995, p. 194)

2.2.5 Emergence

The way in which the agents within the system is logically confronted to act is explained here. As mentioned earlier, the agents experience either complementarity or a contradiction with the culture and the structure. This influences the reaction of the agent. The figure below sets out the way in which the agent responds. In their response, they become the driver of the emergence of the

properties of the structure and the culture, which is referred to respectively as Structural Emergent Properties (SEPs) and the Cultural Emergent Properties (CEPs).

	Necessary	Contingent (Optional)
A Complementary structure/culture	Agents will protect	Agents will seek opportunities
A structure/culture that is Contradictory	Agents will compromise	Agents will eliminate

Figure 7- The Situational Logic that drives the emergence of the Agent as adapted from Archer (1995)

This logic can be applied respectively to structure and culture in order to understand the emergence of the properties of the structure and the culture.

Pertaining to the emergence of the properties of the people themselves; people are seen in three stratified ways namely, the human person (meaning the social and biological entity), the agent (meaning the conditioned subject within the cultural and structural system) and the actor (meaning the assumed social role of an agent). Agents emerge also and do so qualitatively by becoming more articulate and more organised (corporatised) over time. This process refers to the emergence of the properties of the people (PEPs). Corporate agency refers to a more developed expression of agency, where the agents engage with and influence the structure, not as a sum-total of many individuals (primary agents), but as a corporately established entity (corporate agency).

2.2.6 Agency and National Culture

Another aspect relevant to the research is how agency relates to culture. For our study, it is relevant to locate the exercise of agency contextually within history and culture. Of relevance historically is the question of how agency under modernity and postmodernity is theorised. Archer has described agency as reaching its zenith under modernism, with 'modern man' granted full autonomy to act rationally. She goes on to state that postmodernism discards this autonomy. Postmodernism, according to Archer, sees the dominant narrative as the scenario to which all human action is willingly or unwillingly subjected (Archer, 2000). In terms of its cultural context, the way in which

agency varies across cultures is addressed by Oettingen (2002), who sees traditionalist collectivist cultures displaying less of predilection for exercising agency. The following table can therefore be constructed showing the way in which agency emerges from pre-modern traditional society to post-modernity:

Personal Agency	LOW	HIGH	LOW
Context	Pre-modern (Traditionalist →	Modern →	Postmodern

Table 1 - Agency seen contextually

This holds relevance for our analysis of decolonisation and the role of agency as the contemporary university in South Africa comprises elements of traditionalism, modernity and postmodernity.

Finally, for the purpose of relating the morphogenesis of agency to organisational change, the description by Archer of morphogenesis is apt. She describes the morphogenetic sequence as "an explanatory framework for examining the interplay between structure and agency and their outcomes, and a tool kit for developing the analytical histories of emergence of particular social formations, institutional structures, and organisational forms" (Archer, 2010, p. 274).

2.2.7 *Institutional Identity*

Gioia, Schultz, and Corley (2000) find that the predominant assumption is that identity refers to the enduring and defining characteristics of an organisation, while image refers to the how its members believes that it is seen by others. Steiner, Sundström, & Sammalisto (2013) theorised institutional identity by incorporating elements such as aesthetics, institutional culture, strategic processes and structures and communication means and style as parameters along which to locate the identity of an institution. This view of institutional identity can viewed in conjunction with Haslam and Ellemers who found that the organisation plays a role in shaping who its members are on the one hand but that its members also shape who the organisation is (2011, p. 737). That means that the identity of the members is in a dynamic relationship with the identity of the organisation.

According to Ashforth & Mael (1989) the individual will, when facing a choice of action between two cultural identities, simply relegate a particular identity and its associated group to a higher or lower level. In this there are implications for the members of the university. One implication is that members (i.e. students or staff), will experience varying levels of association with the prevailing institutional identity, depending on how much alignment they experience. This understanding of identity and how the members experience the institution lends support to the phenomenon of group formation at South African universities, based on racial identities as (Bazana & Mogotsi, 2017) have found. In summary, institutional identity can be aligned or misaligned with the identity of members of the institution. In South African universities, those members who have felt misaligned have been seen to form alternative sub-groups with whom they exclusively identify with.

In summary, this section covered the social realist theoretical framework within which this research is conducted. It also identified the Material Structure and the Cultural Structure as the two constituent strata of society under the social realist analysis is undertaken. By material structure is meant the social and economic domain, while the cultural stratum includes the cultural and intellectual domain of society.

The next two sections will elaborate further on these two structures by means of a broader literature review that focuses on each of the two. The first of the two sections that follow is a review of the literature on the social and economic legacy of Apartheid and colonialism within a broader African and global context. The section that follows, is a review of the literature on the cultural and intellectual legacy of Apartheid and colonialism. It was important that the literature review covered the broad legacy of colonialism and Apartheid, since its effects continue to be felt by the community that constitutes the university. The literature review that follows in the next two chapters will also provide an overview of the existing knowledge around the legacy of Apartheid and colonialism, which will assist with the interpretation of the empirical data further on.

2.3 The Social and Economic Legacy of Colonialism and its Effect on the People

2.3.1 Social and Economic Legacy

Neo-liberalism as Neo-Colonialism

South Africa, as many other countries after decolonisation, has continued to experience serious social and economic inequality 20 years after Apartheid. This continued inequality has been blamed on the perpetuation, before and after liberation, of the same dominant economic players globally and nationally (Bond & Garcia, 2000). Duara (2003) also attributes the lack of economic development in countries like South Africa to the dominance of the old colonial powers in the global economy. In illustrating the lack of fundamental economic structural change in South Africa, Hart and Padayachee point to the 'seamless transition' of the mining industry after the end of Apartheid in 1994 (2013, p. 75).

A term said to have been coined by Kwame Nkrumah[9] and used to refer to this continuation of global dominance by stronger nations over weaker nations via the global economic structure, is the term neo-colonialism (Hanson & Hentz, 1999; Peet, 2002). Neocolonial control over the national policies of ex-colonies such as South Africa has been found to be maintained via the West's leveraging of credit rating agencies (Barta & Johnston, 2017; Le Grange, 2016) and through its cultural dominance, which includes the dominance of the English language as the international lingua franca (Macedo, 2016; Tomlinson, 2012). Chisholm et al. (2016) argue that national policy is directly influenced when loans from international lenders are made conditional on structural adjustment programmes. Koelble & Lipuma (2006) add to this foreign control, the deliberate selling off and consequent devaluing of the South African currency whenever undesirable government decisions are made.

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[9] The first leader of the Republic of the Congo after being freed from Belgian control

Altbach relates neo-colonialism more directly to the university and states that "multinational corporations, media conglomerates, and even a few leading universities can be seen as the new neo-colonists - seeking to dominate not for ideological or political reasons but rather for commercial gain" (Altbach, 2006, p. 126).

Under pressure from global agencies, the South African government adopted numerous neo-liberal policies in the 2000s (Bond, 2000; Vally, 2007). The result was the exclusion of the same people that were economically and socially excluded under Apartheid and colonialism. Neo-liberal policies in fact laid the basis for the post-Apartheid institutionalisation of poverty and dehumanisation (Aliber, 2003; Reddy, 2015; Rodney et al., 1981). Black people who, at the end of Apartheid, were overwhelmingly landless and lacking any significant economic power (Bond & Garcia, 2000; Hart & Padayachee, 2013) continued to suffer chronic poverty after Apartheid (Aliber, 2003). The introduction of greater free market neo-liberal policies also meant that whites, who were for the most financially well-off, were able to access good quality private health care, quality private schooling and well-paying jobs, thereby improving or at least maintaining their standard of living (Seepe, 2017). It is no wonder that after Apartheid, under black rule, South Africa has maintained the position of being the most unequal country in the world, based on its GINI coefficient (Booysen, 2016b). In South Africa today, two decades after Apartheid, black people continue to suffer from the Apartheid and colonial spatial planning legacy (Bond, 2000). Blacks remain trapped in underdeveloped slum areas, where little economic opportunities are available and where crime is rampant (Bulhan, 2010).

Impact on Education and Higher Education

One outcome of the system of social and economic exclusion in South Africa is that blacks continue to be prevented from accessing educational opportunities.   Focusing on the legacy of Apartheid and colonialism on the education system, Fiske and Ladd state that 'Few, if any, new democratic governments have had to work with an education system as egregiously – and intentionally –

inequitable as the one that the Apartheid regime bequeathed to the new black-run government in 1994' (2004, p. x). The exclusion is not only economic, but also as a result of the poor state schooling system that continues to disadvantage black students (Vorster & Quinn, 2017), even when they gain access to university (Badat, 2008; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Mouton et al., 2013). Moloi et al. (2014) also see the end-result of these exclusionary realities as the inability by many to enter university as well as an unusually high drop-out rate of those who do make it to university. The systemic factors that continue to exclude or restrict black students have been identified as affordability, language, travel distance and a school education that still prepares them inadequately for university (Badat, 2010; Mouton et al., 2013). That means that even when a black student in South Africa does gain access to a university, he or she finds it harder to succeed (Mouton et al., 2013; Musset, Álvarez-Galván, & Field, 2014). These barriers have the effect of perpetuating economic inequality since higher education is regarded as an important means by which to improve social mobility and economic development in South Africa (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Bozalek & Boughey, 2012).

Coming to the legacy of Apartheid and its effect on the quality of university education, Fataar (2003) states that limits on state investment in higher education coupled with a radical increase in enrolments at universities after Apartheid had the effect that "the policy discourse around [higher education institutions] had swung from that of them being 'redress deserving' to 'crisis ridden' making them 'highly inefficient in terms of their student output and responsiveness" (2003, p. 36). According to Le Grange "The adoption of neoliberal politics in South African resulted in public universities becoming state-aided universities rather state-funded universities" (Le Grange, 2016, p. 5). After the end of Apartheid, those universities that could charge higher fees from mostly white and foreign students and that could secure good funding from donors, could far outstrip historically black universities in quality and resources. That means that universities have continued their unequal development after Apartheid, as can be seen from Figure 8 below (StatsSA, 2017).

As can be seen from the figure below, historically white[10] universities such as UCT, Stellenbosch, Pretoria and Wits maintain a good balance of revenue between tuition fees, private donations and income generated from investments (the bar to the right) and state grants. Historically black universities such as Sol Plaatje and Mpumalanga, on the other hand, receive very little additional funding and are almost exclusively dependent on state grants.

HEIs revenue: 2016

Legend: ■ Tuition fees ■ Grants received ■ Other receipts

Institution	Tuition fees	Grants received
All institutions	32%	45%
Unisa	44%	44%
Limpopo	41%	43%
Venda	41%	51%
Wits	40%	28%
Johannesburg	39%	40%
Fort Hare	38%	54%
Central	37%	55%
Rhodes	36%	48%
Durban	36%	51%
Cape Peninsula	36%	52%
Tshwane	34%	55%
KwaZulu-Natal	34%	46%
Free State	34%	40%
North West	32%	42%
Pretoria	31%	36%
Vaal	30%	55%
Mangosuthu	29%	48%
Nelson Mandela	28%	46%
Zululand	27%	55%
Cape Town	26%	32%
Sefako Makgatho	26%	69%
Stellenbosch	22%	35%
Walter Sisulu	21%	63%
Western Cape	21%	58%
Sol Plaatje	4%	94%
Mpumalanga	3%	95%

Figure 8 - The revenue streams of universities in South Africa (StasSA, 2017)

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[10] In post-Apartheid South Africa, the term historically 'white' or an historically 'black' university refers to universities that were created for and reserved for that particular race or ethnicity under Apartheid.

2.3.2 Impact on the People

The oppressive economic and social reality of colonialism and Apartheid, shown in the previous section, can be shown to have had a major effect on the psyche of the people, which, in turn, can be related to the way in which South Africans engage and act in the world. From a social realist perspective, this can be linked to the idea of human agency. This section therefore sets out the nature of this effect by looking at both the coloniser and the colonised mindset.

The Colonised Mindset

What has been the effect of material exclusion on the colonised? Revolutionary thinkers have theorised this phenomenon extensively. Césaire (1972) and Fanon (1983) both argue that colonialism instilled into the indigenous population the belief in white European superiority over the non-European. Fanon states that colonialism "plant[ed] deep in the minds of the native population the idea that before the advent of colonialism their history was one which was dominated by barbarism" (Fanon, 1963, p. 213). Steve Biko (1987) also highlighted the psychological impact on the black psyche in a society where there was a prolonged imposition of white culture and power. He states that "black people […] needed to defeat the one main element in politics which was working against them: a psychological feeling of inferiority which was deliberately cultivated by the system" (Biko, 1987, p. 144). According to Memmi (2013), the fact that the colonised are unable to engage with effect in the world can be ascribed to their history being erased by the coloniser and them thus being unable to draw inspiration or lessons from past achievements. The will and the way to reflect with effect in the world are therefore impaired.

This impairment of the personal and collective will to engage and act intentionally upon the realities that confronts the person, has equivalence with the concept of fractured reflexivity as theorised in section 2.2 of this chapter. Within this conceptualisation, Archer finds that the fractured reflexive experiences an inhibition in "their capacity to hold an internal conversation about themselves in relation to their circumstances, which has any efficacy" (Archer, 2003, p. 298). Explaining the

concept further, Kahn states that "fractured reflexivity occurs where internal deliberation [i.e. reflexivity] results in personal distress rather than constructive action" (Kahn, 2014, p. 1009). Ascribing the fractured reflexive as the "short-circuited self", Flam ascribes this break in healthy personal and collective agency to the effects of racism and other similar forms of oppression (2013, p. 188). She then develops the idea of the fractured reflexive further to theorise the forms of negative inner thoughts which stunts healthy reflexivity. What she finds is that modes of thinking such as self-delusion, scapegoating and obsessions cause insecurities, anxieties and overconfidence which block the emergence of healthy personal and collective agency, which leads to ultimately to an emotional response (Flam, 2013, p. 196).

The concept of emotional reflexivity has been seen as "the capacity via which individuals think and act drawing on emotions to navigate their path" (Holmes, 2014, p. 61). Emotions are seen as "positive feelings of love, loyalty, pride, joy, and enthusiasm and negative feelings of hatred, sympathy, fear, anger, sorrow, sadness, jealousy, shame, and dejection" (Yang, 2007, p. 1389). The presence of emotion in both the social structure and in social movements is well established (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001). According to Brown and Pickerill (2009), emotional feelings have been very effectively harnessed within activist social movements, where the crowd takes on the role of sustaining the emotional response of the members. According to them, when such a response does not however lead to emotional reflexivity, then the movement can suffer burn-out, and cease to be active. The implication, in terms of the theoretical model I am presenting here, is that emotional reflexivity can be a catalyst for the emergence of agency, while a non-reflexive emotional response will lead to fractured reflexivity and the non-emergence of agency. Applying this understanding of emotion, emotional reflexivity and social movements, enables a better grasp of the role that populism (i.e. appeal to short term gratification needs) plays.

The Coloniser Mindset

How is the thinking and agency affected of those who benefit under the colonial legacy of exclusion? In South Africa, economic inequality has been perpetuated and even exacerbated post-Apartheid, with the economically privileged of Apartheid further extending their privileged position (Seekings, 2008). The idea of the socially and economically "privileged" is therefore not just a historical but contemporary phenomenon. In this section, I review the characteristics and mindset of the privileged of South African society, drawn from the literature.

Field (2013) provides a good outline of the features of what he sees as the western elite, present in western societies, which includes ex-colonies such as South Africa. He defines this elite as the section of westernised societies that emerged with the growth of western capitalism in the early 20th century. They generally think of themselves as well-behaved, appropriately-dressed, well-spoken and professing liberal conceptions of personal dignity and impartial justice (Field, 2013). Steyn (2001) adds to the characterisation of South African whites as a privileged elite, and sets out to explore the features of the South African white identity and how it has had to adapt since the fall of Apartheid. One enduring aspect of "whiteness" according to Steyn is its unconsciousness of its own exclusionary or elitist nature. Seekings refers to this trait stating that "white South Africans – like white people in many other contexts – take their culture for granted" (2008, p. 6). This idea of white oblivion or 'unconsciousness' is taken up by the South African revolutionary Steve Biko (1987), who made "Black Consciousness" the central theme of his revolutionary message (see also Manganyi, 1973). Biko sees this state of oblivion in which whites exist with respect to black suffering, as a key challenge to be addressed in the liberation process. Moon (1999) identifies this unconsciousness as an appropriation of the entire frame of human experience into what she calls 'whiteness'. Following their reduction of the entire space of human experience to their experience, whites then insist that their whiteness is not a ticket to privilege. Moon further explains that this

solipsistic appropriation, transmitted through the generations, represents the tunnel vision with which white people experience the world.

This conceptualisation of the oblivious state within which the elite occurs, can be expanded to incorporate the new non-racial post-Apartheid elite, which is no longer exclusively white. The trait of 'elitism' now corresponds more with Bourdieu's (1983) habitus of privilege. In terms of our model of agency (see Figure 7), the elite are the normalisers of the structure of social exclusion and can be expected to act in defense of their privilege and in defense of the neo-colonial structure.

2.4 The Cultural Legacy of Colonialism and Apartheid

In this section, the cultural legacy of colonialism and Apartheid is explored from the literature. The reality of coloniality – the term I adopted to refer specifically to colonialism's lingering hegemony – is explored mainly from the perspective of postcolonial literature here. Mignolo & Walsh see coloniality as "[e]urocentrism's totalising claim and frame, including the Eurocentric legacies incarnated in U.S.-centrism and perpetuated in the Western geopolitics of knowledge" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 2). Escobar states that coloniality represents the "subalternization of the knowledge and cultures of [...] other groups; a conception of Eurocentrism as the knowledge form of modernity/coloniality, a hegemonic representation and mode of knowing that claims universality for itself, and that relies on 'a confusion between abstract universality and the concrete world hegemony derived from Europe's position as center" (Escobar, citing Dussel and Quijano, 2007, p. 184). As opposed to colonialism and neo-colonialism as engineered phenomena, cultural coloniality takes a more nuanced form in its exclusion and alienation of the oppressed.

In this section, (cultural and intellectual) coloniality will firstly be explored in two important areas, namely in terms of cultural 'othering' and in terms of epistemic exclusion. Following the characterisation of coloniality from the literature, the discussion moves to its impact on the identity of the colonised, individually and collectively. In the theoretical framework earlier in this chapter, the concept of identity has been shown to be a function of agency.

2.4.1 "Othering" as Social Alienation and Exclusion

One of the often-mentioned features of coloniality is the negation or invalidating of the culture of the indigenous colonised – often referred to as 'othering' (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2009; Mbembé, 2001; Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999). From postcolonial literature, the word 'othering' can be seen to denote invalid or unworthy social representations and formations, with special reference to the culture and practice of the colonised (Ashcroft et al., 1995; Schwarz, 2005). It has also been seen as "construing others as the repository of all that is despised and feared" (Sayer, 2011, p. 173). Othering results in feelings of social alienation, which is seen as "powerlessness and relationless-ness with respect to oneself and to a world experienced as indifferent and alien" (Jaeggi, Neuhouser, & Smith, 2016, Part One).

Mbembé states that "By consigning the native to the most perfect Otherness, this violence not only reveals the native as radically Other, it *annihilates* him/her" (2001, p. 188). This 'othering' of the indigenous leaves open only one culture and value system to the colonised, which is the one endorsed by the coloniser. Amongst the indigenous, conquered people, there consequently, over time, emerges masses of people who adopt the required ways of the conqueror to various degrees, ranging from those making a wholesale adoption of the alien culture of the invader, to those who remain completely averse to it. Maldonado-Torres (2007) uses the term in reference to established ideas in books, intellectual legacies and cultural patterns which conjures in the mind of the reader the ambit of common sense and, by implication, the invalid area outside of such established common sense.

The results of "othering" or alienation are feelings of shame and poor self-image, depression, struggling to cope academically and a detachment from group goals and norms (Braxton, 1993; Efraty et al., 1991; Scheff & Retzinger, 2001). Suchman (1995) shows that alienation has political implications in that it affects perceived legitimacy of the system by the alienated. These political implications of social exclusion are confirmed by Calhoun (1994) and Kellner (1995). Other studies

within other settings, such as high schools in the US have found a link between suppressed anger and violence or the propensity for violence (Scheff & Retzinger, 2001).

Cultural 'othering' or social exclusion in the university has been theorised by Reay, David, & Ball (2005). In their study of 500 students at UK universities, using the concept of habitus as theorised by Bourdieu, they find that race and class remained bases on which students felt excluded. Watts (2015) investigate group alienation and exclusion in terms of working class and ethnic minority access to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford and confirm the prevalence of self-exclusion and non-belonging as a reality for these students. In their study in Indian universities, Rout and Watts (2015) note the antagonism experienced by affirmative action students in India from academic and non-academic staff as well as other students. In a study of black students at UCT, (Bangeni & Kapp, 2005) come to the conclusion that black students at UCT "are not fully 'at home' in the predominantly 'white', English, middle-class institutional environment, because at various moments, boundaries of ethnicity, class, language, or race serve to remind them of their 'otherness'" (p.17).

Mann defines alienation of the learner as "the estrangement of the learner from what they should be engaged in, namely the subject and process of study itself" (Mann cited in Mann, 2005, p. 43). Mann (2010) also offers a comprehensive theoretical framework along which to approach the idea of alienation at the university, listing several forms or causal conditions for alienation, including the "sociocultural context"', "knowledge, power and insight" and "the teaching and learning process" (Mann, 2005, p. 43). One of these forms of alienation alluded to by Mann, namely epistemic exclusion, is covered in the next paragraph.

2.4.2 Epistemic Exclusion

A form of social exclusion which has been much written on is the idea of epistemic exclusion. Paulo Freire (2000) theorises the relationship between epistemology, identity and exclusion, and sees these as necessarily needing to be congruent in order to avoid alienation and exclusion of the learner. More recently, Mbembè has argued for the "decolonisation of knowledge" ((2016, p.3) while Asante

(2012) calls for redesigning curricula from an afrocentric perspective and Luutu (2012) calls for greater local relevance of curricula. In order for knowledge to be decolonised, Mbembé sees a need for the university to move beyond accepted epistemologies and redefining and reprioritising study disciplines towards reflecting the needs of a newly liberated South Africa. The idea of revising the very purpose of the university, with its epistemic and structural change implications, is also advanced by (Msila, 2017b). Abdullah spells out what is meant by epistemic decolonisation when he states decolonisation means "For us [subjects of colonialism] to have our own independent world-view of knowledge and world-view of university, in terms of its role, philosophy, aims, and goals" (Abdullah, 2012b, p. 23).

2.4.3   The Impact of Intellectual and Cultural Coloniality on the People

Colonialism's subversion of the indigenous identity, by process of 'othering', is well-established. Ashcroft et al. for example state that "The self-identity of the colonising subject, indeed the identity of imperial culture, is inextricable from the alterity of colonised others, an alterity determined, according to Spivak, by a process of **othering"** (Ashcroft et al., 2009, p. 10). The psychological damage of colonialism has been linked to the subversion of the identity of the colonised in terms of their culture, history and values (Kabeer, 2002; Santos, 2002; Villenas, 1996). Mamdani (2018), takes a particularly African focus in this regard and sets out the especially destructive legacy of colonialism on the identity of postcolonial African society. According to Spivak (1995), the culturally unsubdued hybrid masses, eventually become discarded as, what she refers to, the subaltern[11]. The fact that colonialism creates a generation of discarded, culturally detached or heterogeneous people, does not go without consequences. In South Africa, there has been much

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[11] The term Subaltern was coined by Gramsci (1985) to refer to those who are subjected to colonialism and imperialism. The term 'subaltern' was adopted and given a more nuanced meaning by postcolonial scholars to refer to the silenced or disregarded people under colonialism Ashcroft et al. (2009).

written about the 'lost generation' of the Apartheid era, estranged from traditional cultural values and left to fend for themselves in a cruel and indifferent world (Everatt & Sisulu, 1992; Freeman, 1993; Ramphele, 1991).

Walker (2005), in a study of white and black student attitudes at a previously white South African institution, finds that cultural and racial identity still feature strongly, more than ten years after Apartheid. In South Africa, the negative effects on the identity of black students as a result of being 'othered' have been established (Barroso, 2015; Bazana & Mogotsi, 2017; Mackenzie, 1994).

Freeman (1993) finds that, in coping with the sense of abandonment, South African black youth has resorted to social group formation as a means of fostering an identity. Social Identity as personal affiliation to a single or multiplicity of groups, is theorised by Tajfel and Turner (2003), who identify an emotional commitment to the group and its norms and values, as a key feature social identity formation. The individual finds a satisfying of his or her identity fulfilment, as well as support or solidarity from the group. It is also the case that individual agency is surrendered to the collective position of the group (Taijfel & Turner, 2003). They link the individual's commitment to the social group to the rise of social movements. Huddy (2001) assesses the correlation between group identity and political identity, as well as fluidity of group identity in the US and find that the strength of commitment as well as the nature of the group are relevant factors in this regard. For the university, this signals the prospect of group-based identities being in conflict with institutional identity.

In the final section of this chapter, some additional literature items and ideas, that arose during and after the Fallist protests, are reviewed. The reason for including these was to improve the contextual understanding of the higher education environment at the time of the Fallist protests. These will help with understanding and explaining the empirical evidence that will be explored later on in the study. The section ends off by focusing on some important movements and concepts that achieved popularity during the Fallist period.

2.5 Surveying Popular Fallist Ideas

In this section I critically assess some popular scholarly and non-scholarly publications and voices that emanated out of the Fallist period. I also review the commonly invoked term Africanism from the literature and how it has been confounded with the concept African nativism. Finally, a review of a prominent voice within Fallism, namely that of the New Left or Identity Politics, is presented at the end of the section.

2.5.1 A Critical Overview of Popular Fallism-related Publications

One gains good insight into the broad ideas and sentiments behind the Fallist protests in South Africa by exploring the publications that emerged out of the protests. These writings straddle the worlds of academia and activism and are included in the literature review for the sake of gaining insight into the popular understanding of the legacy of colonialism and Apartheid. The call to decolonise the South African historically white university – of which UCT is a prototype – is mentioned in at least five published works that emerged out of the Fallism protests since 2015.

In terms of identifying the causes of the protests, these publications mention the internationalisation and globalisation of higher education, neo-liberal state policies and the legacy of cultural and economic exclusion of black South Africans (Booysen, 2016a; Jansen, J. D., 2017; Langa, 2017b) as being behind Fallism.

These publications also set forth their ideas for change. These ideas are essentially aimed at government, the management of universities and to teaching professionals. Booysen (2016a) in her presentation of a series of reflections in the heat of the protests, takes a governance focus, and lists some political imperatives brought up by the protests for the national government. Heleta (2016) also responds amidst the chaos with a call for the decolonisation of the curriculum and the eradication of Eurocentrism, starting in the classroom. A publication titled Hashtag, and edited by (Langa, 2017b) presents a collection of frontline reports from activists in the protest movement. It also, in

its concluding remarks, essentially addresses university management, the government, the police, the media and student leaders in calling for a transforming of policies, strategies or practices. Jansen (2017) writes as a vice-chancellor (VC) and presents the views of 11 other South African VCs, which he gathered in interviews during the height of the protests. He tries to understand the implications of the protests on the leadership of the university in the face of a ruling government unable to solve the problems of higher education. In his final analysis, he sees state policy and the violent response it will illicit, as a serious problem for the university. In a somber assessment of the problem, he states that "It is more likely that the government will either enact force or continue to abscond, leaving the public universities at the mercy of those inflicting terror on institutions […]" (Jansen, J. D., 2017, Kindle[12] Location 4596). Habib (2019) also presents his reflections and recollections from the protests as a Vice-Chancellor at the University of the Witwatersrand. His critique is aimed at the state for failing to secure higher education financially as well at Fallist activists whose ideological and strategic coherence he questions.

A shortcoming in some publications is that they essentially amount to a personal, ideological, popular or emotional reflection on Fallism and the legacy of colonialism. The works by Jansen (2017) and Habib (2019) for example contain valuable personal reflections from the perspective of the VCs. Langa (2017a) presents numerous narrative accounts uncritically from the perspective of Fallism activists. Booysen (2016a), also writing from an activist perspective, approaches the topic more from an ideological activist perspective, without touching on a possible overarching inclusive and coherent transformation strategy.

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[12] The Kindle book location on an electronic device

Two related perspectives that emerged from the popular discourse, and that proved to be divisive, are African Nativism and Identity Politics. These two perspectives are reviewed next.

2.5.2 African Nativism

Post-Apartheid South Africa has seen a rise of radical social formations that have moved away from a strict adherence to traditional Marxism, characteristic of South Africa's liberation movements (Ballard, 2005; Ballard et al., 2006; Greenstein, 2003). This in turn has resulted in an increase in popular forms of radicalism with an essentialist or ethnic agenda. This is visible from the rise of recent political groupings with an ethnic agenda as well as from the African nationalist tendencies within the ruling ANC party itself (Chipkin, 2016; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The result is that many ideas and actions that are ethnic or African nationalist in their origin, have claimed a place within the social justice struggle. The making compulsory of a Zulu language course at a South African university on non-Zulu speakers, done under the rubric of Africanisation, is a case in point here (Rudwick, 2018).

This misplacement of nativism into the national liberation struggle has been decried by revolutionary thinkers. Prah (1999) cautions against romanticist notions of the past when invoking the term Africanisation. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) sees this form of nativist activism as a sterile appeal borne from a mindset of victimhood, and lacking any real emancipatory potential for Africans. Nativism has also been rejected by Mbembé (2016), when it seeks the appropriation of the idea of Africanism to justify the assigning of benefits to an ethnic base. In this, he points to the critical stance taken towards this type of nativism by African decolonisation heroes such as Frantz Fanon. In citing Fanon, Mbembé states

> Fanon took a certain discourse of 'Africanization' to be akin to something he called 'retrogression' – retrogression when 'the nation is passed over for the race, and the tribe is preferred to the state'. 'Retrogression' too when, behind a so-called nationalist rhetoric, lurks

the hideous face of chauvinism – the 'heart breaking return of chauvinism in its most bitter and detestable form'… (Mbembé, 2016, p. 3).

Fanon himself was at times even more scathing in his rejection of the nativist claim to the idea of Africanism. He states for example:

> "On the morrow of independence, in fact, it [the black bourgeoisie] violently attacks colonial personalities: barristers, traders, landed proprietors, doctors, and higher civil servants. It will fight to the bitter end against these people 'who insult our dignity as a nation' " (Fanon, 1983, p. 155).

What these scholars' and activists' views show is that there is a risk of nativism being conflated with Africanism. Africanism and the call to 'Africanise' — meaning to place Africa at the centre — is a liberatory, non-ethnic pursuit, advanced by revolutionaries and scholars (Lebakeng et al., (2006; 2016; Luescher, Loader, & Mugume). In summary, Africanising the university — when it refers to centering the needs of Africa and its people — is seen as a noble pursuit, distinct from nativism which constitutes a tribal and exclusionary pursuit.

2.5.3 Identity Politics

Bernstein, cites Kaufman, who sees identity politics as

> the belief that identity itself—its elaboration, expression, or affirmation is and should be a fundamental focus of political work; identity politics politicized areas of life not previously defined as political, including sexuality, interpersonal relations, lifestyle and culture (Bernstein, 2005, citing Kauffman pp. 49–50).

Identity-based politics, also known as the New Social Movement (NSM) has provided the basis for new forms of social activism seen during the Fallist protests. Smith refers to the "politicization of new areas of the social [and] establish[ing] a somewhat new form of political contestation" (2012, pp. 2–3). In practice this has meant that the popular narrative, related to a cultural, sexual or ethnic

identity became the contested arena for advancing the cause, rather than an all-encompassing logic (Bernstein, 2005). In Britain, similar post-Marxist forms of progressivism have been referred to as the "new left" (Callaghan, Fielding, & Ludlam, 2003).

Being post-structural, postmodern and post-Marxist, the new activists shift the emancipatory agenda away from the traditional economic or material structure, and more towards particularist causes. This form of activism has provided the fertile grounds for the growth of African nativism and other essentialist causes. At the core of these causes lies an essentialist appeal to race, sexual orientation or gender victimhood. While making a just emancipatory appeal, these causes remain detached or tenuously connected from any the grand meta-narrative (Müller, 2016; Vincent, 2011).

A preliminary survey of recent South African literature on decolonisation reveals an influence of NSM perspectives within activist and scholarly writings. Examples of these are decolonisation as deconstructing patriarchy (Gqola cited in Monday Monthly, 2015; Ndlovu, 2017), decolonisation as deconstructing African dehumanisation and dispossession (Msila, 2017b; Tembo, 2016) or decolonisation as deconstructing Eurocentrism (Heleta, 2016). All of these can be argued as advancing decolonisation along a particularist agenda, while remaining aloof from any grand, inclusive emancipatory programme.

This skepticism towards any grand emancipatory programme has attracted criticism to this form of activism (Callinicos, 1989; Zoeller, 1988). Habermas for example points to "the precarious status of a position that totally rejects privileging any position and thus cannot account for the alleged validity of itself, (Zoeller, 1988, p. 154). Another criticism of post structural activism and flowing from its rejection of totalising concepts such as rationalism, is its manipulation of rhetoric and emotion to advance its ideas. In criticising the way in which language and rhetoric are deployed in postmodernism, Hicks states:

> […] to most postmodernists language is primarily a weapon. This explains the harsh nature of much postmodern rhetoric. The regular deployments of *ad hominem,* the setting up of

straw men, and the regular attempts to silence opposing voices are all logical consequences of the postmodern epistemology of language..." (Hicks, 2011, p. 178).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter started by putting forward an analytical framework based in social realism. This framework brought some key elements of the social system in relation to each other. These relationsships were located within Archer's morphogenetic sequence. The elements that define and determine social action - reflexiveness, identity and agency - were discussed in relation to the elements that are vested in the colonial social structure – economic exclusion, cultural exclusion and epistemic alienation. To explain the reality of social morphostasis from 1994 to 2015, which is what has been evinced by the powerful Fallist protests, I have in this literature review made a provisional identification of the structures and mechanisms at work, to which this morphostasis can be attributed to.

What the literature establishes is that the legacy of colonialism and Apartheid live on in economic and social inequality in South Africa, as well as in cultural and epistemic exclusion at the university. Fallism represented a clear attempt by those who experience contradictions with the structure, to change the structure. In terms of Archer's (1995) morphogenetic sequence, Fallism held the promise of agency emerging from a primary to a corporate level, and eliminating the contradictory elements of the structure.

In light of the literature review, the gaps in the exisiting literature that needs to be theoretically explained in this research are as follows.

- A more detailed and nuanced understanding of coloniality at UCT

- The role that agency played in the Fallist protests

- Why the primary agents were thus far unable to emerge more powerfully

- How the university can mitigate the continued social and economic inequality left by Apartheid and colonialism.

- How a unifying institutional identity can offer a coherent pathway to a broad emancipatory process.

Any theoretical explanations, or knowledge, emanating from this study is, in terms of critical realism, influenced by the perspectival, spatial and temporal context of the researcher and the subjects. All knowledge pursuits and findings which are undertaken in this study, no matter how dilligently pursued, therefore comes with a measure of fallibility. Notwithstanding this fallibility, the need to theorise as a core element in the emancipatory project is established by Bhaskar when he states: "It is my contention that [...] liberation *[...]* is both causally presaged and logically entailed by explanatory theory, but that it can only be effected in *practice"* (Bhaskar, 1986, p. 177, original emphasis). In line with Bhaskar's position, the next chapter sets out the theoretical assumptions and the research methods and methodologies that have underpinned this study's attempt at explaining de/colonisation from the perspective of critical realism. It is from such theoretical explanation that the implications for emancipatory practice will be drawn.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter sets out the methodological assumptions under which the study was conducted and an explanation of the overall design of the research. In section 3.1 the main ontological assumptions under critical realism and the epistemological route followed are declared. Section 3.2 lays out the research structure and the methods followed in order to arrive at the findings.

3.1 Research Paradigm

In this section the rationale for assuming the ontology and epistemology of Critical Realism (CR) is explained.

3.1.1 *Critical Realism (CR)*

CR as a paradigm came about as a result of a critique of both traditional logical positivist research and poststructuralism. CR breaks with logical positivism in allowing for the possibility that powers of causality can exist beyond detection. This acceptance of unmanifested or hidden powers of causation fits in neatly with the view of postcolonial scholars and activists that there are elements of colonialism that could reside beyond detection, such as in the sub-consciousness of the coloniser or the colonised (Biko, 1987; Fanon, 1963; Oelofsen, 2015). CR concedes the existence of such powers of causation, for which it offers expanded logical tool of inferencing (Burnett, 2007; Edwards, O'Mahoney, & Vincent, 2014; Fletcher, 2016).

Although conceding powers of causation, beyond the realm of the empirically observable, CR never falls into the trap of simply elevating people's perspective of reality, to reality itself. CR takes perspective into account without reducing the inquiry to human perspectives.

The usefulness of Critical Realism lies also in its transformative and emancipatory potential. This potential is unlocked through what Bhaskar & Hartwig call 'concrete utopianism' (2010, p. 20), which refers to an ideal envisioning of reality. When concrete utopianism is juxtaposed alongside our empirical findings, then the gap between what 'is' and what 'ought to be' can be uncovered. We

therefore move well beyond solely describing or explaining the problem. An approach that would reduce the research to the rhetorical and lacking the crucial emancipatory element (Archer, Sharp, Stones, & Woodiwiss, 2015, p. 14).

Alternative research perspectives can be shown to fall short of CR for this type of social research in various ways. For this investigation CR addresses the named problems in both logical positivism and interpretivism. It is furthermore regarded as a valid third philosophical research paradigm, having been theorised and tested by a range of scholars.

Finally, it is reassuring to note that CR has been successfully applied in the recent past to address practice-related challenges at UCT and has delivered comprehensive and practically useful knowledge. The research of Case (2007; 2013, 2015) into student learning, as an example, has resulted in a marked improvement in the success rates of black students in the engineering faculty of UCT.

3.1.2 Ontology

Roy Bhaskar (2008) theoretically sets up the paradigm to accommodate both hidden and manifest realms of reality. It does so through an assumption of a multi-layered conception of reality, referred to as a depth ontology. Ontologically, CR assumes three depths of reality. At the deepest level, there is the domain of the Real, comprised of the causative mechanisms and structures that exist beyond empirical detection. Secondly there is the Actual domain, or the sum-total of all elements, structures and events that exist in the real world, and being causally acted on by the Real. Lastly there is the Empirical domain, which are those events, elements and structures that are empirically observed (Bhaskar, 2008). The only means of gaining any insight into the causal structures and mechanisms within the Real domain is via the effects they have in the realm of the empirical or of human experience. The Real is therefore only understood in light of its resultant effects within the empirically domain. It is from this indirectly observed and partial view of the Real that the researcher attempts to draw inferences on reality (Hill & Godfrey, 1995, p. 531).

In summary, CR crosses the divide between interpretivist and positivist paradigms by separating the knowledge about a real object from its true essence. It opens the way for a measure of fallibility in any empirically founded knowledge, removing the much criticised rigid claims of positivist research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). In the process, absolute subjectivism, meaning knowledge completely constructed in the mind of the subject, is avoided. The realist ontology necessitates for the researcher 'an observer role' employing an empirical research methodology (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 7).

3.1.3 Epistemology

Archer (1995) and Bhaskar (2009) see CR social research as being effectively accomplished theoretically and methodologically through the analysis of social practices and actions. A rationalist empirical epistemology is used to gain insight into the nature of reality. The unique and expanded ontological assumptions about Reality within CR, especially insofar as the domain of the imperceptible is embraced, necessitates expanded means of empirical inferencing, beyond traditional logical inferencing tools such as induction and deduction. Because we are not in fact sampling manifestations of the Real, (regarded as undetectable) but rather the observed effects of the Real, within the domain of the Actual, we theorise by relating such effects back to the Real through expanded logical tools. The logical tool of retroduction is therefore added within CR theorising and entails the sketching of the conditions under which a causal mechanism should have taken effect in the world (Fletcher, 2016). For this research, retroduction entailed asking 'what must the thoughts and reflections of a black student at UCT be like to have given rise to the type of responses seen in the data?' Through the CR paradigm we are therefore able to theorise about otherwise hidden aspects of the social world. These reasoning and inferential tools, used in conjunction with the empirically sampled data, helps to establish an approximation of reality that transcends logical positivism.

3.2   Research Design

In this section the structure of the research is set out. Section 3.2.1 sets out the rationale for the case study design. Following this, in section 3.2.2, the link between the research questions and the data are explained in terms of the research methodology and the data collection methods. The following section 3.2.3 presents in greater detail the process followed in obtaining the data sample. Finally, in section 3.2.4, the content analysis process which was followed in making findings from the data sample is set out.

3.2.1   *The Organisational Case Study (OCS) Design*

CR and Case Study

There is wide agreement within CR scholarly ranks that the case study provides a suitable design structure for CR research. Williams and Wyn cite a number of CR researchers whom they state "have identified the case study method as the best approach to explore the interaction of structure, events, actions, and context to identify and explicate causal mechanisms" (2012, p.795). Edwards et al. state that "The tenets of critical realism encourage a particular interest in the case-study approach to exploring managerial and organizational issues" (2014, p. 2). Linking the organisation case study (OCS) – meaning case study applied to organisational research - to the paradigm of critical realism, Vincent states that "Realists are attracted to OCS research not only because they can help us abduct novel theories, but also because they want a better explanation of broader social mechanisms (class-based, racial, religious, sectoral, national, cultural, etc.) that operate through a case" (2014, p. 3).

Case studies have been effectively used to qualitatively study a contemporary phenomenon within its context, especially when there is some ambiguity around that phenomenon. Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam (2018) cite Yin in describing the case study as the ideal research design when the research is about exploring, explaining and describing a phenomenon. Gray states that "case studies, if carefully planned, can provide a powerful means of exploring situations where there is

uncertainty or ambiguity about phenomena or events" (2014, p. 9). Ebneyamini & Sadeghi Moghadam, citing Yin, add that "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and the investigator has little control over events" (2018, p. 2).

Case studies also offer a more in depth and holistic explanation of the phenomenon. Blatter & Haverland (2014) see the case study structuring of a research process as well-suited research that entails a causal analysis. It also offers a systemic and holistic explanation of the problem, instead of a component approach (Yazan, 2015).

With the research problem, research paradigm and context in mind therefore, the research was hence designed as a single organisational case study (OCS), using qualitative empirical data.

In characterising the case study, Yin (2015) has set out the main features of a case study design. These will be used to move from the research question, stated in chapter 1, to the choice of research methods and the structure of the research. According to Yin (2015) the components relevant a case study are the research questions, the units of analysis and clear criteria for interpreting the findings. The research questions have been stated in the introduction chapter and the so the units of analysis as well as the criteria for interpreting the findings are set out in greater detail in what follows.

3.2.2   Linking the Research Questions to the Data

The case study design allows for a flexible research design in terms of data gathering and methods of analysis, which included interviews, observation and documentary analyses (Crowe et al., 2011). Before a data gathering method could be conceived of, clarity on the units of analysis was necessary. From the conceptual framework set out in section 2.2 earlier, the literature review and from our research questions, it was apparent that the research would explore and analyse experiences, concerns, thoughts and actions of the agents in respect of the structure (recall Figure 1). The

foundational research questions and the original social realist framing of the research confirmed this and indicated a process of uncovering and elucidating a social phenomenon namely coloniality - a phenomenon which has existence in the relationships, the shared ideas, the norms, the values, the institutionalised practices and experiences of the people as social agents. Data gathering methods were therefore required that could effectively sample these experiences, concerns, ideas and actions which the agents exhibited in response to coloniality. Alternative empirical approaches may have provided a more direct empirical observation on structure, but those approaches would have required far greater logistical and organisational commitments that were not open to this study, in part due to the political sensitivity of the subject. A direct view on the structure is however present in the data sample in the form of 9 official reports (see Figure 9 further down).

Personal cognition in respect of the realities which people encounter, constitute personal reflexivity, as defined in chapter 2, section 2.2.2. Reflexivity, by virtue of its power of causation with respect to human agency and therefore human and social action, is given real existence by critical realists (Archer, 2013, Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 2008; O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014).). That means that our investigation was in reality going to be an investigation into human reflexivity, agency and, consequently, human actions. Much of this is however non-concrete elements of reality and not directly observable. In terms of critical realism, they reside in the domain of the Real. What *is* observable however, are the *records* or byproducts of these non-observable elements in the form of recorded speech, created texts and observed actions of the agents. These records constitute the body of evidence from which the thoughts and feelings, hidden within human cognition and social obscurity, are identified. It is these records that reside in the domain of the Actual, within which an empirical study can be undertaken (Riasati & Rahimi, 2011; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The study therefore amounts to an investigation of these records. It is the analysis of these records that has shaped the methodology and methods employed in this research. These are set out in the next few paragraphs.

Data Processing

As explained in the preceding paragraph, the research essentially amounts to an investigation of the experiences, concerns, thoughts and actions of the people, via their created texts[13] and from a set of interviews. Textual analysis has been described as "a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world [from texts]" (McKee, 2003, p. 2). Carley (1993) sees textual analysis as a valuable research methodology in trying to understand and explain social behaviour. The wider definition of what constitutes a text has been important in this research. Carley (1993) includes in her definition of 'texts' interview transcripts, essays, news articles and essays. Fairclough (2016a) adds television and radio broadcasts under the definition of texts. For this study, the broadest understanding of the word has been assumed. That means that interview data, video and audio material, news reports, debates and grey literature have all been incorporated into the body of texts to be analysed.

There are numerous approaches to the analysis of texts (Carley, 1993), but the *discourse analysis* approach has been found to be suitable when a studying social events, practices and structures (Fairclough, 2016a). Additionally, Fairclough (1993, 2016a) also regards discourse analysis, when applied critically, as a suitable technique to be used within the critical realism paradigm as well as within organisational research. A textual analysis, drawing on CDA techniques, was therefore used to infer from the sampled texts, the core ideas in evidence and how these related to each other. These techniques are explained in greater detail in section 3.2.5 further on. Based on such an initial finding of the core ideas at play, a more sophisticated model of the social mechanisms and structures that were acting causally was developed.

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[13] Texts being used in a broader sense to include the transcripts of audio, video and interview material

Data Gathering Methods

The research methodology assumes the availability of a sufficient body of qualitative textual data. The data gathering methods that were found to be most suitable in terms of efficacy, time, access and cost criteria were interviews and a documentary analysis. The university's internet portal contained a rich source of recorded audio, video and documentary data, which could be further augmented by other internet sources that contained material relevant to the research. Access was also secured for conducting interviews with relevant people connected to UCT. Details of the interview process is provided in the following section. Together, the interviews and the open source textual material provided a rich source of data from which to construct the case study.

Much of the body of evidence was composed from existent records of recent meetings, written articles, speeches and reports. A good part of the data therefore represented a form of indirect observation, meaning that much of the content was generated through recording of actual events. These could then have the additional benefit of offering non-textual cues and semiotic forms of meaning. This added an element of authenticity of the surveyed perspectives and reduced the problem of the Hawthorne Effect[14] (Wickström & Bendix, 2000). Some perspectives were directly solicited, in the form of seven direct interviews with members of the community, in order to create a real connection between the researcher and the subjects. This also served as a means with which to better interpret the documentary data.

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[14] A skewing of data obtained by direct observation, which happens when the observed human subjects, knowing that they are being observed, adjusts their behavior

3.2.3   Data Sampling

Data Sources

The public discourse on decolonisation that emerged during the Fallist period resulted in a large pool of open source published and recorded material. This pool of publicly available material offered a good opportunity for a relative outside researcher to undertake a textual analysis of such material. Additionally, the reality of a researcher that operated outside of the formal institutional structures and therefore facing restrictions on readily accessing large numbers of students and staff, favoured the sampling of this large body of open source material.

The aim of the sampling process of open source material was to achieve an exhaustive as possible a representation of the all the ideas reflected in the discourse on decolonisation. This sample (n), drawn from (N), the hypothetical set of *all* ideas in the discourse, was achieved by fencing off the greater pool of texts and media in two ways, namely (1) chronologically restricting all items sampled to those published since January 2015, and (2) restricting the sampled publications only to those that, somewhere in its body, contained any of the terms decolonisation, transformation or colonial or a derivative of these terms. A search of the UCT internet portal was hence undertaken using these search terms, as well as of three other non-UCT internet search engines, which yielded a workable set of 84 items, when omitting duplicates. These 84 items are comprised of hundreds of pages of text, including hours of recorded interviews and public speeches and hundreds of pages of published official and unofficial written pieces.

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of the documentary material. This was to ensure that all the material that was retrieved would constitute a "sample that is satisfactory to […] specific needs" (Cohen et al., 2007, p.114). The aim was to gather a sample that would present as complete a picture as possible, of the idea of coloniality and Fallism. The empirical data set for the study thus became 84 items comprised of grey literature, documents, articles, interviews, a radio interview, meeting minutes, a short documentary, public events and seven unstructured interviews.

Details of the Data Sampling Process Followed

Sampling the Documentary Data

Documents and other recorded material such as speeches, published reports and other media appearances provided a ready and abundant data source, centrally relevant to the study, and did not require special access permission or costs. Documentary material was primarily retrieved from the official portal of UCT. It included selected public events that were recorded and published on the university's YouTube channel.

The university's news and information portal was chosen as the source of a representative and diverse sample of ideas reflecting the discourse on decolonisation. The UCT online news portal is a repository of documents and articles, assumed to be the most extensive bank of recorded ideas within the discourse on coloniality and decolonisation. Using the UCT portal also ensured reliability and authenticity of any grey literature that was obtained. The challenge in selecting the items for analysis was the elimination of researcher bias in the inclusion of exclusion of any material. This was addressed as follows. The search terms "UCT, decolonisation, transformation, colonial" were used on the university's search engine. A parameter I set was that all material had to have been created after January 2015 (when the first Fallist protest broke out at UCT). This ensured that the total returned results from the search engine was a manageable 99. I visited all 99 links returned by the search engine and, after excluding repetitions or links that lacked any usable information, a harvest of 72 usable official documents, articles, opinion pieces and other materials were obtained. Some of these materials referenced relevant additional sites, which resulted in four additional items being obtained, bringing the total to 76.

There was a possibility that the initial UCT search could have lacked a complete set of ideas within the discourse, and so, in line with purposive sampling and to ensure that a complete collection of all the views and ideas was indeed covered, three additional internet searches, on four non-UCT search engines were done. The aim was to seek for any additional useful material that contained information

not yet covered in the 72 existing documents. The search words "UCT, decolonisation, transformation, colonial" were again entered on non-UCT portals, making sure that any portal shaping[15] of the results was checked for. Google, Duckduckgo, YouTube and Bing, limited again to material created after January 2015. This search yielded a very large number of links, but I only considered the first 50 results, as the search was only meant to discover information that might still be lacking from the existing 74 items. The limiting of the search to the first 50 results means that 150 results were returned across the three search engines, which minimises any negative effect on the representativeness of the sample. Eight additional items were harvested from this follow-up internet search. The choice to include the additional eight items was made because they contained substantially different ideas from those drawn from the UCT portal.

For brevity, I used a system of naming the documentary items as Item 1, Item 2 up to Item 84, which I refer to when quoting from these documents. The actual documents, transcripts, audio and video recordings are saved and stored offline on the researcher's University of Liverpool Microsoft OneDrive cloud storage, under password protection, available for scrutiny on request.

The items which make up the eventual sample of elements used for the analysis include official university reports to short news reports, interviews, meeting minutes, video recordings of meetings and hearings, a radio interview and official declarations.

The figure below shows the types of items that made up the sample of retrieved items.

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[15] Portals such as Google use search history or the searcher's login details to deliver a set of results particularly customized for the searcher. This was avoided in this study by disabling all the factors that could influence the results, such as (1) not being logged in to an account and (2) Using a browser with no search history or cookies
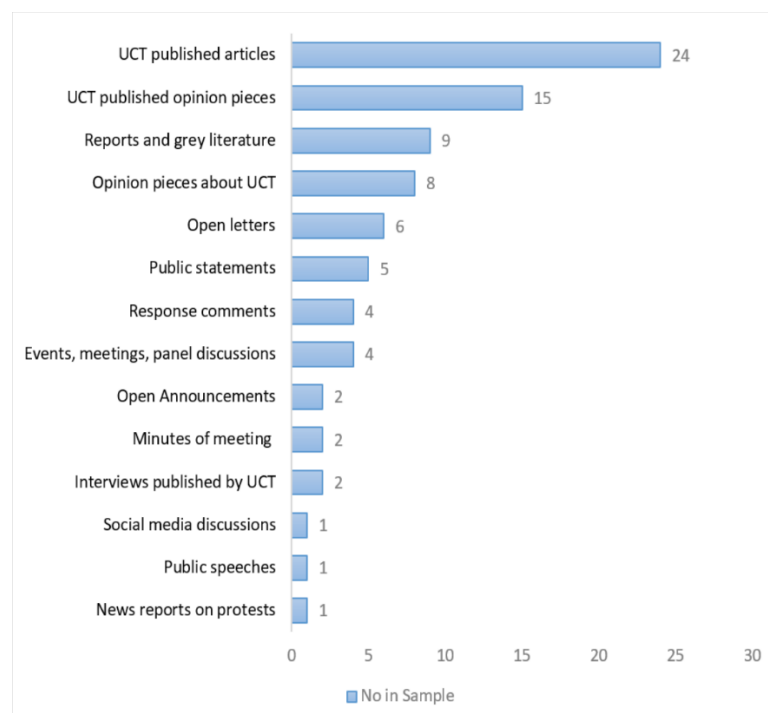
Figure 9- An indication of the types of items that made up the documentary sample of 84 items

Interview Sampling

There was a need to augment the documentary data with actual interviews with UCT actors in order to seek additional perspectives and to obtain data that was not subject to the same possible limitations present in open source, publicly available data (Paulsen, 2016; Potter, 2006). Seven one-on-one interviews were therefore additionally planned which took into account the available time and resources as well as the finding in Paulsen (2016) that a relatively small set of interviews has often been effective when used in conjunction with a large documentary sample. The interviews constituted a means of augmenting the documentary data. It could serve this purpose by corroborating documentary data as well as produce new information that was not present in the documentary data.

A combination of purposeful and random sampling was used to arrive at the list of interviewees. The purposeful sampling entailed inviting potential interviewees who were connected to UCT and had

expressed a public view on decolonisation. An initial scanning of the textual data revealed the names of numerous individuals connected to UCT, who had been highly articulate on the topic of decolonisation. A list of 25 contactable names, with divergent views emerged from this process. These were all invited via a personal email to be interviewed for the research. The intention was to gain access to as wide a spectrum of views as possible, as called for by Patton (2015). Although it was hoped that seven to ten invitees would respond, even after a follow-up request via email, only three individuals were willing to participate. Two of these three were members of the university executive (between 2015 and 2017), and one was a recently retired UCT professor. The contentious nature of the interview topic may have been behind the poor of response (Lowes & Paul, 2006).

To make up the shortfall in terms of the seven interviews originally decided upon, it was decided to conduct the remaining four interviews with students who experienced the protests, had completed their time at UCT, and were willing to be interviewed in terms of their reflections and experience of the protests. It was difficult to get contact details for student subjects who had left UCT and so a different process was followed for gaining student participation. The process entailed placing an open invitation on social media. In line with the original decision on seven interviews, four student interviews – added to the existing 3 staff interviews - was deemed feasible and sufficient to gain a student perspective first-hand (keeping in mind that the interviewees were only intended to augment the documentary analysis). No racial criteria were applied, and, to ensure randomness in the group of four, the first four persons who responded to the invitation were simply chosen for the interview, all of which turned out to be black African students. In terms of the criteria as set out in the invitation, all of these four had experienced the Fallist protests and had recently either graduated or terminated their studies at the university. The student sample does represent limited cultural stratum of the campus student body. In terms of the ethnic and racial contextualization, set out in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2), the interviews do however represent the vanguard demographic of the protests. Though not

represented in the interview sample, students from other cultural groups were observed and taken cognizance of in this study, from the documentary sample.

The student interviewees were invited to gain a student perspective on the main issues identified in the literature review chapter, as well as those issues that emerged from the initial documentary analysis. Since the interviews were conducted after an initial analysis of the open source company documents and material, I was able to focus on some key ideas which emerged from the documentary data. The interviews were largely unstructured, with a few broad questions were asked around decolonisation and the Fallist protests, while the interviewee was left free to address the question or volunteer additional information. This decision was based on the finding that unstructured interviewing protocols allow for discovering information that may not have been present in the documentary material (Paulsen, 2016). In practice, this unstructured format did yield valuable unexpected information from the student interviewees and allowed for a biographical reconstruction of each student, which, in turn, allowed for a historical contextualisation of some of the findings. A summary of the interviewees is as follows.

Interviewee Category	Male	Female	White	Black	Graduated Yes	Graduated Not Yet
Lecturers (Total 1)	1	-	1	-	N/A	N/A
Senior Executives (Total 2)	1	1	1	1	N/A	N/A
Students (Total 4)	1	3	-	4	2	2
Total = 7	3	4	2	5		

Table 2 - Breakdown of Interview Sample

The seven interviews conducted with members of the UCT community were transcribed and included in the textual analysis. Interviews were tagged as Interview 1, Interview 2 up to Interview 7. The interview data was mainly (but not exclusively) used in the triangulation and testing of the initial findings drawn from the documentary analysis. Where they were drawn from in the main analysis it was only when they contained information that was not found in the documentary data.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to recruit more than one single lecturer in the interview process. That meant that too limited a perspective was obtained, which, if relied upon, could have had an inordinately large influence on the data. In the interest of maintaining objectivity, the single interview conducted with a lecturer was therefore largely omitted from any detailed incorporation, with the exception of one brief citation on page 123.

3.2.4 Ethics Considerations

Documentary and other media data are retrieved from the public domain and so the sampling related ethics considerations for this study pertain essentially to the planned series of 7 interviews. Ethics consideration had to be made in respect of privacy, confidentiality, consent, possible causing of harm and the gaining of legitimate access to the institution to conduct the research (Hall, 2014). To guarantee privacy to all interviewees, anonymity maintained by creating a pseudonym for each of the student interviewees and referring to the staff generically by their broad position as executive member or lecturer. Anonymity also prevented any harm from coming to an interview after the interview. The issues of informed consent, confidentiality and right of access were taken cognizance of, and addressed as follows.

Firstly, to allow for informed consent, which is regarded as the central ethics issue (Oliver, 2010), all potential interviewees received an overview of the purpose of the study as well as the nature of their involvement, including any relevant guarantees of privacy and confidentiality. This was made available in the form of the Participant Information Sheet with any further information and undertakings added on at the request of the potential participant. During interviews, participants were provided with a summary of their answers where there was a possibility of ambiguity in their response which ensured accuracy and fairness (Valenzuela & Shrivastava, 2002).

Legitimate access to the university to conduct the study and ethics approval was sought via UCT's Centre for Higher Education Development (CHED) and was formally obtained after the relevant

ethics committee deliberated on my application for ethics approval. Ethics approval for the research was also obtained from the University of Liverpool. Both approval letters are attached as annexures.

3.2.5 Data Analysis Process

The data sample comprised an inordinately large amount of material to work with and an initial process of reducing the data without losing any meaningful information was required. The reduction of the data is in fact accepted as an important step in documentary analysis (Ahmed, 2010; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2020). The technique which lay at the heart of the data-reduction process of the greater documentary sample was the content analysis technique as set out by Carley (1993).

According to Carley (1993), a content analysis is an identification and analysis of ideas or concepts contained in the text. A concept is contained within a phrase or word. For this study, I have treated the idea of a concept somewhat more elaborately and it was at times necessary to extract more than a mere short phrase from the text to illustrate the practice of racism. These phrases, and often paragraph extracts, were coded along a set of broad theoretical concepts. Carley indicates that coding may follow predefined theoretical categories or an Interactive Concept Choice, which she describes as "developing a list of concepts incrementally during the process of coding" (Carley, 1993, p. 83). In this process a combination of the two was used. The initial two master theoretical categories were predefined based on the research questions and the theoretical framework as set out in chapter 2, as a guideline (Archer, 1995). These master codes or themes were tagged as follows. The master theme 'Ideational' referred to beliefs, interpretations, ideas, ideals or values as expressed or implied in an excerpt or full text. The master theme 'material' referred to any resource-related ideas. As stated, the two master themes were chosen so as to align with the two main strata within Archer's conceptualisation of social reality (1995).

The rest of the theming or coding, within the two master themes, followed an Interactive Concept Choice, which corresponds largely to a thematic summarisation of the data as set out by Miles et al. (2020). It also corresponds to what Hsieh (2005) refers to as a summative content analysis. Carley

mentions the idea of Generalisation, by which a concept may not be explicitly or literally seen in a particular excerpt but being present in a diffused way throughout the text. Cognizance has been taken of concepts that appear only in a diffused non-literal way in the text.

A purposeful process was used in gathering excerpts and inventing and populating concept codes. The aim was to ensure maximum variation in the sampled perspectives and thus ensure greater validity of any eventual findings (Benoot, Hannes, & Bilsen, 2016). The way that this purposeful process was conducted was by perusing each documentary item and drawing extracts only as long as these extracts added unique concepts or perspectives. This process resulted in a database of text extracts, theoretically arranged along various themes and sub-themes.

These excerpts were then stored in an Nvivo and an MS Access database. The process was completed for the entire 84 sample items as well as for the interview data. This process was continued until no substantially new concepts or perspectives were discernable from the broader sample. A total of 232 excerpts, spanning just over 10000 words, and coded within themes and sub-themes, were generated from this process. This consolidated list of theoretically consolidated categories, derived from a thematic analysis, constitutes the initial process of screening and summarising of the data. On the aspect of relevant and irrelevant data, mentioned by Carley, the decision was made that any idea related to decolonisation, transformation or Fallism, even if these words were not explicitly mentioned, had to be included.

Following the arranging of the data along themes, the individual excerpts which were listed within each theme were then analysed to draw out meaning, using aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1993, 2016a). This method, borrowed from CDA entailed looking at each theme and its excerpts, and drawing out an element or elements of experience, action, concern or idea being conveyed. These are the Discursive Elements that make up the discourse according to Fairclough (2016a). This resulted in a set of re-descriptions, using the terminology of the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 2.

The Method of CDA

CDA has been put forth as a useful analytic tool within a CR investigation and Fairclough states that 'a version of CDA based on a critical realist social ontology is potentially of particular value to organization studies' (Fairclough, 2016b, p. 915). Fairclough defines discourse analysis as follows "Discourse analysis is generally taken to be the analysis of 'texts' in a broad sense — written texts, spoken interaction, the multimedia texts of television and the Internet" (Fairclough, 2016a, p. 916). CDA, importantly, addresses and prevents the epistemic fallacy, committed in purely interpretivist research, whereby the views of the subjects are uncritically adopted as reality. It creates an opportunity for the researcher to make every effort to remove any obstruction of our perception of actuality, in what Bhaskar has referred to as a process of under-labouring. Van Dijk sees CDA is both a data analysis method and a critical attitude with which to conduct a discourse analysis, that goes beyond mere description of the data (van Dijk, 2016). CDA as set out by Fairclough has presented this research with a useful and tested method of conducting CDA within an organisational change environment (Fairclough, 2016a).

Fairclough defines a discourse as a "particular way of representing certain parts or aspects of the (physical, social, psychological) world" (Fairclough, 2016a, p. 925). In setting out the elements related to discourses, Fairclough raises the three ideas of order of discourse, genre and style. The genre is the particular setting for social interaction, which produces discourse, whether it be a newsletter, a committee meeting, a protest meeting or a social media platform. The style refers to the state of being or the identity that is assumed by the players, which could be, militant, aloof, emotional, or scholarly. The order of discourse is a "relatively stabilized and durable configuration of [multiple interacting] discourses" (Fairclough, 2016a, p. 918). An order of discourses is therefore a mesh of discourses, both mutually harmonious and disharmonious, styles and genres which all make up the discursive environment under research.

In broad terms, the process of CDA, as put forward by Fairclough involves the identification of concrete social events and ideas in the discourse order, and to make abstractions about the possible causal mechanisms and structures that have given rise to it. Using this abstraction, the events are again analysed and the newly developed theory thus confirmed or at least strengthened. In contrasting CDA from other forms of research, Fairclough states that "The key difference in this case is whereas […] modernist research moves from the concrete to the abstract and then 'forgets' the concrete, the dialectic-relational form of realism I advocate crucially makes the move back to analysis of the concrete (Fairclough, 2016a, p. 923). According to Fairclough, CDA 'aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power' (Fairclough, 1993, p. 135).

For this research, the guidelines presented by Fairclough (2002, 2016a) are used in conjunction with the social realist analytical framework of Archer (1995, 1996; 2000), while also incorporating elements of the ideas of Van Dijk (1993) around psychology as a factor within discourse analysis. The terminology used by Fairclough and Archer needed some consolidation, as they often use different terms to allude to the same concepts. In my view, the differences often arise since Archer speaks from as broad a level as possible, in theorising social change, while Fairclough specifically addresses an organisational process of change.

Summary of Data Analysis Process

Figure 10 below is a diagrammatic representation of the data analysis process followed.

Input Data	Objective	Method	Outcome	Literature Basis
All collected textual Data	(A) Allocation of all data to two master themes	Thematic analysis, applying two theoretically predefined master themes	Data split into (1) material related excerpts and (2) cultural/ideational excerpts	Archerian analytical framework as the basis to the two strata of social reality namely (1) the material and (2) cultural/ideational strata (1995)
Data divided between two master themes	(B) Identifying emerging themes within each of the two master themes	Thematic textual analysis. Coding of excerpts (within each of the two master themes)	Themes (codes) emerging within each of the two master themes	Thematic summarisation of the data using Interactive Concept Choice (Miles et al., 2020) and Summative Content Analysis (Hsieh, 2005)
Clustered excerpts from the data around coded themes	(C) Extracting the discursive elements from the themes	Textual analysis applying aspects of CDA and using Judgmental Rationality and corroboration to ensure a critical and objective stance to the data	An identification of the elements of the discourse as situated within the broader discourse ('Elements' being the key Issues at stake)	Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2013, 2016; Van Dijk, 1993). Judgmental Rationality (Archer, 1998).
The field of discursive elements, situated within the broader discourse	(D) Inferring causality and conceiving of an explanation	Applying retroduction as a method of inference	Theoretical explanation of causality	Danermark et al., 2001; Fletcher, 2016
(1) Postulated theory, (2) interview data and (3) some company documents	(E) Triangulation and testing of theory	Applying deductive and inductive logical methods to test the theory with respect to the raw data	Confirmation of theoretical explanation of coloniality which identifies structures of causality	The need for testing theory within OCS (Yin, 2018)
(1) Confirmed explanation of causality (2) Discursive elements (key issues) situated within the broader discourse	(F) Effect practice improvement in respect of the key issues	Application of the theory	Recommendations	Present Thesis

Figure 10 - The process followed in moving from the raw data to the eventual findings and recommendations

A summary of the data-analysis process, as presented in Figure 10 is as follows. The major steps in the analysis process is represented by the 'Outcome' column. These major steps are symbolised by the down arrow in each cell. In all, the six outcomes listed in this columns, represent the six major analytical steps taken.

The elements that were needed to accomplish to each of the outcomes, are lined up horizontally to the left of each of the cells in the 'Outcome' column. These three elements were the Input Data, which was different for each progression of the analysis, the objective, which also progressed through the stages of the analysis and the method, which is clarified for each state of the analysis. The process of arriving at each outcome is illustrated by the use of right-pointing arrows, which leads to each of the six outcomes.

The far-right column lists the literature base that informed the various choices that were made in the data analysis process.

The table sets out a data analysis process that took place over six logical phases. Phase one (Row 1, corresponding to Objective A in the table above) comprised a binary sorting of the mass of texts and excerpts from the texts, into socio-economic issues and socio-cultural issues, as defined by Archer (1995), as these were manifested in the structure. Row 2 (corresponding to Objective B in the Figure 10), depicts the further development of themes within each of the master categories, which emerged after a logical clustering of all the excerpts and texts. Row 3 refers to the process of CDA which was applied to clusters of grouped texts and excerpts in order to identify the various elements which make up the broader discourse (See Fairclough (1993, 2013). These themes that emerged became the elements that were used for further analysis. Row 4 refers to the fourth stage of the analysis which entailed retroductively making sense of the field of elements within the discourse. During this phase, a logical explanation of the observed elements, was pursued. The outcome of this phase was a proposed theoretical explanation. In Row 5, (Phase 5 of the analysis) the proposed logical explanation is tested by inductively seeking corroboration in the empirical data, including in the gathered interview data. Finally, depicted in Row 6, practical implications of the derived theory are considered in the form of a set of recommendations.

3.2.6 Ensuring Reliability and Validity

Judgmental Rationality

A problem with a textual analysis from the perspective of critical realism is that texts constitute only a partial indication of Reality and that there is therefore an assumption of fallibility in the texts (Fairclough, 1993). To ensure greater integrity, veracity and the reliability of any finding from the text, Judgmental Rationality was applied. Judgmental Rationality is a concept in critical realism which offers a rational basis on which to weigh seemingly contradictory ideas within a less theorised area of investigation. In terms of Judgemental Rationality, certain knowledge claims can be afforded greater validity than other (Archer, 1998; Bhaskar, 2009; Williams & Wynn, 2012). Sayer (2010) lists some criteria within Judgmental Rationality, two of which were realistically usable in this study.

These two are *practical adequacy* or real-world demonstrability and *intersubjective intelligibility***,** meaning that the idea had to be broadly intelligible within the context. Whenever applied, this was indicated in the textual analysis.

Corroboration

Ideas were not uncritically accepted and included as some effort was taken to check for corroboration and consistency between non-connected subjects. For example, when there was a charge of racism on campus expressed by some activists, this view would be compared to views on racism expressed by other activists or non-activists. Another example is the claim by activists that accommodation was insufficient, which was corroborated by executive reports on accommodation, and thus confirmed. Another way of verification, where no official or executive corroboration could be found was the existence of multiple cases of a particular claim. The claim that the curriculum was Eurocentric may not exist in any officially published UCT document, but is mentioned so often in other texts, that it had to be incorporated in the findings.

3.2.7   Reporting the Findings

The findings of the empirical part of this research are presented in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis. The initial two questions which underpin the research, form the basis of the demarcation between chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 4 therefore, I present the findings around material exclusion, while the cultural and intellectual findings are presented in chapter 5.

Each of these two chapters follow roughly the same structure, made up of four parts. The first part of each of these two chapters is a summary of the empirical findings from the data. Only judgemental rationality and internal corroboration were applied to arrive at a summary of the main issues and ideas observed within the discourse. [As a reminder, judgmental rationality offers the critical realist research the opportunity to explain why a particular version of reality has greater explanatory power over another.]

The second part of each of these two chapters presents a theory that explains the empirical observations. In the case of this research, a logical tool called retroduction was used to relate the empirical findings back to a causal explanation. The postulated theoretical explanation was then tested, using an inductive logical method innthe third part of each chapter. That implied going back to the data and inductively testing for evidence that could support the theory being advanced.

The fourth and final component in each of these chapters is a consideration of the implications of the proposed theory for the institution. This section is thus a response to the corollary parts of each of the main research questions.

Figure 10 above in section 3.2.5 contained a detailed lay-out of the data-analysis process that was used. The cells in the fourth column of Figure 10 correspond with the subsections of the data analysis chapters in this thesis (chapters 4 and 5). Each of these two reporting chapters has four subsections.

In a shorter chapter 6, a summary of the research, its findings and a set of practical recommendations are provided. The final chapter also includes some important final notes.

CHAPTER 4 – COLONIALITY AS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCLUSION

Through an investigation of the discourse that emerged under UCT's turbulent period of protest, this chapter presents a tabulation of the findings on social and economic exclusion, how this impacted on the experience of the students as well as an analysis and interpretation of these findings. The aim is to identify the causal mechanisms and structures that embody socio-economic exclusion and alienation at UCT. In other words, this chapter looks at what constitutes the colonial experience at UCT in terms of hard material exclusion and what the conditions are that gave rise to such exclusion. Further on, in the interpretation section, I present a theory of how socio-economic exclusion works at UCT and how it led to Fallism. A final section considers the practice implications of the findings.

This chapter is divided into four sections, which mirror to some extent the outcomes column of Figure 10. The first section (section 4.1) is a tabulation of the elements of material (i.e. economic and social) structural exclusion found in the data, and a basic interpretation of these ideas in the light of the literature. Section 4.2 is an attempt to use the findings in section 4.1 to infer a theoretical model for understanding material structural coloniality and aspects of causality around the phenomenon. The next section (4.3) goes on to test and confirm this theoretical explanation of causality. The final part of the chapter (section 4.4) looks at institutional implications and recommendation, based on the causal explanation put forth.

4.1 Findings

Because this chapter focuses on socio-economic or material exclusionary realities, and not the softer and nuanced cultural and intellectual forms of exclusion, I am specifically analysing the excerpts that were grouped under the theme "Material Related Elements".

The social and economic elements of the structure with an exclusionary effect have been dealt with in the broader literature, but this section seeks to find evidence of its nature and reality at UCT. Figure 7 shows the theoretical categories of the elements considered to be material-related (meaning that they pertain to the physical economic and social environment).
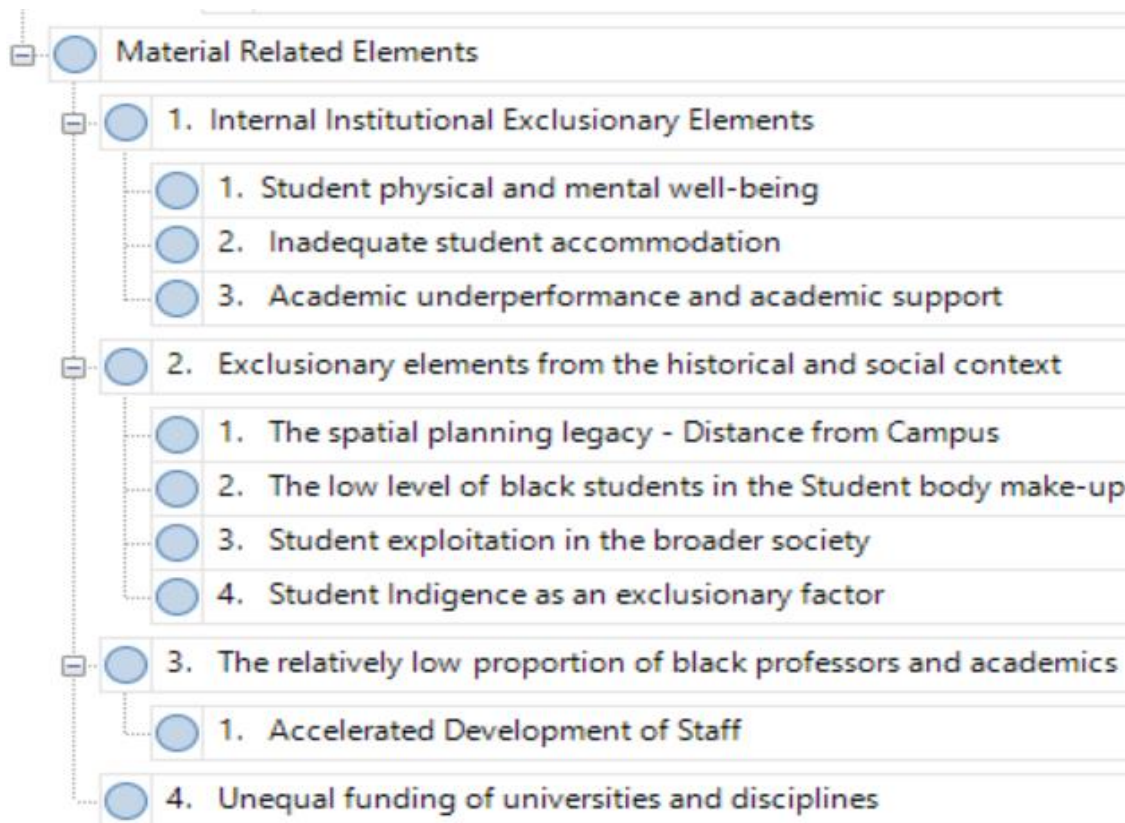
Figure 11- The Material of Structural factors pointed to in the documents

The data reveals that the physical environment is experienced as exclusionary towards black students, both off-campus and on-campus. On-campus experiences (which I term the Campus Environment or CE) include accommodation issues, safety on campus, academic support and student wellness. The off-campus experience (i.e. the External Environment or EE), includes level of family support, distance from campus and economic circumstances. Often however when looking at the texts in the sample, the articulation makes no clear division between the two, and the EE factor is often implied

in the text. I therefore had to infer the EE issues from an interpretation of the texts as will be seen in the following section.

4.1.1 Theme: External Environmental (EE) Exclusionary Elements

Table 3 below shows the excerpts that were grouped under the theme social-contextual.

Excerpt	Source
1. Support to students living far from campus students especially first years coming from disadvantaged backgrounds. UCT should provide resources to disadvantaged students living far	Item 69. Excerpts from UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.
2. Far travelling distance to jobs, schools and HEIs places extra stress and financial costs on people living on the outskirts of the city centre. An additional barrier is the lack of affordable and reliable public transport to get to the universities, the most advantaged of which were designed at the convenience of wealthy white areas. For example, travelling to UCT from Claremont (a previously white area) takes 10 minutes, whereas travelling to UCT by train from Khayelitsha is a 1.5 hour journey (Item 65, p. 17)	Item 65: Protesting Policy - Interrogating Free Decolonised Higher Education Funding.
3. Many black students would not have relatives or friends in Cape Town who could provide a home within decent commuting distance and the required necessities for study	Item 60: The Final Report by the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission (IRTC). P.40
4. Candidate 2: If students repeat a course, they shouldn't have to again pay full price for the course, instead repeat courses at a decreased price….Support to students living far from campus…UCT should provide resources to disadvantaged students living far from campus – Setting up agreements with internet café's in disadvantaged areas for UCT students to make use of computers and internet free.	Item 69: UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.
5. Furthermore, I would like to implement a sustainable pad and tampon towel drive that will be an official part SRC structure as opposed to an ad hoc drive.	Candidate 19, Item 69: UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017
6. …given the extreme poverty they come from, feel compelled to share their bursaries with their families, which results in them being unable to meet their on-campus needs" (Item 60, p. 3).	Finding in the final IRTC report based on interviews with students
7. Candidate 12: Off-campus accommodation, which requires hefty lease fees and deposits… Candidate 7: …accommodation is still an issue…students vulnerable to landlords	Item 69: UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.
8. Pad Drive campaign: If the government and the institution can provide free condoms in every bathroom and residences, I am certain they can do the same with sanitary towels. Our dignity should be prioritised as condoms are in our institutions	Item 69: UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.
9. "if I didn't have food I would just eat with everyone else. It all worked out, I think it's just about speaking out and its very important that you have a good support system because it can really get hectic, the future can look bleak and blurry but If you have a support system then you have people who are supporting you"	(Nokuthula UCT student, 2019, p. 4)

10. "I remember… at that time I didn't understand the concept of NSFAS[16] and all these bursaries but my mom would have these conversations with my sisters… it just fascinates me how she was so clued up about those things as if she was …. so with a background like that I think I had all the motivation to just do well in school. So yah, that's how she was"	Sindiswa, UCT student, 2019, Transcript p. 2

Table 3- Environmental factors experienced by students

What the excerpts in Table 3 show is that the environmental factors such as the distance from campus for poorer black students, the exploitation of students by landlords, financial exclusion due to students being unable to afford necessities related to their studies and student indigence, are clearly felt as exclusionary.

The **distance from the university** (referred to in excerpt 1 of Table 3) is the result of students living in traditionally designated black suburbs whereas the university and all its campuses are located within a traditionally white suburb. It is problem that is further compounded when students who hail from distant towns and villages in South Africa end up finding no locations closer to campus that could offer them affordable accommodation. Students also claim that they face exploitation by having to pay higher than market related prices for outside accommodation and are burdened with hefty upfront deposits when they are forced to take outside accommodation from private landlords (excerpt 7).

The **lack of accommodation** and the inordinate burden that this places on black students, can be attributed to the uneven distribution of land and home ownership in South Africa. This problem of black landlessness and economic exclusion has been raised in the literature (Bond & Garcia, 2000; Hart & Padayachee, 2013). The finding that students are compelled to seek private accommodation at exploitative rates from private lessors is therefore to be expected.

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[16] The South African National Student Financial Aid Scheme

This finding corresponds to the findings in the literature that Apartheid laws such as the Bantustan policy and the Group Areas Act continue to have an economic exclusionary effect on black South Africans (Christopher, 2002). Blaming Apartheid is not enough though because social exclusion was also perpetuated in the post-Apartheid South Africa, through the state's neo-liberal free market policies around land ownership and redistribution (Narsiah, 2002). This meant that previous white neigbourhoods, such as Rondebosch, within which most of UCT's campuses are located, saw property values radically increasing and **student accommodation being unaffordable and inaccessible**.

A further element of exclusion in the external environment is **indigence**. The indigence of the families of black students, often forces these students to send a portion of their bursary to their relatives back home (excerpt 6). The financial desperation of students is also evident from the cry by an SRC candidate that sanitary provisions be given to students who cannot afford it (excerpt 5). One sad outcome of the financial vulnerability of students is that students have to often terminate their studies because they are unable to pay the fee for repeating a course (excerpt 4).

Dehumanisation is another element that can be identified from the texts. The excerpt that mentions female students being unable to afford basic sanitary products is indicative of the dehumanisation and poverty which black students experience. This confirms the finding of poverty and dehumanisation of mainly black students in the literature (Aliber, 2003; Reddy, 2015; Rodney et al., 1981).

We know from the literature that post-Apartheid neo-liberal state policies, including the privatisation of health and education, shut out the poor from quality private health and education (Seepe, 2017), thus perpetuating poverty patterns (Aliber, 2003) and poor preparation for university (Vorster & Quinn, 2017). This then also explains the **academic backlog** with which these students arrive at campus as a result of receiving an inferior quality of school education.

What is implicit when looking at the table above and the preceding elements that were identified is that black students often experience a **loss of cultural and social support** when they come to the university

These external environmental (EE) exclusionary factors emanate from South Africa's colonial and Apartheid past and the unequal development that resulted from that era and continue to be perpetuated by present realities. The findings from the documentary analysis confirms the findings from the literature that landlessness, poverty, social exclusion from good health and education, dehumanisation and loss of traditional cultural and social support structures continue to plaque the black student as he or she enters the university.

4.1.2 Theme: Student Physical and Mental Well-being

The table below contains some excerpts that highlight the threats that students experience and that are said to be related to an increased incidence of mental health problems and suicide amongst students.

Excerpt	Source
• In particular, [Fallism] shone a light on the need to accelerate transformation through decolonising the curriculum, transforming the professoriate, addressing issues of student mental health and gender-based violence (Item 48, p. 5)	Item 48. U*CT Institutional Review 2008-2018 - Official Publication.*
• students and staff suffering from mental health problems that should be contextualised given the challenges students and staff members face at the university i.e. history of Apartheid, poor socio-economic conditions, violence or crime and stigma, lack of accommodation or lack of food, and financial difficulties (Item 60, p. 3)	Item 60. The Final Report by the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission (IRTC).
• A constantly expressed view that the reason for black students leaving the university in body-bags due to high rate of suicide was that this was because of a racist institutional culture, unreasonable academic demands and the alienating environment	Item 60. The Final Report by the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission (IRTC).
• Candidate 1: The rate of gender violence on campus, especially in residences seems to be on a rise and structures put into place to deal with these issues are not achieving their mandate; Candidate 3: …relied on computer labs and forced to leave campus late. The shuttles did not stop at other residences that are far from the shuttle stop. This compromised our safety and needs to be addressed; Candidate 7: Students do not feel safe while walking on campus at night because UCT is not a gated campus with no way of ensuring their safety; (Item 69).	Item 69. UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.

• George Sithole The BAC raised the following five issues that together make up their collective submission:[the first of these is] 1) Observed increase of mental health problems among students and staff in recent years, partly due to institutional culture and the untransformed situations that students and staff have to contend with…. (Item 79)	Item 79. *BAC submission to UCT IRTC Hearings 6 August 2018* [Television broadcast]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/_CttgdZGQv8
• The process of academic exclusion was felt to be highly insensitive and could well push students over the edge and lead them to committing suicide. … One student's disclosure stated: 'I suffered from chronic depression as an undergraduate science student. For all of that time (and until very recently) I persisted with the view that if I could press a button to make the world stop existing, I would press it without a second thought. At times I was also more actively suicidal; I went up to the knife edge adjacent to Devil's Peak and toyed with the idea of jumping off. (Item 60, p. 48).	Item 60. The Final Report by the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission (IRTC).
• I don't know Cape Town, I don't know UCT, I don't know which direction I would go if I were to look for this place, and you don't know who to ask because everyone around you is panicking… At the end of the day, if you don't have a place to sleep and you are on the waiting list, what are you going to do? Like, they just don't cater or accommodate those types of instances. They do not really realise that if you don't have family or anyone in Cape Town, where are you supposed to go with all your luggage and stuff (Item 65, p.55).	Item 65. Protesting Policy - Interrogating Free Decolonised Higher Education Funding

Table 4- A selected set of excerpts from the texts that refer to the external environmental factors that affect students

As can be seen from excerpts 1 to 6 in Table 4, the elements that contribute to the problem of **depression, failing mental health** and suicide are **gender violence** and **crime** (excerpt 1) **poverty or indigence** (excerpt 2) and insurmountable **academic pressures** felt by black students (excerpt 6). The indigence, which often results in hunger and poor personal sanitation, coupled with academic failure, together result in **stigma**, which adds to the problem. Another factor blamed for mental health problems experienced by black students is UCT's "**alienating environment**" (excerpt 3).

Failing Mental Health

The issues of "student mental health and gender-based violence" have been confirmed in the UCT institutional review 2008-2018 (Item 48, p. 5). Earlier on, in my review of the literature, the destructive effects of colonialism on the well-being of the oppressed have been mentioned (Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1983; Flam, 2013). These findings in the data shows that mental health challenges continue to be caused by structural exclusion and alienation.

The importance of students identifying with the university and with socially integrating at campus, have been found as a key element in ensuring their well-being (Hermon & Hazler, 1999). The link between alienation with depression and mental problems has been raised in the literature review earlier and is confirmed here. Baumeister & Leary (1995) also shows that humans have an aversion to social exclusion and isolation, which is also confirmed by our observation. The literature has shown how alienation leads to feelings of shame and poor self-image, depression, struggling to cope and this is also confirmed in the case of UCT (Braxton, 1993; Efraty et al., 1991; Ray & Sutton, 1972; Scheff & Retzinger, 2001).

There is evidence that mental health issues have been tackled much more vigorously since the Fallist protests of 2015 and 2016 where the issue was prominently raised. The IRTC report states:

> UCT has undertaken to hire many mental health practitioners, including psychiatrists, to offer mental health support systems within faculties in addition to the services offered by the Student Counselling Centre. The university has also increased its capacity by providing 24-hour telephone counselling in partnership with SADAG. On the whole, it is clear that university, despite all the limitations and criticisms, is working hard to address the mental health needs of its growing student population (Item 60, p. 49).

How is this seen in terms of our social realist conceptual framework? Archer (1995) sees agency as a product of reflexivity, and from Flam (2013) we know that physically and mentally impaired conditions can cause reflexivity to become fractured. Figure 12 below is a schematic indication of how mental health problems are caused and the effects that it brings about. [This angle will be explored in greater detail in the second section of this chapter].

Figure 12- The causes and effects of mental health at UCT

4.1.3   Theme: Academic Underperformance

Academic underperformance may be seen as more appropriately covered in the next chapter, which focuses on intellectual exclusion, but it has been placed here in order to gain an understanding of how student performance is impacted by the social and economic exclusionary elements.

Black students face a greater challenge to perform academically at UCT. Some of the factors associated with poor academic performance can be identified from the table below.

One cause of poor performance by black students is seen as poor quality of schooling (Excerpt 1 in Table 5) which is, in part, attributable to the legacy of Apartheid. This view confirms what was found from the literature review earlier, that the unusually high drop-out rate of those who do make it to university is as a result of poor schooling (Badat, 2008; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Mouton et al., 2013).

Excerpt	Source
1. Candidate 10, refers to the "gap between former Model C/private schools and government-township schools" (Item 69)	Item 69. UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.
2. Many in the UCT Faculty of Science judge on prejudice rather than academic content: thus, residual prejudices from Apartheid may be a major cause of the poor performance of black students. (Item 54)	Item 54: Curriculum Change Framework Comment by E Prof Tim Crowe.
3. We fail our students if we fail to recognise the ways in which this gap, along with other aspects of our colonially inherited system, educationally dis-empower a significant proportion of our students at UCT, contributing to feelings of humiliation and failure; and ultimately, unacceptable, racially differentiated academic performance (Item 30, para 3).	Item 30: Shedding the colonial curriculum structure by Assoc Prof Suellen Shay, Dean of the Centre for Higher Education Development

4.	The SII was launched by Vice-Chancellor Dr Max Price in 2012 as a multi-stakeholder approach to dealing with the challenge of poor performance by learners from township and rural schools (Item 51, p. 15).	Item 51: UCT Year In Review 2017 - Official UCT Publication.
5.	Sadly, the academic-support educational strategy has devolved into a failed social engineering exercise and students who need help the most have become acceptable 'collateral damage	Item 27: Questions, but no answers, about decolonising South African university curricula - Opinion by Prof Time Crowe
6.	"I felt like I was in a dark space, I felt alone, I felt like nobody can help me. Once I was in my room in Res and I got my results, it's the first time that I see such results and I was like 'who can help me?' I felt alone, in a dark place; I even tried looking for help so I went to the Student Wellness Center which helps students"	(Eric UCT student, 2019), Transcript p. 3

Table 5- Academic under-preparedness as an exclusionary element

The excerpts in the previous Tables 3 and 4 show the broader elements that result in the academic performance of black students. These include are indigence, feelings of alienation, physical and mental vulnerability and a lack of financial and emotional support systems from home. These observed causes of academic underperformance partially confirms the findings by Badat (2010) and Mouton et al. (2013) that the systemic factors that exclude or restrict black students are affordability, language, travel distance and a school education that prepares them inadequately. What can be added to Badat and Mouton's findings, by looking at Table 5 above, is that feelings of alienation and physical and mental vulnerability are additional contributing factors to weaker academic performance by black students.

The university has instituted programmes to support black and other students, but as can be seen from the Table 5, excerpt 3 above, these support programmes do come with the new problem of stigma. As was shown previously, stigma is a contributing factor to mental health problems in students. This means that a programme, meant to assist, is found to be having a counter-productive effect, a finding that is confirmed in an official UCT Institutional Review (Item 48). Skepticism around academic support has also been expressed by a lecturer as a "failed social engineering exercise" (Table 5, excerpt 5). These views are however in contradiction with research done on academic support in the health sciences faculty at UCT, which sees academic support as a

contributing factor to student success (Alexander, Badenhorst, & Gibbs, 2005). UCT has in fact responded to these concerns by adapting the format of their academic support programmes and by creating more flexibility in opting in and out of it. The university's institutional review 2008-2018 states in this regard that

> "One of the longstanding concerns associated with the ADP [academic development programme] is that students may feel stigmatised [...]. UCT is seeking ways to deal with this problem by creating curricula that address a wider diversity of educational preparedness, with more choice and more flexibility so that students can opt in or out, depending on their needs" (Item 48, p. 129).

4.1.4   Theme: Quality of Accommodation

The excerpts that appear in Table 6 give an indication of the issues around accommodation, which, based on the prominence of the matter within the Fallism protests, can be said to have reached crisis levels by 2016. The Shackville protests were perhaps the most violent and destructive of the entire protest period (See excerpt 10 in Table 6). As can be seen, the primary issue raised was the shortage of available accommodation. Excerpt 1 of Table 6 presents some excerpts from the campaign messages of SRC candidates, and clearly, accommodation is a key issue raised in almost all the campaigns. The shortage of accommodation is confirmed in the official university reports such as the 2017 institutional review (see Table 6, excerpt 8). This shortage results in students having to seek accommodation off-campus, which ends up costing them double their bursary allocation.

Excerpt	Source
1. Having fallen victim to the housing crisis, I am passionate and strong about dealing with the housing system. In my term in office I intend to engage with Student Housing to find ways to ensure students especially first years coming from disadvantaged backgrounds get allocated in residences [...] underprivileged students who can't afford exorbitant off campus accommodation [...] accommodation is still an issue [...] students vulnerable to landlords [...] distance between university and society at large [...] The reality is that UCT does not have sufficient residence spaces for the number of students it admits [...] inadequacies of the Residence and Accommodation system at UCT [...] ensure that the student residence system is more effective in allocating and placing all	Item 69. Excerpts from UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.

	student into residence. […] we still saw many not having secure accommodation in time of the commencement of their academic year […]	
2.	There is a chronic shortage of student accommodation which has impacted black students more negatively than any other race group. (Item 60, p. 70)	Item 60. The Final Report by the IRTC
3.	We demand […] from the Vice Chancellor, Max Price [acceptance of the] systemic failings of Student Housing …	Item 67: #RhodesMustFall letter of demand.
4.	Dear RhodesMustFall …As the Executive, we wish to thank you for drawing our attention to concerns relating to student accommodation. We would like to engage in discussion on the broader issue of transformation, private security and also provide feedback/ progress on the accommodation issues.	Item 67: #RhodesMustFall letter of demand – response from UCT executive
5.	Rental fees close to campus for a UCT student is R6000-R7000 per month, above the NSFAS residence allowance at UCT of R3000-R4000. Given the dire shortage of residences, many students struggle to find affordable accommodation.	Item 65: Protesting Policy - Interrogating Free Decolonised Higher Education Funding.
6.	Study rooms are just that, study rooms, and not places for people to live in. There should be a complete review of the patriarchal residence culture. The university must do away with gendered residences. There should be no gendered toilets on any part of the campus.	Item 69. Excerpts from UCT SRC Elections Manifesto 2017.
7.	…the #PatriarchyMustFall movement highlighted the heteronormative nature of our university rules and even our thoughts. On one occasion, I listened to some of the LGBTQIA+ students sharing their lived experiences both in the university residences and on campus and realised that there is so much that one takes for granted. Students shared simple things, such as having to wait for the "happy pee hour" to be able to use the single sex bathrooms because of fears. These are heteronormative systemic things that an ordinary person does not even consider, but are so real for some on our campus. Through the College of Wardens, we hope to critically analyse some of the university rules and residences' traditions to address oppressive practices that promote patriarchy in the residence system while also identifying and sharing the best practices that are already happening in some of the residences.	Item 51: UCT Year In Review 2017 - Official UCT Publication.
8.	..have a long-term capital expenditure plan to address maintenance backlogs as well as starting a process to review the property management of our buildings, inclusive of Student Housing. With a focus on sustainability, UCT is well poised for the future…	Item 51: UCT Year In Review 2017 - Official UCT Publication.
9.	Due to contractual obligations, the last group of service staff from C3 Food Services, which catered for the residences, were insourced on 1 November 2016.	Item 50: UCT Yearbook 2016 - Official UCT Publication.
10.	In February this year, we had a night of the so-called Shackville protests, when art works and portraits were burnt, when a bus and bakkie were burnt, and my office was petrol bombed. Following that protest, 12 students were disciplined, and were expelled or rusticated, were given significant sanctions and there were also interdicts against some students (Item 61)	Item 61: Minutes of the meeting Annual General Meeting of Convocation held in Kramer Law Building LT1 on Thursday 15 December 2016.

Table 6- Factors related to accommodation regarded as exclusionary

According to Feldman (2009), human beings react emotionally when there is a threat to their physiological needs such needs as food, security and intimacy. The evidence which follows, shows

that there has indeed been a lack of security in some residences where overbooking took place and where students could not find secure accommodation (Item 60). There is therefore a clear case to be made that shortage of accommodation constitutes one of the most important causes of the anger and violence which characterised the Fallist protests.

The lack of accommodation is clearly conceded to by the university (Item 48; UCT Publication, 2019). These publications mention that some 4000 students are assisted by the university to obtain private off-campus accommodation. They also report on progress made with the construction of more accommodation towards achieving a goal of housing up to a third of all enrolled UCT students by 2021. Nowhere can one find a study of the social and economic circumstances of the student body of UCT. What is mentioned is that 2015 marks the year when UCT changed its intake criteria to admit greater numbers of poorer instead of better-off black students (Item 49). Mention is made in Item 48 about the reality of poorer students staying in university residence longer than financially stronger students, which obviously changes the traditional accommodation model that was used by the university. The fact that poorer black students stay longer at campus must also be a factor to be taken into account when planning for accommodation. The UCT target of housing a third of its student population must also correlate with the geographical intake policy if a discrepancy is to be avoided. Nowhere is there evidence that this type of factoring has occurred in the overall planning at UCT.

An element that is brought into question in respect of the accommodation shortage, even though not always explicitly in the text, is the overall financial and infrastructural planning at UCT. The present vision is based on present revenue streams, present budgeting approaches and the present infrastructural trajectory of UCT. As can be seen from the discourse, the present trajectory, cannot realistically address the accommodation shortage in any realistic period of time. The question then becomes how UCT can find ways to redefine its mission and its delivery model to come into structural alignment with the new demands of a post-colonial post-Apartheid South Africa. Insofar

as the internal structure is concerned, the university's planning and budgeting systems are clearly implicated along with practices such as over-booking and the preference given to family members, who study at UCT. The broader and external structural issues, which have been mentioned in section 4.1.1 include the indigent state with which mainly black students from outside of Cape Town come to the university and the harsh reality they face when they are forced to procure outside accommodation.

In considering the crisis in accommodation in the discourse, the final report of the IRTC cannot be ignored. One of the briefs of the IRTC was to investigate the violent Shackville protests which took place in response to the accommodation crisis. The protests resulted in substantial damage to property and the expulsion of some students. The IRTC final report dedicates an entire chapter to the student accommodation crisis. Although the university was pursuing solutions to the problem (excerpt 5), the IRTC final report launches strong criticism of the university management for not foreseeing the need for a drastic increase in accommodation space earlier on already (Item 60). It states this as follows, in respect of the chronic accommodation shortage:

> "To have increased the admission of black students without having fully considered the impact and peculiar circumstances of vulnerability, especially homelessness, poverty and food insecurity, to mention but a few. UCT in dealing with student accommodation and consequent services was not just incompetent. The university also acted inhumanely in respect of the black students affected" (Item 60, p. 39).

The IRTC report is scathing of the way in which UCT has managed the allocation of accommodation to students, claiming racism and the preservation for white privilege on the side of the management of UCT. The document finds certain practices such as overbooking as a cause of the crisis. It also sees the policy of giving preference to family members already on residence, for a place on residence, as a de facto tool of extending white privilege. It highlights the fact that UCT does not include the successful management of student accommodation as a strategically monitored objective, and neither

does it include compliance with the national higher education transformation agenda as a strategically monitored objective, thereby revealing its commitment to extending privilege for the minority.

The result of the lack of structural and cultural integration at UCT residences and of the general dispensation around accommodation vis-à-vis the new social realities that UCT faced, has led to the violence and destruction which was observed during 2016 with the Shackville episode of the broader Fallist protests. This lack of integration has been termed as a key vestige of coloniality at UCT, something which will be addressed in the next section of this chapter.

4.1.5   Summary of Findings

This section reported on the textual analysis which was undertaken on the data and which led to the identification of the key elements of the social and economic structure of coloniality as well as the way that these have impacted on the student. These findings can be summarised as follows.

Structural Element	Effects on the Student	Textual Data Evidence
1. **Loss of traditional cultural and social support structures**	• Feeling lost and abandoned (not able to access help) • Struggling to cope emotionally, mental strain	Table 3, Excerpt 9, 10; Table 4, Excerpt 7; Table 5, Excerpt 3 Table 4, Excerpts 1,2,3,5,6
2. **Accommodation insecurity**	• Loss of dignity • Feelings of insecurity	Table 3, Excerpt 2; Table 4, Excerpt 7; Table 6, Excerpt 2
3. **Economic and other exploitation (from landlords etc)**	• Feeling lost and abandoned (not able to access help) • Feeling Insecure	Table 3, Excerpt 7
4. **Financial hardship**	• Feeling insecure	Table 3, Excerpt 4; Table 3, Excerpt 6
5. **Gender violence, crime**	• Loss of dignity, stigmatisation • Struggling to cope emotionally, mental strain	Table 4, Excerpt 4; Table 3, Excerpt 5; Table 3, Excerpt 8; Table 4, Excerpts 1,4; Table 5, Excerpt 3; Table 6, Excerpt 7; Table 4, Excerpts 1,2,3,5,6
6. **Unfulfilled basic human needs**	• Loss of dignity • Struggling to cope emotionally, mental strain	Table 3, Excerpt 5; Table 3, Excerpt 8; Table 4, Excerpts 1,4; Table 5, Excerpt 3; Table 6, Excerpt 7 Table 4, Excerpts 1,2,3,5,6
7. **Inability to access personal support**	• Feeling lost and abandoned	Table 4, Excerpt 7; Table 5, Excerpt 3

	• Struggling to cope emotionally, mental strain	Table 4, Excerpts 1,2,3,5,6
8. Poor schooling	• Struggling to cope academically	Table 4, Excerpt 6; Table 5, Excerpt 1
	• Stigma	
9. Struggling in class	• Feeling lost	Table 5, Excerpts 1, 6 etc.
	• Struggling emotionally	

4.2 Interpreting the Findings

The previous section identified the key elements that make up the structure of coloniality as experienced by the black student. The section ended with the listing of a set of elements that are integral to the material structure encountered by the student. In this section, I explore and put forward an explanation of how these elements came together to result in failure, disillusionment and violent protest, as described in the introduction chapter. Also, how and why these elements have not prevented many others from completing their studies successfully. My interpretation in this section must result in the inferring of the causal structures that lie behind student actions and student performance in order that a programme of mitigation and remediation can be contemplated.

The findings in the previous section revealed areas of knowledge not detected in the literature review. We know from the literature review in chapter 2, that the exclusionary factors include affordability, travel distance and an inferior school education (Badat, 2010; Mouton et al., 2013). These factors are known to result in black students dropping out as a higher rate (Moloi, Mkwanazi, & Bojabotseha , 2014) and then reproducing the cycle of poverty (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007; Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). The findings in the previous section confirm these exclusionary factors but has also added the element of student feelings of abandonment and the importance of ongoing encouragement and support. The element of the emotional and the cognitive is therefore an important additional aspect that must be incorporated in the analysis.

The traditional logic is that poor schooling and financial disadvantage are the main causes of poorer performance of black students. The knowledge that quality of schooling and financial conditions, play a central role in student success in fact inform and shape the university's remedial strategy. UCT has, in its official reports ascribed the poor performance and completion rate of black students to their poorer schooling and their lack of English proficiency (Item 48). Hence, the university spent substantial sums on mitigating the finance and academic backlog that black students face when entering the university. This has included academic support, financial support as well as expanding the availability of student accommodation.

What I am seeking here is to uncover novel explanations that go beyond the traditional logic or that are more comprehensive or pertinent to providing a causal explanation, than the traditional logic (Vincent & Wapshott, 2014).

What we observe in the data is that the performance and integration of black students cannot be perfectly explained in terms of the traditionally understood causes and conditions. This means that the traditional remedial strategies invoked by them may not be as holistically effective as they could be. The extreme anger and violence seen during Fallism is a clear sign that traditional ways of integrating black students have not been completely effective, and that the structure has not transformed sufficiently (see Section 2.2.4 and Figure 4). The sad fact is that all the spending in academic and other support interventions, running into hundreds of millions of Rands[17] over 20 years, has not been able to avert the unprecedented levels of anger, violence and disruption seen during the Fallist period. What is needed is an explanation that goes beyond traditional linear

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[17] The South African currency for which the international abbreviation is ZAR. ZAR19 is equivalent to $1 at the time of writing.

causality and that provides a more complex or nuanced explanation of how material exclusion works at UCT.

In pursuance of such an interpretation, the explanation that is offered here is that there are numerous factors within the student's material context and his or her cognitive disposition that interact in a complex way to produce a particular scenario that produces healthy integration and a better chance at success on the one hand or poor integration and the likelihood of failure on the other hand. Such an explanation will be sought by applying Archer's social realist theory around reflexivity and agency, which opens up the prospect of structures of causality that reside beyond the realm of detection or human observation. This aspect of the analysis is covered in greater detail further on.

4.2.1 Theorising Student Secureness

Student secureness is theorised within the broader existing understanding of student engagement, student reflexivity and agency. Before laying out the concept of Student Secureness, it will be important to refer to some existing ideas around agency and student engagement. Student engagement has been found as one of the better predictors of student success, referring in particular to the extent to which students take an active interest in their studies, which could take the form of more reading, more problem solving and greater interaction with teachers and fellow students (Carini, Kuh, & Klein, 2006). From our theoretical framework as set out in Chapter 2, we know that for people to be engaged emotionally and physically, the mediation of reflexivity is required (Archer, 2000; see also Figure 3). That means that student engagement can be effectively studied alongside student reflexivity. In line with this, authors have frequently taken the student reflexivity route in theorising student engagement. Kahn (2014) argues for the importance of student reflexivity as a mediator of student engagement. Luckett and Luckett (2009), in a study at UCT, found that students respond well when the learning environment allows them to act reflexively in the classroom and that emotional support by the teacher is an important part of encouraging such reflexivity. Kahn (2014) also sees a distributive reflexivity − incorporating various type of reflexivity in the classroom −

within a socially supportive environment as another route to improving student engagement. It is within this established understanding that the findings from the previous section will be interpreted in order to infer the concept of student secureness.

The data and the literature suggest that students enter the university with a widely different configuration of social and economic circumstances (Badat, 2008; Section 4.1.5 above). These circumstances are to a large extent reflected in the findings that were made in the previous section and include elements such as security of accommodation, quality of schooling and level of indigence. The circumstances which a student finds him or herself in when coming to university can range between being highly favourable and being highly unfavourable to the student's integration and success at university. At the low extreme, the new entrant may have been exposed to inferior schooling, be the product of a dysfunctional household and come from conditions of poverty and deprivation. Collectively, I refer to the configuration of these pre-existing elements as the provisioning with which the student enters the university. Each student comes with his and her own unique configuration of external provisioning. It is safe to assume that poor provisioning will translate into a challenging experience at university, meaning that the student's university life will be fraught with an abnormal level of insecurity, uncertainty and anxiety. For this analysis, I am terming this emotional and social disposition of the student as a variable state of *student secureness*. Student secureness is then the emotional and social level of comfort with which each student confronts the realities of campus life. As the student enters university, an original level of secureness is experienced, which undergoes constant flux as the student navigates life at campus. That means that student secureness is not a static state and that conditions at campus such as the fostering of friendships, accessing campus support programmes or receiving support and encouragement from family back home, constantly shape the student's state of secureness.

Student secureness departs from the traditional assumption that deprivation is essentially a function of material well-being, and, being based on the observed data, finds emotional fortitude to be a

relevant factor. Emotional fortitude in turn, is shaped by the level of ongoing support from loved ones at home and the strength of cultural grounding which the student comes with from home.

Student secureness thus describes a state which is more complex than economic and physical deprivation and which subsumes emotional and cognitive deprivation. The figure below is a graphic representation of a model which incorporates student secureness within a greater model of student engagement. I propose via this theory that it is not simply linear and simplistic causality such as the deprivation of material provisions that lie behind an inability in the student to navigate successfully through university. Rather, the ability to succeed is the outcome of a more complex structure. Secureness, rather than being simplistically based on financial factors or poor schooling, is in fact a function of various elements within the external environment and how these are integrated with the campus environment.

The student secureness model, as a causal explanation brings the student's external environment, and the provisions emanating from it, to bear on the internal campus realities which he or she encounters on campus. In Figure 13, these are respectively termed External Environment (EE) and Campus Environment (CE). My submission is that each student leaves their home environment with four types of provisions: Academic (the quality of schooling they had), Cultural (the strength of their attachment to a set of values, their ability to relate across cultures and English language proficiency), Social (the strength of their connection to family and the level of ongoing moral support) and Financial (their ability to make ends meet). Such provisioning can also be validly encapsulated by a class-analysis as a more nuanced and deracialized explanatory framework. These provisions are what the student possesses in order to face the challenges of campus life. At campus the challenges include lack of accommodation, loss of personal security and safety, the challenge to perform in class and the ability to access support systems, such as for example applying for financial aid. It should be emphasized that material deprivation, on its own, represents the unjust structure of coloniality that is experienced by the black student. What the emergent concept of student secureness tries to explain

is not a weakness on the part of the black student to martial the necessary emotional resources, but rather why some black students are able to overcome material deprivation, and why some black students continue to be disengaged and disaffected, even when material remediation is provided.
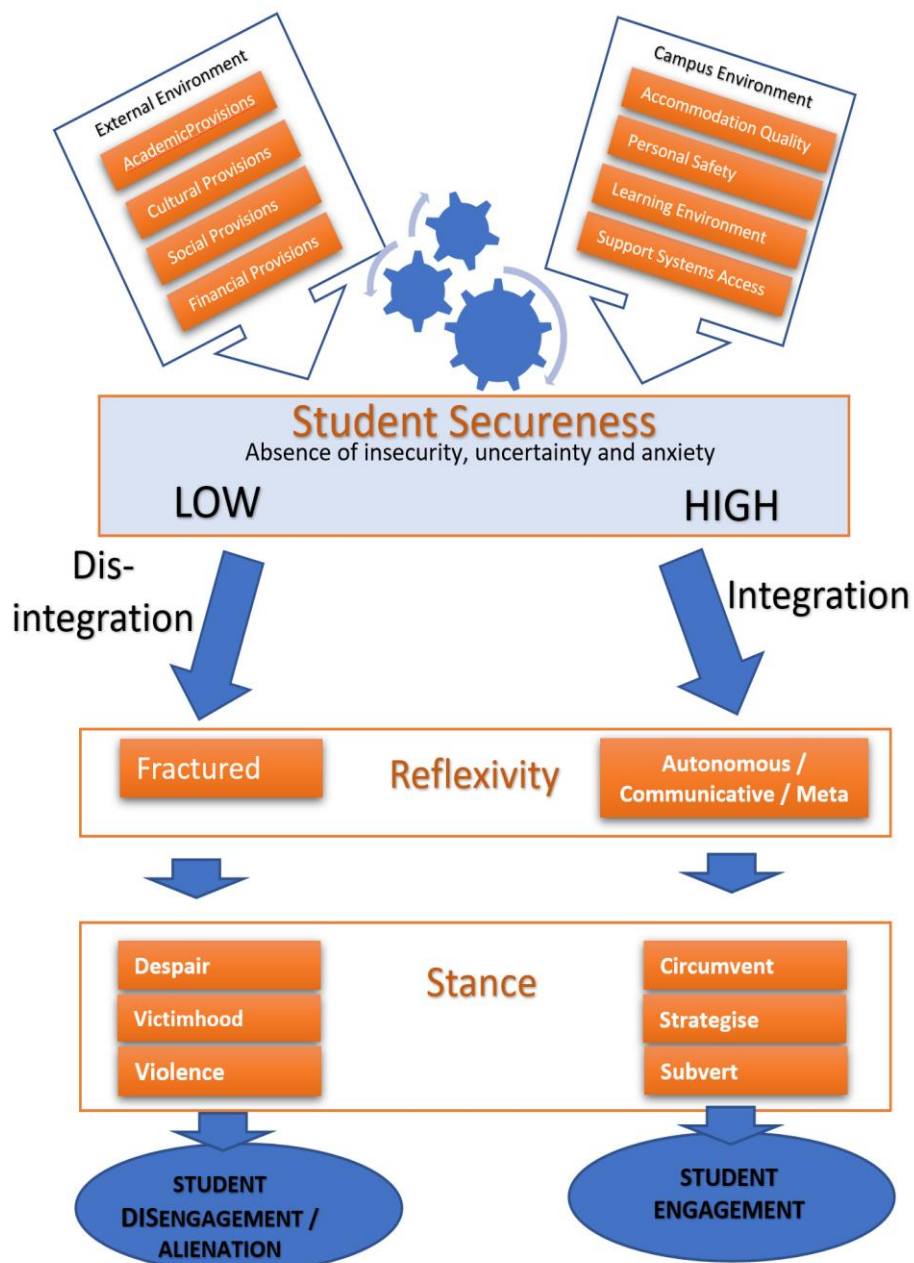
Figure 13 - Student Secureness and its effects

As figure 13 shows, one of two scenarios unfolds for the student when he or she enters university. Firstly, there is the scenario of Integration, which results from the student maintaining a fair level of integration between the CE and the EE. That means that the provisions brought from the EE are sufficiently retained or sourced locally, in order to meet the CE challenges. Finance, home support, strength of values, language proficiency and schooling are all accessible, or where this is not accessible, the student is able to draw on campus or personal resources. The student therefore remains engaged, becomes more integrated to the university and the chances of success increase. This scenario can be termed Student Integration, and in it, any negative factors in the EE are effectively mitigated through the constant engagement of the student.

The second scenario unfolds when a student comes to campus, insufficiently provided and is unable to ever be able to meet the demands of the CE. This means coming to campus with poor academic readiness, weak attachment to values, poor English proficiency, poor social support and troublesome finances. A second possibility in this scenario is that the student is well provisioned in his or her home village, but simply loses that provisioning when entering the university. As this student embarks on campus life, he or she faces internal challenges which could include a loss of accommodation security, poor personal safety, difficulty in accessing support systems and trouble coping in class. The end result is that the student disintegrates emotionally and cognitively, and the chances of academic success are severely diminished. Additionally, we know from our findings that extreme despair and mental coping problems arise in the process. This scenario is termed Disintegration. We can picture here an academically capable young woman from a single parent family in a remote Xhosa-speaking village. With limited resources, she faces life in an environment of gender violence, far from campus, with limited personal learning resources and inaccessible support systems from the university. Bereft of any ongoing external encouragement, motivation and support, she becomes more and more anxious about meeting the grueling demands of campus life, far from home. She slowly sinks into despair. Should she on the other hand be able to draw on

family or other support in the EE or the CE, she may well improve her chances of success. That means that she will be able to circumvent, confront or navigate the difficulties and overcome the challenges in the CE. Student Secureness therefore reflects the extent to which the EE can be retained in a state of alignment with the CE.

What cognitive processes are behind the two scenarios? In other words, how does student secureness affect reflexiveness and agency? The next step in the analysis is to articulate and explain the student secureness model, in terms of the social realist framework that was set out in Chapter 2.

What explains the first scenario termed Student Engagement in Figure 13? These are the students who are perhaps not perfectly provisioned by their EE. They do however have the ability to reflexively deal with the challenges at campus, by drawing on their own limited provisions and on provisions at campus. They navigate the rigors of campus life through applying themselves reflexively in three ways. These three types of reflexivity are listed by Archer as meta, communicative and autonomous reflexivity (see section 2.2.2). According to Archer (2003), the communicative reflexive gets by through skillfully circumventing any contractions encountered in the structure. The autonomous reflexive gets by in strategically plotting or navigating his or her way through the system, while the meta-reflexive assumes a subversive posture.

At the other end, there is the most deprived student who faces the toughest challenge due to an absolute misalignment between the EE and the CE they face. The reflexivity in the case of the disengaged student has been silenced or short circuited as Flam (2013) states. This is the fractured reflexivity that Archer (2003) refers to. This fractured reflexivity prevents any chance of the student being able to navigate the challenges that face her or him. The persistent inability to cope results in an increased anxiety, which leads to a powerful emotional response, and eventually to the breakdown, observed in the data. In the case of UCT, this explains the extreme rhetoric, the violence as well as the call for more mental health support systems (as seen in Item 60).

In Chapter 1, Section 1.2, the racial and cultural complexity as these pertain to social class at UCT was set out. It is worthy here to reflect on the type of reflexivity that can be expected from the various racial or ethnic groups at UCT. The 'coloured' student from Cape Town, who is most often a native English speaker, can under this theorization be assumed to be at a higher level of secureness at UCT. Similarly, the black African middle-class student, hailing from outside of Cape Town, and having been educated at a good English medium school, can be expected to feel a good level of secureness, therefore geared to being reflexive and more effectual in terms of the demands of campus life. That means that a greater level of reflexivity and engagement can be expected from these student groups – including that of meta-reflexivity – which implies the potential to employ subversion as a means of confronting contradictions in the structure. The poorer black student (of any ethnic or racial persuasion), coming to UCT with a poor quality schooling, poor English proficiency, and culturally and socially marginalized can be expected to experience a low level of secureness and therefore, in terms of the theory presented here, being more at risk of fractured reflexivity. Such students also become more prone to frustration or even manipulation by others (Flam, 2013).

4.2.2 Explaining Fallism from the Model of Student Secureness

What has material exclusion and loss of student secureness meant in respect of UCT's violent Fallist protests? From a social realist perspective, the question is what the causal mechanism was behind the violent protests on campus? I have thus far argued that the loss of student secureness has been behind the anger and violence. How have the various elements that form student secureness conspired to cause the protests? We will need to explain what caused the mostly black students to make common cause and successfully mount a shut-down of the university. My submission is that meta-reflexives within the ranks of the engagers as the active agents – in other words those who were willing to take a subversive stance - held the key to the upheaval. They found a useful instrument in the powder keg of emotionality and dissent to mount an organised programme of subversion to the university.

Before 2015, the meta-reflexives had to deal with communicative reflexives and autonomous reflexives, and a weak component of fractured reflexives. This changed in 2015. In 2015, the university changed the entrance criteria to allow for poorer black students to be accepted, with weaker high school results. An official report of UCT states that "In 2014, a new admissions policy was adopted by Senate and Council to help identify applicants with the potential to benefit from tertiary education, but whose marks may not have reflected their true merit" (Item 48, p. 211). The proportion of black students at UCT is also an important factor in contemplating the causality of Fallism. The same report claims "...a significant increase in black student enrolments over the same period [2008 -2017] with a 63% increase compared to a drop in the percentage of white students by 18.2%. In 2008 white students made up 39% of total enrolment. In 2017, they made up 25%..." (Item 48, p. 210).

That means that the mounting of a successful programme of subversion by a critical mass of black students became much more of a realistic prospect after 2015. By that time the drastic increase in students with low secureness, enabled the mounting of the shut-down. The fact that the proportion of students who were well-integrated into the culture and structure of UCT was reduced, meant that fewer students were prepared to act in defense of the institutional structure.

The ideas of Ashforth and Mael (1989) about nesting of identities, some of which could be mutually contradictory is relevant here. In the case of the loss of student secureness, UCT students under duress have simply relegated their UCT institutional identity to a lower level. This led to a complete dissociation from the institution. The findings of Bazana and Mogotsi (2017), who applied the theory of Tajfel and Turner in the South African university and seeing alienation leading to the formation of race-based groups, are also confirmed here.

A conclusion which the data analysis comes to is that well-integrated students (materially and socially), have a better chance of being engaged in a healthy way at the institution – an uncontentious finding which confirms research by Watts (2015), Rout and Watts (2015) and Bangeni and Kapp

(2005). What the analysis in this chapter has pursued, additionally, is an explanation from Social Realism, which entailed seeking a causal mechanism for this loss of engagement. Being a study of decolonisation, this causal mechanism is sought within the thought processes of the student as these processes unfold within conditions of marginalisation. Fractured reflexivity, passive agency and emotional responses are not presented as inherent failings of the black student, but as responses which have been instilled and engineered by centuries of social and economic oppression specifically targeted at black South Africans.

The finding in this chapter should not be misconstrued as reflexivity being "owned" by or being the "preserve" of the middle-classes. I am instead arguing and maintaining that reflexivity comes more easily with privilege at UCT, while fractured reflexivity is sustained and entrenched by material deprivation – which unfairly afflicts the black student to a much greater extent. This point actually relates to an idea raised by Steve Biko that "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko 1987, p. 69) – which I interpret as alluding to the stifling of black agency, through breaking the confidence of the oppressed to reflect effectively on the system of oppression. This phenomenon was also strongly made by Fanon (1963). Stating that there is no impact on reflexivity as a result of prolonged coloniality will in fact put the research in opposition to Frantz Fanon who, as a trained psychologist, placed the damage of colonisation on the psyche of the oppressed, at the centre of any emancipatory agenda.

4.3 Further Exploring and Testing of Student Secureness

Vincent and Wapshott (2014), in laying out a process for using organisational case study to arrive at the causal mechanisms, suggest that any postulated explanations of causality should tested, by referring back to the data. The process followed was to consider how the student secureness has varied in the case of the student subjects that were interviewed in terms of their level of engagement and whether they successfully completed their studies. I therefore return to the data in order to test this theory on student secureness developed in the previous section.

The relatively unstructured format used for the interviews with four students presented a sample of data, independent of the documentary data, from which to test the theory. This meant going back to the data and inferring from the four student interviews the levels of secureness and the nature of their reflexive response to the difficulties they faced at campus. The interview data of four interviews conducted with students at UCT during the Fallist years was re-used. A follow-up thematic analysis was undertaken on these interviews, using the predetermined themes Secureness, EE, CE, reflexivity and agentic action. To identify the presence and modalities of these themes, a generalised biography was constructed for each student, based on Carley's (1993) idea of inferring a concept from a holistic reading of the text. This then provided the evidence for their level of secureness and the nature of their reflexivity.

4.3.1 Findings

Nokuthula

Nokuthula's story shows a case of very little or no provisions in coming to UCT, but being able to effectively access support both in her residence, when her income was drastically reduced, as well as in class where she effectively engaged university appointed tutors to assist her in coping with the challenges in

> **Nokuthula's Story**
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> Nokuthula is a black female student hailing from a poor village in rural Kwazulu-Natal. Her village school provided her with a very basic education. There were no laboratories or equipment at her school. All she brought with her from her village were a set of Christian values, and the well wishes and hopes of her family.
>
> At campus, she was always just barely surviving, something that became worse when she entered the honours programme and found her bursary slashed in half. She was however able to secure support from friends in the hostel, who shared their food with her, thus preventing her from going hungry. In class Nokuthula struggled, but found a university appointed tutors instrumental in her being able to complete her course successfully. In her residence, she stayed in touch with her fellow students and volunteered and remained active in the affairs of the residence.
>
> She takes a critical, yet sympathetic view of the student protests, but showing no sign of having joined the protests. She ascribes her ongoing motivation as the desire to improve her life and to not disappoint her family back home. Nokuthula eventually completed her undergraduate degree and her honours degree, and now has a good position where she practices in the field of dietetics.

the classroom. She says in this regard *"the work just got more and more. But I think I had a support system, the program that I was on, the department had a support system or us. We had tutors, we even had... not like personal psychologist but we had someone every week to reflect just anything"*.

In her case, a good level of secureness was achieved for the following reasons: (1) Poor provisioning from home, if though she came to the university with some clear culturally engrained values. This is borne out by her words *"I could never ask my parents for money or anything because from the first year I could only depend on funding because my mom was a domestic worker. She worked two or three days depending on where the job is and my daddy wasn't really involved so I literally just depended on funding and the support that I had from just my family in Cape Town that I had created".* (2) Even though she struggled at times academically, she secured herself academically by accessing tutor support. The fact that such support was available effectively cancelled out the effect of her poor schooling. (3) The fact that there was ongoing communication and camaraderie in her residence mates and staff which resulted in other students sharing their food with her and so helping her being physically secure. As far as physical safety was concerned, Nokuthula effectively circumvented any action that could pose any type of personal risk to her, such as attending late evening parties or drunkenness. Nokuthula's story shows abundant evidence of having acted reflexively throughout. She clearly shows signs of a communicative reflexive by the level of engagement she undertook with her residence mates as well as her tutors. She also shows classic signs of circumventing the challenges in the broad structural environment such as for example simply depriving herself from certain activities. What she lacked in financial secureness was effectively compensated for in other areas, resulting in an overall healthy reflexivity. Her words bear this out when she states *"For me, it's actually funny now because I can speak so well but I struggled with engaging because I had to speak English all the time which is something I was not used to … at UCT everything had to be in English because not everyone can understand any other language. I struggled a lot when I was starting; [the] degree program […] helped me because it wasn't too fast. Eventually obviously I did get into it".*

Sindiswa

Sindiswa has a fairly similar rural background to Nokuthula. She had a very supportive and involved

mother, who was directly involved in making sure she was successful in obtaining a bursary. Sindiswa states "*I remember ... at that time I didn't understand the concept of NSFAS[18] ...it just fascinates me how she was so clued up about those things*". Sindiswa's mother also continuously

> **Sindiswa's Story**
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> Sindiswa was born in the rural parts of the Eastern Cape. She always only had her mother, who was dedicated to Sindiswa's growth and development. Her mom was a street vendor for as long as she can remember. When Sindiswa was 15, her mom moved to Cape Town with her. In Cape Town, she enrolled Sindiswa at a good school not far from UCT. She worked very hard to pay the school fees, and ensured that Sindiswa completed her high schooling there. When it was time to enter university, she did research around the bursary schemes available by talking to friends, and assisted Sindiswa to complete the application forms. Sindiswa had an active university experience, which included travelling to Kenya on one occasion. Sindiswa ended up completing her undergraduate degree and her honours in Industrial Psychology. She is contemplating completing her masters degree.

motivated Sindiswa to succeed. She enrolled Sindiswa at a good quality high school thus ensuring that Sindiswa was academically well-prepared for UCT. Sindiswa states that she never had a problem adapting culturally, as she already had a diverse cultural experience at high school. Sindiswa's case is therefore one of strong social and cultural provisioning and good financial provisioning. Her words bear this out when she states "*I think my experiences actually differ from my peers in the sense that when I look back into 1st year I know a lot of students had challenges in terms of adapting to the institution. But with me it was slightly different because I was so familiar with the space; also my High School is literally down the road from UCT and in High School I actually did Dramatic Arts and we used to do our practicals on middle campus, which is part of UCT so I was very familiar with the space in that sense. Also I had friends that were already in UCT when I was in Matric*".

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[18] The South African National Student Financial Assistance Scheme

Her mother's strong support and involvement can be said to have provided most of the secureness Sindiswa experienced as a student. She states that she's a planner and found her way through challenging time by thinking her way through it. This is evidence of reflexive action, and particularly of an autonomous reflexive.

In summary, it can be concluded that Sindiswa's success lay in her sound social, cultural, academic and financial provisioning and her ability to access financial support. As an autonomous reflexive, she depended less on the support systems provided by the university, and more on her family's supportive environment and her own personal ability to manage her way through any challenge. She completed her studies successfully.

Eric

A fairly different story is that of Eric. No signs of family or social support or any strong cultural grounding came out from the interview. Academically and financially though, Eric started out fairly well provided. He states "*I worked hard and got a bursary through Investec which transferred me to a better Boys School called GP High School for Boys, so I was there from Grade 10 until matric. I was sponsored through Investec to study there for 3 year [...] I managed to get a bursary to the University of Cape Town in 2016, until 2018, so that's 3 years of study at the University of Cape Town*".

> **Eric's Story**
>
> Eric hails from Johannesburg. He makes no mention of a family life or support from family, even when prompted. He does however state that he secured a bursary from a corporate investment firm, Investec, to attend a good quality high school, which stood him in good stead as it was the cause of him getting entry to UCT. Although he gained entry at UCT with a bursary, he neglected to complete his bursary application after the first year and was therefore left to study without any financial support in year 2. Studies proved tough for Eric and he really struggled in class. He thinks he may have chosen the wrong study direction also, because once he was in class, he realised that the material was not what interested him. He therefore stopped attending lectures because of struggling in class and not enjoying the course. He ended up very depressed having to see a psychologist at campus, whom he had to wait for weeks to see. Eric eventually ended his studies. He is now enrolled for a short course sponsored by another corporate company, related to entrepreneurial development. He has a business idea, which he hopes will come to fruition. On the other hand he is also interested in obtaining a bursary to study in the UK.

Eric seems to have lost interest in his studies very early on. He states "*I didn't manage to complete the program for those 3 years. I couldn't... during my 2nd year I lost my bursary through poor*

academic performance. When I reached UCT the work got quite intense so I lost my bursary and I tried to apply for NSFAS [see footnote 17] which I didn't get in my 3rd year so I ended up dropping out and I'm hoping to return next year". This may be because he never thought his career choice through very well. He states that the stuff he studied in class was different to what he had imagined. There is a good chance that his failure to cope in class could have been the result of lacking sufficient personal discipline. Eric himself states that he stayed absent very frequently from classes. He blames his own negligence for not completing his bursary applications for his second year in time. Eric's story seems to reflect a lack of social and cultural grooming. There is no evidence of any support forthcoming from family. Eric states that he went to seek help from a university psychologist but was put off by the long waiting period. Eric came to university with good academic credentials, good English and financially fairly well-provided. At university, he failed to access guidance on his curriculum choice. The university also seemed to have left him to his own devices by not following up on his absence from class. When he ended up in a mental crisis the university failed to provide him with readily accessible professional psychological support. He never during the interview mentions any family support. Although Eric was well-provisioned financially as well as academically, his loss of secureness was as a result of poor social and cultural provisioning. Eric shows signs of fractured reflexivity in that he was unable to mount a position in the face of the structural challenges that confronted him. His therefore became a passive agent, who turned inward and detached.

Yonela

Yonela is another example of a student who came to the university fairly well-provisioned, but somehow failed to access the minimum levels of on-campus support that could help her succeed. Due to financial reasons she decided to interrupt her studies at some point.

She states "*I remember I sat at home for 2 years because of financial exclusion and I was in front of all, like everyone at UCT who could possibly help me. They were busy telling me about the policy;*

they even had the audacity of looking at my transcript and not allowing to look at it and telling me that it's such a pity that I cannot pay because I passed every course".

Yonela comes from the Eastern Cape. She only has her single mom, who has a career as a magistrate in an Eastern Cape town. In Yonela's case one can detect a lack of social and cultural grounding which could be due to her mother's busy schedule, work pressures or stress of indebtedness. She states that although she may have been capable academically, she could not overcome the problem of loss of financial and social support. Culturally also, there seems to be a lack of evidence that she internalised some strong culturally grounded beliefs or values. Her experience of UCT is of an unresponsive and cold institution who failed to provide her with any compassion and support when she needed it most, leading to her mental breakdown eventually.

> ### Yonela's Story
>
> Yonela is originally from Kwazulu-Natal. She says she moved around very frequently as a child. Her mom is a magistrate and earns a good salary. Unfortunately her mom also became highly indebted at an early stage Yonela's life. This had an effect in the 3rd year of her studies in that her mom could not secure a loan for Yonela to continue studying. The financial problems at home, coupled with the challenges of performing in her studies caused Yonela to develop serious anxiety which led to mental problems. Eventually she dropped out of university due to poor performance or financial reasons. Yonela sees UCT as a cold and racist place that cares little about blacks. She was an ardent supporter of the fallist protests, having had a confrontation with the police at times. She feels despondent and cannot see UCT changing its system of privileging whites soon.

She states "*I remember the 1st time when I experienced the first mental breakdown when I realised that at UCT there is a stark difference… there is the poor and there is the very rich. I started understanding that I have a place as a black person and UCT, I don't want to lie has always been exclusionary when it comes to black people".* As with Eric, Yonela shows signs of a fractured reflexive. There was no attempt or ability on her side to formulate a response in the face of the challenges that faced her. Unlike Eric however, Yonela's anxiety caused an emotional and rhetorical response, of the type postulated by Flam (2013). She deals with her problems by milling over her own suffering without ever being able to construct means with which to deal constructively with the structural problems she faced. Her eventual activism in the Fallist movement seems to have provided her therapeutic release, but without releasing her from her passive agency status.

What these four stories show is that student secureness was by achieved by students in one of two ways:

Either by (1) the student coming to university well provisioned in terms of cultural values, social or family support, financial support and academic grounding (such as with Sindiswa), or (2) by the student entering UCT only partially provisioned, but then being able to access remedial campus support to ameliorate the lack of provisioning (such as was the case with Nokuthula).

Where the student came to UCT with partial provisioning such as the lack of social and cultural grounding in the case of Eric, or a lack of financial support, and where no reflexiveness could be mounted, such as was the case with Yonela, the result was fractured reflexivity along with its adverse effects. In the case of these students the results were increased anxiety, becoming detached, failing mental health and a heightened emotional response. Both these students also failed to complete their degree programmes successfully.

Analysing the four student cases provides strong support to the theoretical explanation in the following ways: (1) Financial standing and academic strength are not simply causal predictors of success (2) A healthy interaction between the EE and the CE results in conditions where reflexiveness takes place, and a healthy agency is mediated. (3) A poor interaction between the EE and the CE results in fractured reflexivity, which has led to an emotional response

4.4 Practice Implications

There are two important practice implications in these findings for UCT. Firstly, it shows that should student secureness not be addressed, that the university can expect future violent and disruptive protests as was seen during Fallism. It is therefore important for the sake of preventing such a recurrence, that student secureness be recognised and made an important focus of the student support structure at UCT.

The second important understanding that comes from the study is the importance of students maintaining a healthy state of reflexivity, in the face of difficult challenges, for them to make it through their studies successfully. This was shown to be achievable through ongoing strong social or family encouragement and support, or by sourcing such support from alternative sources. The model of student secureness offered an explanation of why some students make it through university, even under heavy adversities, while others fail.

The finding in this research around the role of student secureness is that the promotion and stimulation of reflexiveness and student agency is the pathway to student integration. The findings of other studies including by Luckett and Luckett (2009), which sees the path of student reflexivity as key to student engagement, are therefore vindicated. The road to building reflexiveness in the face of the severe challenges that black students face is not an easy process, however. The details of such a detailed strategy also lies beyond the scope of this study. Further research, which focuses on the experience of the black student and the ways in which reflexiveness is triggered or not, may well yield better insight into specific strategies.

For now, mitigation of the problem of material exclusion does seem to lie in making sources of support available to the student. The university has provided numerous support programmes to decrease the level of dropping out of especially black students. This has often taken the form of providing financial support, resources such as laptops and academic support. By looking at student success as the function of a more complex cognitive and emotional process, rather than in purely material terms, there arises the prospect of alternative richer strategies to increase student secureness. Students succeed, not when they are well endowed financially necessarily, but rather when the combination of other provisions, such as moral support, create a critical level of secureness that help them overcome fractured reflexivity.

In practical terms, the finding around the importance of ongoing support and encouragement to stimulate reflexivity, points to the possible benefit of a mitigation programme in the form of a life

coach scheme at UCT. Such a scheme could see vulnerable or marginal students, with low secureness, being matched with a volunteer life coach, who could help reverse low secureness and the student's sliding into disaffection, a victim complex and disengagement. Such a life coach must also be able to help the student navigate their way around social pitfalls such as indebtedness, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and even loss of interest in their studies or poor subject choices – all of which have been associated with fractured reflexivity.

In conclusion, decolonisation may not mean the immediate reversal of all economic and social exclusionary elements for the student, but it can mean providing the black student with the means of building emotional and cognitive fortitude in order to navigate his and her own emancipatory pathway.

CHAPTER 5 – COLONIALITY AS CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL EXCLUSION

This chapter addresses the second of the two research questions, related to the nature of cultural and intellectual exclusion at UCT. It has four main sections, which follows the same format as the previous chapter. The first section, Section 5.1, is a summary of the main findings from the data along with some contextualisation and interpretation from the literature. The next section (5.2) is a theoretical analysis of the findings that leads into an explanatory framework. This part of the chapter attempts to identify aspects of causality that have been at play in the institution with respect to coloniality and the call for decolonisation. In it, I attempt to make a determination of the causal structures behind institutional colonial stasis in the cultural and intellectual domain. Again, as with Chapter 4, the explanatory framework that is forwarded is tested in section 5.3 by referring back to the data. In the final section (Section 5.4), the implication for governance and administration practice at the institution is considered, based on the findings around causality.

The first step in the analysis of the 84 textual items was to separate out by process of perusal, all those texts that contained references to institutional culture, curriculum development, knowledge creation, campus aesthetics, epistemologies and learning and teaching. As stated earlier in section 3.2.5, this initial coding of the data was under the theoretically defined master theme "Ideational" – based on Archer's (1995) framing of the concept.

The second process of coding, using the textual analysis techniques of Hsieh (2005) and Miles et al. (2020), resulted in the texts within the master theme 'Ideational', being coded along three themes, namely (1) knowledge creation (2) curriculum development and (3) learning and teaching − with which is included the environmental aesthetics, milieu and attitudes within which the overall academic mission takes place. That means that every idea or perspective that could be discerned from the data, ended up being coded in one of these three themes.

These three themes, when viewed as theoretical categories, did show congruence with Bernstein's (1995; 2004-2005) theories related to the structure of the academic project. Bernstein has been criticised from a critical realism perspective for his omission of the role of epistemology in projecting power within the knowledge enterprise (Wheelahan, 2010), but his theories have nevertheless been drawn on by critical realists. According to Bernstein, the pedagogic device − by which he means the entire knowledge or academic enterprise in society, formally and informally, and in all conceivable settings − can be seen as the system of rules by which a society creates, adopts and reproduces meaning and understanding (Bernstein, 1995). This framework of rules, according to Bernstein is not politically neutral and acts as a force for cultural reproduction or change. In this sense, there is correspondence between Bernstein and the fields of cultural production of Bourdieu (1983). Although Bernstein theorises his pedagogic device from a realist perspective, the presence and influence of his theory on the knowledge enterprise in South Africa does offer some benefit in recognising it here (See Bertram (2012). Bernstein does also offer a more detailed description of the main fields of the knowledge enterprise.

Singh's (2002) summary of the pedagogic device of Bernstein, serves as a useful exposition of the various fields of the academic project, which were confirmed in my own data analysis. According to Singh, Bernstein identifies three fields of rules which define the pedagogic device. These three are the fields of knowledge "production, recontextualization, and reproduction" (Singh, 2002, p. 3). The field of knowledge production refers to research activity which takes place within higher education institutions, think tanks, professional institutions and even private companies. The field of recontextualisation entails the selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation of produced knowledge. In simple terms, this is seen as the official sanctioning and distribution of knowledge content by the state. It also includes the professional sanctioning of what constitutes valid knowledge through the writing of textbooks and the development of curricula. Finally, the field of reproduction

entails learning and teaching as well as the institutional environment that enable learning and teaching activities.

In summary then, the fields which Bernstein has identified as the sites where rules are developed, correspond to the themes which emerged from this analysis.

The next step in the analysis process was to apply Critical Discourse Analysis techniques, drawing on Fairclough (1993, 2016a) and Vin Dijk (2016), to identify the key elements (i.e. The key ideas or concepts) of the discourse and the way in which these mutually related to each other. Their technique is mainly geared towards extracting the ideological and discursive elements from a piece of text.

Another important and complicating aspect of the process of arriving at the findings from the data was the application of Judgmental Rationality, which was defined earlier (see Footnote 5). Judgmental rationality, in practice, meant that articulations and assertions in the data had to be judged in terms of competing articulations and claims. In terms of the critical realist paradigm, the claim of judgmental relativism, meaning that all knowledge claims are equally valid, is in itself a judgmental claim and therefore incoherent on its face. The alternative position, and the one to which I subscribed here in line with the critical realism approach, is that all claims are not equally valid, and that there exist interdiscursive parameters of judgment that can guide towards knowledge claims that are more rational than others. This all therefore went into arriving at an initial set of findings (section 5.1).

The remaining three sections of this analysis chapter are comprised as follows.

Section 5.2 uses retroduction in order to arrive at a theoretical model of coloniality, which sets out the phenomenon in critical realist terms and including aspects of causality. Section 5.3 undertakes a testing of this model, by using an inductive process of relating the model back to the data. Finally, section 5.4, relates the model back to the key elements which were identified in section 5.1, with the intention of identifying practice implications brought about by the new understanding.

5.1 Findings

The textual data on which the findings are based was drawn from open source university material on decolonisation. In this section, the key discursive elements (the ideas and concepts) and the complex way in which these relate to each other, are identified from the data. The structure of this section is as follows. The section reports on the findings across the three identified themes (5.1.1) knowledge creation (5.1.2) the curriculum and (5.1.3) learning, teaching and institutional milieu. Each subsection moves towards a set of findings in two stages. Stage 1 is an initial listing of the surface ideas drawn from the data while stage 2 is a critical re-interpretation of these surface ideas in light of the literature. The second stage therefore performs the function of Judgmental Rationality and serves as a process of weighing and making sense of the surface ideas. These two stages culminate in the identification of the findings, articulated in the form of a set of conceptual elements and their mutual inter-relationships.

It must be noted that the findings section in this chapter (Section 5.1) differs from the previous chapter's findings section (Section 4.1) in that, in order to have arrived at a set of findings, substantially more rationalising and contextualisation in terms of the literature were required. The reason for this was the fact that there was simply more contention within the discourse and amongst the perspectives that were being sampled. The first section in the chapter could therefore not simply move directly from the textual data to the findings. In order to ensure objectivity, conflicting perspectives had to be viewed in terms of the established knowledge in the field, and a judgment had to be made, using Judgmental Rationality, to give preference to those perspectives which aligned more to interdiscursive rationality.

This Judgmental Rationality requires clarification in terms of the positionality of the researcher. In particular, the susceptibility of the process to the subjectivities of the researcher must be addressed and counteracted to ensure ontological realism. Under critical realism, epistemic relativism is however also embraced, meaning that shades of interpretation on reality are indeed accommodated.

In terms of the positionality of the researcher, the need to maintain organisational coherence, avoid schism, achieve broad buy-in and pursuing an exposé of the social-structural forms of colonial inhibition that has emancipatory value, have been declared as central to the positionality of the researcher. It is therefore reiterated again at this juncture as underlying the judgemental rationality that was applied in arbitrating between conflicting theoretical explanations found in the discourse.

5.1.1 Theme: Knowledge Creation and Scholarship

Stage 1 – Surveying the Textual Data

In summary, Eurocentrism – or making the European worldview the locus of all insight and understanding - is seen in the texts as the most stubborn manifestation of coloniality at UCT. Eurocentrism is ubiquitously raised in the discourse, and with multiple connotations, which has necessitated a careful consideration of the meaning of the term. Firstly, it is said to constitute "epistemic violence", meaning that the African identity and African scholarship are negated and invalidated through Eurocentrism. Item 48 states that western epistemology and the paradigms for knowledge production are western-based and alienating to Africans. Item 68 states that certain methods in science have been abused to denigrate Africans and these scientific methods are irrelevant to Africa's needs and must be replaced. Item 7 states that the very epistemic foundations are regarded as Eurocentric and dismissive of the knowledge contribution as well as the pathways to knowledge stemming from Africa. In this regard, the IRTC final report released in 2019 refers to "epistemic violence by marginalising black scholars and scholarship" (Item 60, p. 82; Item 78). Alluding to it, an academic staff member, in a radio interview, mentions his being made to feel unworthy as an academic and, as an African, denied real membership of the western scholarly and knowledge fraternity (Item 73). This feeling of having one's ideas seen as unworthy can be detected often within black student and academic ranks (see for example (Item 72; Item 73; Item 84).

African scholarship, Africanisation and Afrocentricity are related terms that are often mentioned in the texts. The prevalent view of Afrocentricity seems to be the placing of African and South African ideas and ideals at the centre of the knowledge creation project (Item 14; Item 34; Item 71). In this sense, a move towards African scholarship refers to a 'decentering' of Western knowledge disciplines, and a centering of knowledge which is developed from within a perspective of African ideas and ideals (Jansen, J. D., 2017; Msila, 2017a). Decolonisation is also said to be about indigenous African means of knowledge creation (Item 27) that centres Africa's needs (Item 50, p. 6).

Continuing with the idea of Eurocentrism, proponents of decolonisation see it as a product of colonialism which continues to serve a foreign agenda (Item 71) and, in particular, the ends of capitalism and colonial hegemony (Item 09). As such, it remains committed to the commodification of knowledge (Item 73). Eurocentrism preferences some knowledge over others, and so also the identities associated with those forms of knowledge (Item 71). It therefore perpetuates current unequal social power relations (Item 34; Item 71).

A further view on Eurocentrism, beyond its role in sustaining capitalism, is its reproduction of a range of socially oppressive power hegemonies. Western hegemony is covered extensively in the texts. This is often mentioned as the historically entrenched, uneven distribution of power that exists at a personal, cultural, economic and political level. Such uneven distribution is discussed in terms of economic power (Item 65), personal power - articulated as a coloniality of being (Item 34) and cultural power (Item 68). Counting amongst these oppressions are heteronormativity, homophobia, transphobia and ableism (Item 71; Item 77). A project of decolonisation entails essentially a deconstruction of patriarchy, deconstructing modernity and deconstructing all forms of hegemony, while reserving for the subaltern – the subaltern scholar in the case of UCT – a special role to shape a new deconstructed learning environment. The table below lists some of the excerpts that establish this view very clearly within the discourse. These findings, although representing the perspective of

coloniality at UCT, represents reality in terms of the reality of Fallism and the other social implications they have.

Excerpt	Source
1. Knowledge production must always be regarded as potentially violent towards marginalized communities. This must be mitigated **by individuals and groups from marginalized communities increasingly becoming drivers of research**	(Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018, p. 5)
2. It was important that in identifying and inviting decolonial scholars and activists to engage the university community, we chose those **who enjoyed credibility in marginalized communities, both locally and abroad**.	(Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018, p. 56)
3. There must be recognition of multiple sources of knowledge that allow for different subjectivities to engage with what is otherwise taken for granted universalised knowledge.	(Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018, p. 59)
4. Knowledges located on the margins of mainstream sensitivities should be brought to the centre in ways that foreground the subjectivities that embody and enact this knowledge from a lived and authentic positionality and with a healthy relation to it.	(Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018, p. 60)

Table 7 - Excerpts that advance the idea of decolonisation as a multiplicity of subjectivities under led by the subaltern

In summary, the idea emerging from the texts is that current epistemologies emerged in the West for the purpose of creating knowledge that entrenches and perpetuates western ideals, western global dominance and range of other uneven power relations. This is sustained through the West's negating and denigrating of alternative epistemic pathways, including the African knowledge pathway. This dominant knowledge paradigm, being referred to as a Eurocentric view of knowledge, is said to be perpetuating and reinforcing past and existing uneven power relations.

Stage 2 – Reading this in Conjunction with the Literature

How do these views relate to the literature on epistemic decolonisation? As this second stage will reveal, the ideas emanating from the data sit on top of some powerful decolonial scholarly discourses. The idea of epistemic decolonisation – often referred to as the decolonial turn in the literature - is not a peripheral issue, and lies at the heart of decolonisation (Fricker, 2007; Mbembe, 2016; Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Zondi, 2016). In the following few paragraphs I will conduct an interpretation of these findings in terms of the existing understanding within the literature on decoloniality. The aim is to

interpret and recontextualise the data in terms of existing scholarship. I also apply judgmental rationality to discern the most rational reading of the data.

In critically addressing Eurocentrism, Mbembé, sees the problem of Eurocentrism as Western scholarship's totalising claim of objectivity. Elevating the scholar to a position above and beyond the object of inquiry places him, and the knowledge he creates, beyond critique. This view on knowledge leads to the present reality where alternative pathways to knowledge are delegitimised (Mbembe, 2016). Consequently, based on this understanding, epistemic decolonisation means stripping western scholarship of this status. What Mbembé seems to be arguing for is a process of decolonisation that eradicates, not the western knowledge paradigm, but rather its totalising claim. Mbembé's (2001) vision of epistemic decolonisation is therefore not an exclusivist African nativist vision, but rather a cosmopolitan vision, which sees decolonisation as a productive and mutually enriching relationship between African and non-African scholarly traditions. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1994) advances a similar cosmopolitan intellectual marketplace, in which western ideas are decentered and an African humanism serves as both a binding force and a steering mechanism. What these African postcolonial scholars seem to envision is a postcolonial knowledge enterprise where Western epistemology co-exists with African (and other) knowledge pathways, in service of Africa and its people.

Whereas prominent Africanist decolonial theorists promote the idea of an African centre and an Africanist humanistic unifying meta-narrative, there is an alternative postcolonial scholarly view that sees epistemic decolonisation as a multipolar, non-centric environment (Grosfoguel, 2007; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Quijano, 2000). The postcolonial environment is about 'the formulation of a decolonial and critical cosmopolitanism' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 261). Grosfoguel views decolonisation, not as an end-state, but rather as an ongoing intellectual critical engagement between

the West and the Other[19]. This postcolonial critical cosmopolitanism is set out in more detail by Mignolo (2000), who sees it as a 'diversality', or an entrenched system of diversity.

A strong postmodern tradition permeates postcolonial scholarship. Adopting the line of argumentation of postmodernists is not new to postcolonial scholarship. Edward Said, whose work is seen as seminal in the field, is known to have drawn on Foucault (Bartolovich, 2005). Some postcolonial scholars, such as Spivak, have been charged with being too western postmodern in their scholarship (Grosfoguel, 2007), and being engaged in a strange Eurocentric critique of Eurocentrism. The drawing of a perfect equivalence between postmodernism and postcolonialism is not straightforward and may represent an oversimplification of postcolonialism (Quayson, 2005), but there are undeniable similarities. For one, postcolonialism and postmodernism attack the same epistemic hegemon, symbolised by the same prefix in both terms. Both colonialism and modernism, affixed to the prefix post-, emanate from the same West and are, in terms of their epistemic and intellectual foundations, often indistinguishable. Grosfoguel in fact refers to the two as being 'sides of a single coin' (2007, p. 218).

By recognising the intellectual connection between postcolonialism and postmodernism, the contrast between Mbembé and Grosfoguel's opposition to Eurocentrism above, resemble the positivist-interpretivist paradigm clash, which western scholarship has been embroiled in over recent decades (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). In western scholarship, for example, the postmodern interpretivist counter movement was also prompted by the totalising claims of logical positivism. Assuming that there is a correspondence between the epistemic decolonisation debate and the positivist-interpretivist paradigm war, the constructive critique offered by critical realists becomes relevant and

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[19] Sophisticated definitions are available for the term Other when used in postcolonial literature. See for example Escobar (2007, 186). I understand it as referring to those who, in Western colonial eyes, are regarded as irredeemably different from the Westerner, thus rendering them irrelevant and uncounted.

worthy of enlistment into our understanding of decoloniality. The view that the postcolonial indictment of Eurocentrism in fact masks an anti-positivist stance has been advanced by critical realists. In particular, Moore and Muller state that "positivism is their secret 'Other' – the orthodoxy that is the condition for their heterodoxy" (Moore & Muller, 2010, p. 72). At UCT, this position has credence and can be found in the views of a lecturer who states that "decolonising the university means being critical of the so-called objectivity and neutrality of scientific projects" (Item 18, Para.3). If this entire charge by postcolonialism/decoloniality against epistemic Eurocentrism can be collapsed into the logical positivism-interpretivism paradigm war, then a suitable and broader framing of epistemic violence (meaning epistemic silencing) can be achieved.

This has an implication here in terms of making a finding from the textual data. If epistemic Eurocentrism is hermeneutically equivalent to logical positivism, then western logical positivism, rather than western scholarship in general, should be seen as indicted in the discursive data.

Proponents of decolonisation offer a vision of epistemic pluralism, as advanced by postmodernists, but do face one fundamental problem in embracing postmodernist assumptions in its totality. Whereas postmodernism takes on a distrust of any metanarrative or grand structuration, decolonial scholars seem to offer the right to construct a master emancipatory narrative for the subaltern. Postmodernists, such as Foucault have never had to deal with a national emancipatory programme and their moral relativism therefore presented no obstacle. Moral relativism, if embraced by any scholar with an emancipatory agenda on the other hand, will void any ethical and moral basis to his or her emancipatory agenda.

In trying to save the decolonial project from moral relativism while retaining a postmodern ethos in the field, this problem of moral and ethical relativism is addressed by Mignolo (2000) by reserving for the subaltern scholar the privileged position of working out the ethics and politics of the new cosmopolitan knowledge enterprise. In his words:

> Since diversality (or diversity as a universal project) emerges from the experience of coloniality of power and the colonial difference, it cannot be reduced to a new form of cultural relativism but should be thought out as new forms of projecting and imagining, ethically and politically, from subaltern perspectives (Mignolo, 2000, p. 743).

Grosfoguel (2007) also argues that only the victims of colonialism have the cultural, cognitive and intellectual disposition within this multipolar environment to legitimately advance a postcolonial perspective – to the exclusion of those working from a western paradigm .

This position however conflicts directly with the critical realist position. In critical realism terms, these positions amount to a privileging of knowledge about decolonisation to the perspective of the victim scholar and his or her narrative. This, according to Bhaskar represents the epistemic fallacy, and forms the basis of critical realism's critique of postmodernism (Archer, 1995; Porpora, 2013). It also lies at the root of the social schismatic thinking which Case (2015) brings up.

What are the elements of the discourse that emerge from this critical reading of the data? The following three key element can clearly be said to emerge. Firstly, that Eurocentrism, as a discredited and exclusionary social mechanism, can be read as code for western logical positivism, which dominates much of the scientific research at the university. Secondly that postcolonialism itself faces a crisis of identity. This crisis is caused by a tug-of-war between two conceptualisations of decoloniality. On the one hand there is the Africanist humanist agenda, which sees a centering of African ideals and approaches, but not to the exclusion of western approaches. On the other hand, there is the subaltern poststructuralist position, which sees decolonisation as a process of collapsing existing structures and metanarratives and the founding of the multiversity of pluralism. Probably the most powerful reveal of this tug-of-war between the two decolonisation conceptualisations within the UCT context is the dispute that arose with the appointment of a new dean for the faculty of humanities in 2019, when a radical Africanist academic sabotaged the voting process, which was going in favour of a black postmodernist academic (Sowetan Live, 2019). This split is lamented in

an interview with a professor who states the "the Faculty of Humanities cannot appoint a new Dean since the nativist and black nationalist factions are at each other's throats. It breaks my and many others' hearts" (Interview 3, 2019).

Findings in the field of knowledge creation

The key conceptual elements that emerge from the data are Eurocentrism, Afrocentrism, African scholarship, African cosmopolitanism, the multiversity, epistemic violence (or epistimicide [20]), capitalist reproduction, reproduction of social hegemonies and postcolonialism.

In summary the central issues that can be identified from the main discourse are as follows:

- Eurocentrism as a holistic and all-pervasive worldview is manifested in the continuing dominance of logical positivism within key disciplines at the university and remains a mechanism of western cultural reproduction and of epistimicide.

- An Afrocentric articulation of epistemic decoloniality, incapsulated in the centering of African ideas and aspirations as a type of African cosmopolitanism within the knowledge creation project, is contested by alternative post-structural, postcolonial, schismatic articulations of decoloniality, which are incapsulated in notions of the (1) decentered multiversity as an open field of subjective knowledges and (2) Essentialism, nativism and identity politics

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[20] The destruction and denial of indigenous knowledge pathways

5.1.2 Theme: Knowledge Disciplines and the Curriculum

Stage 1- Surveying the Textual Data

What comes out clearly from the textual analysis is that Eurocentrism impedes the transformation of the curriculum and the repurposing of the university to be more responsive to local and African needs. The strict discipline-based approach is also seen as perpetuating Eurocentrism and denying the African identity (Item 07; Item 09; Item 71).

What emerges also from the data is the view that the present curriculum promotes a western agenda at the expense of local needs and interests. The existing western knowledge paradigm is a means of exercising a restraining power on change and creates a challenge when contemplating a transformation to an Afrocentric curriculum. Key aspects of the curriculum continue to be controlled by an elite (adhering to that knowledge paradigm) at UCT, using this control as a means of projecting power (Item 53, p. 2). The result is that the present curriculum prepares and encourages black graduates to serve in environments, other than their own community. An African centering in the structuring of the curriculum is therefore needed that recognises and serves a local agenda primarily (Item 35; Item 36; Item 48). The curriculum must respond to and incorporate local needs and civic engagement while bearing in mind the global context (Item 48, p. 116). The university must seek ways of incorporating African values, knowledge and identities into the curriculum (Item 50, p. 10).

Another perspective that is advanced is that content and frames of references should consider the reality of students (Item 71). Choices about cases and examples used to teach content are often strange to students, and they often have difficulty relating to these. One student articulates this as follows "External theories must be domesticated. This will make them meaningful to African situations and, more importantly, contribute towards solving local challenges" (Item 35). In a workshop with law students, reported on by the CCWG, students felt there was "the need for a law and a constitution that is from an African sensibility and philosophy of Ubuntu" (Item 71, p. 33). That knowledge is felt as lacking meaning for those coming from an African or non-western

background, is therefore one likely reason that frustration sets in. Other examples mentioned are the western benchmarks used in the faculty of health sciences and the western music frames of reference within the college of music. Objections to the curriculum also include the sciences and mathematics, which are said to be bereft of any African ideas.

In summary, the present curriculum is criticised from four angles. Firstly, in terms of student relatability, it does not sufficiently incorporate the African experience and African content. Secondly, in terms of relevance, it does not respond to the needs and challenges that local communities face. Thirdly, in terms of social responsibility, present curricula make too little effort at civic engagement. Fourthly, in terms of institutional power, the existing inherited knowledge disciplines are too rigid and represent a form of colonial control which stifles any radical change to the curriculum.

Stage 2 – Reading this in Conjunction with the Literature

How do these perspectives within the textual data relate to the scholarly literature?

In South Africa, the curriculum has always been central to social change. The Soweto uprisings of 1976, a cataclysmic event in the modern history of South Africa, were triggered by a government curriculum decision. In that case it was the decision to incorporate Afrikaans as a compulsory school subject in black schools. Since the country's transition from Apartheid in 1994, the discourse around the curriculum was driven by two forces namely democratisation and globalisation (Kraak, 2000). Both these forces had far-reaching effects on the university curriculum (Badat, 2001). These forces are also discernable as two streams[21] within the UCT discourse on curriculum decolonisation.

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[21] A third stream of thinking that is of course present in the UCT discourse on curriculum is the traditional western curriculum, represented by the established disciplinary structures. This stream is however not considered in this analysis as one cannot find any organized articulation of it within decolonisation ranks

The first stream of decolonial thinking discernable in the discourse is around relevance and relatability. This push for Mode 2 type knowledge, or functional/professional knowledge, has its roots in globalisation and the need for the university to serve the needs of industry. The second discernable stream of thinking is based on the emancipatory need of black South Africans to be recognised and taken seriously, after Apartheid.

I will address each of these streams of decolonial thinking in light of the literature.

The first manifestation of colonialism that can be deduced from the data is the university's over-emphasising in the curriculum of Mode 1 type knowledge. Mode 1 knowledge refers to the ideas, methods, values and norms that have grown out of the traditional disciplines, which emerged in 19th century Europe (Gibbons, 1994; Muller, 2009). Diminishing the traditional disciplines, and simply privileging practically applicable knowledge does not however simplistically translate into decolonisation or emancipation. The push for relevance and functionality is itself based on the instrumentalisation of the curriculum, which advances a neo-liberal capitalist vision of education (Maton & Moore, 2010). In this vision, the student acquires the ability to function within a defined context, while a deeper knowledge of the nature of the context is omitted. Supra-contextual questions – whether that context is historical or social – have no immediate relevance and function in the economy but are the questions that lead to powerful knowledge. There is a strong argument that such non-vocational, theoretical knowledge is "powerful" in its own right (Case, 2013; Moore, 2013). Powerful knowledge has been defined as "the specialized knowledge which enables [the knower] to engage in political, moral, and other kinds of debates" (Shay & Peseta, 2016, p. 362). Such powerful knowledge is not powerful by virtue of being wielded by the powerful, but has intrinsic and real causal powers within society (Maton & Moore, 2010; Wheelahan, 2010). Omitting such knowledge, as has been happening under the instrumentalisation of the curriculum, leads to the maintenance of a social power-differential, where certain social actors, having access to powerful

knowledge, can leverage such knowledge against those who are merely vocationally trained as social functionaries.

In terms of decolonising the curriculum, an alternative to the theoretical-practical, or Mode 1-Mode 2 curriculum binary must be sought. One such alternative is to see the problem not as reduceable to a binary, but rather to the hermeneutic gap, as theorised by Fricker (2007). My interpretation of Fricker's hermeneutic gap is that it denotes a blind spot in the conceptual and cultural worldview of a people, which allows a deprivation to go undetected. For the curriculum, the hermeneutic gap has allowed the stripping of powerful knowledge from the student's repertoire of knowledge, without a murmur because – being vocationally conditioned – the student does not have an awareness of such powerful knowledge. According to Luckett (2016), this hermeneutic gap may cut both ways between the lecturer and the student, meaning that knowledge that is perhaps culturally meaningful to the one, but unfathomable and meaningless to the other, may cause a power differential. This raises the prospect that certain concepts and behaviour may simply remain unintelligible, if an effort is not made to close the conceptual gap.

A personal example of the role that powerful knowledge plays comes to mind. I once discussed the idea of nature conservation with game rangers in the Kruger National Park. It was interesting how some game rangers, being well-trained to capture and release game, justified the idea of nature conservation simply on its job-creation benefits. There were however other game rangers, equally well-trained vocationally, but who were able to articulate a more transcendent justification of nature conservation such as the broader importance of preserving ecosystems or the therapeutic value of maintaining natural retreats. The broader understanding, though not vocationally meaningful, clearly came with the power to engage at a much broader cultural level on the field, and to consequently have greater influence in the broader development of the field.

The second manifestation of colonialism in the curriculum is said to be its Eurocentrism, and its silencing and negation of the African identity. In the previous discussion of knowledge creation, the idea of Eurocentrism was explored hermeneutically in terms of its epistemic meaning. The inference was that Eurocentrism, when going by the discourse, is in fact a code word for logical positivism which has been the foundation of the episteme of western modernity. This raises a problem with the use of the term Eurocentrism within the domain of curriculum development however and necessitates the finding of a more suitable meaning.

It is useful to start by offering my own understanding of the curriculum development process, which will be required for the rest of the discussion. I base this understanding on my reading of Bernstein (1995), Maton and Moore (2010), Cross and Ndofirepi (2017) and Muller (2009). In light of these, I find curriculum development to be, at its core, the process of selecting and sequencing various forms of knowledge within a carefully structured social induction programme, for the purpose of transforming the behaviour, practice and attitudes of the inductee. This definition is wide enough to encompass various conceptualisations of what the curriculum should achieve. It encapsulates for example the 'good citizenship' curriculum (Keating et al., 2009) which aims to instil loyalty to the state and national pride. It also accommodates the 'skills development' or vocational curriculum (Muller, 2009), which makes utility to industry and the economy the central concern of the curriculum.

Coming back to the definition I put forward, this process of selection and sequencing implies an element of evaluation, which involves comparing and weighing various forms of knowledge. In the West, this comparing and weighing process requires instruments of weighing and measuring that are claimed as objective. According to Mamdani (2017), Eurocentrism, in the domain of curriculum development, refers to the appropriation by western scholarship, of these instruments of knowledge selection and sequencing. It is the western ownership of the means of validating knowledge that determines for example that Bible chronicles are to be omitted from any history curriculum. This

appropriation of the instruments of sequencing and validating knowledge — ensconced within the powerful knowledge disciplines of the university — is what constitutes Eurocentrism in the domain of the curriculum.

How are African knowledge pathways, and the African identity impacted on by this curricular Eurocentrism? One good example of the invalidation of African pathways is in the reading of history. A concept that has central importance in the modern West is the idea of private ownership. It is a concept that is instrumentalised in the reading and interpreting of history. My own African city, Cape Town, always had its history[22] firmly shaped by western instruments of sensemaking in the curriculum. Those instruments were forged using the idea of private ownership, central to the western imaginary (Taylor et al., 2003). Hence western scholarship framed the settlement of European settlers in Cape Town since 1652, and their eventual appropriation of all the land, within the understanding of a fair and legitimate process of trade and private ownership. The understanding that is created is that the land at the Cape was acquired for private ownership by barter or trade between the natives and the settlers in the 17th century. This western reading of Cape history of course omits and denies the worldview of the indigenous Khoisan African people, for whom the notion of private land ownership was hermeneutically undefined. Still, it is under the principle of private ownership that the natives are then accused of cattle thievery and vagrancy in the West's chronicling of the 18th century, a hundred year later. The end-result is that the West, because it owns the tools of interpretation, gets to hermeneutically shape the historical context from within which we look at the present, thus being able to reinforce its own logic of social justice on the present. This means that the curriculum, framed in the Western mind, sanctifies the western status quo while

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[22] I'm only using my own high school history curriculum as a reference point here.

desanctifying the indigenous hunger for justice. The destructive implications on the indigenous identity of this western control over the shaping of the curriculum are clear.

It is in this same way that the instruments of knowledge sequencing and validation, being in the hands of western scholarship, shapes the university curriculum in general, constantly and inexorably enforcing the Western imaginary, while all the time muting and distorting the traditional knowledge and identity of the indigenous people. This implication for curriculum change is that the very instruments of sequencing and validating knowledge must be developed within a broader cultural landscape, which transcends the western imaginary. A process akin to what Luckett and Shay (2020) argue for when they call for a reinvention of the very frame from within which the curriculum is developed.

Findings in terms of the curriculum

The key conceptual elements that emerge are Eurocentrism, knowledge disciplines, modes of knowledge, the instruments of sequencing and selection, the African identity and African needs and civic engagement.

In summary the central issues that can be identified from the main discourse are as follows:

- There is a hermeneutic gap, which results in a false dichotomy being maintained between Mode 1 and Mode 2 knowledge. Mode 1 knowledge is declared as having less imminent economic value within the instrumental framing of the curriculum, notwithstanding the fact that it provides the learner with greater power to shape rather than implement practice in the discipline. Because no short-term benefit is seen in this type of knowledge, within a conceptualisation of the curriculum as serving the market, it then becomes less emphasised thus creating a power differential in society.

- A central issue that can be identified from a reading of the data, in conjunction with the established literature, is that the instruments of sequencing and selecting knowledge – integral to the curriculum development process – are appropriated and guarded by western

scholarship within their established disciplinary power structures and that this results in the curriculum retaining its western identity thus perpetuating western-based social ideals at the expense of local and African ideals.

5.1.3   Theme: Learning, Teaching and the General Milieu

Stage 1- Surveying the Textual Data

In summary, the texts indicate that black students experience the classroom as a place where no or little effort is made to incorporate examples, case studies, symbols, real life applications of theory, texts, images, icons, sounds or problem scenarios that make the content or learning objectives more culturally relatable and meaningful to them. There is a rarity of black iconography, stories, illustrations or cases studies in any syllabus, working space or official literature of UCT, with the exception of the African Studies Department. That means that the stories, examples and cases that are hard coded into the syllabi, the official discourse and the artefacts of the university at large, are mainly European and white. Teaching choices must be revised to prevent a reproduction of the status quo (Item 71, p. 61) and learning material should contain local imagery and examples (Item 71).

Language is an exclusionary factor and plays a significant role in maintaining hierarchies of power and privilege (Item 71, p. 48). Excluding local languages leads to the excluding local ideas and stories (Item 58). Non-English speakers feel ridiculed and "othered" (Item 84, p. 112).

The discourse seems to indicate that the university, in its physical milieu and infrastructure, including the architecture, aesthetics and attitudes, is a culturally alienating place for blacks. Campus artworks are seen as foreign and the most telling indication of the rejection of traditional artefacts on campus was "the burning of portraits and artworks" in April 2016 (Item 48, p. 199).

Racial prejudice is said to be subtle, yet real. This speech from a student at a university assembly is telling in this regard.

Comrades, I feel traumatised, within this same space, within this space that's supposed to be open for us to share our experiences, I feel traumatised. Not because somebody overtly said mean things about me; not because they called me a monkey or insulted me in some overt manner. Because institutional racism is not like that. It's not that easy. It's what's between the lines. It's about those educated people who use rationalisations to silence your experiences [loud applause]…When people are speaking of progress, they are speaking from their white perspective. But when we speak, we are speaking from our pain in moving forward, and they are saying 'compromise on your emancipation, because it makes us uncomfortable' [loud applause].

(Item 72, at 57'4")

Another telling experience in this regard is the case raised by a PhD candidate in the Sociology department. A black lecturer, writing in 2017, refers to an Anatomy department committee, led by a white official, denying him access to inspect human remains, while researching UCT's history of unethically collecting the human remains of black South Africans. The refusal was based on technical grounds. The black dean of the faculty was appealed to by this black PhD candidate, but he (the black dean) unfortunately died before he could resolve the matter. The black lecturer laments the unwillingness of UCT to allow for opening itself up to scrutiny of its own past criminal misdoings. He writes:

In its history of establishment, UCT has silently been involved in this shameful past of constant trauma and pain. The truth behind the unspoken silences of the racialized dead has finally come out and as part of the university community, I want to propose that the university constitutes a Truth, Repatriation and Reparations Commission with an intention to fully disclose these human rights violations and what Stephen Jay Gould calls "the sins of science" committed under colonialism and Apartheid

(Item 39, Final para.)

The indication from the observed texts is that racialism[23] occurs mostly in a subtle or nuanced form at a personal level, but over slurs have been reported. A direct slur was reported when a black lecturer reported that a derogatory appellation was reportedly muttered to him by a white staff member (Item 79, at 26"). Another crude comment, ascribed to a white member of the community on Facebook, states "if not for whites you [blacks] would all still be running around in loin cloths, in the bush, living in mud huts" (Item 72, at 42").

What is more commonly found is that black students and academics seem to experience whites as distant and indifferent and that their resentment of blacks takes a more nuanced form at UCT (Item 72; Item 79; Item 84). This takes the form of insensitivity to their needs, an overly strict and hurried resorting to the rules and to authority, and a complete refusal to make any minor gestures of welcoming or acceptance of blacks (Item 79) . It often takes the form of singling out blacks and reproaching them for petty offences (Item 73; Item 79). Racism also been described as 'institutional racism' (Item 77; Item 81) which seems to refer to the sense that rules and procedures are applied more robustly against black students and staff.

A student interviewee expressed this feeling of being excluded as an unintentional reality of society. He states "I had friends who I met in res who were in classrooms where there were predominantly white people, they find it hard to adapt to it because they come from background where the people that can't really speak proper English or you know, there are language barriers and that type of thing. They would find it hard to adapt to it, yes" (Eric UCT student, 2019).

According to Feldman, a strong emotional reaction can be associated with a denial of the human emotional needs for belonging, acceptance, self-esteem, worthiness and self-fulfillment (Feldman,

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[23] I prefer using the term racialism to denote a personal attitude, rather than racism, which I see as an institutionalised practice based on [false] scientific premises.

2009). A lack of social reciprocity has also been found to be a contributing factor to conflict (Park & Antonioni, 2007).

Stage 2 – Reading this in Conjunction with the Literature

The literature does confirm the phenomenon of cultural and social "othering" of the subaltern or of ethnic, race or class minorities at western universities. In a UK study, Reay et al. (2005) found that race and class continue to be a basis on which students are excluded. Feelings of social exclusion and alienation on the basis of ethnicity, race and class were found even at the most prestigious western universities Watts (2015). Social exclusion takes the form of negating the culture of the colonised (Ashcroft et al., 2009; Mbembé, 2001; Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999), rendering their social practices as unworthy (Ashcroft et al., 1995; Schwarz, 2005) and even construing a them as "the repository of all that is despised and feared" (Sayer, 2011, p. 173). Rout and Watts (2015) found such discrimination and antagonism to be common in Indian universities, where it was directed against students who benefitted from affirmative action programmes. Bangeni and Kapp (2005) studied alienation of black students at UCT and concluded that ethnicity, class, race and language do remain bases on which students feel excluded at the university.

Cultural othering results in a sense of alienation and detachment on the part of the colonised according to Jaeggi et al. (2016). Othering also leads to shame, a poor self-image, depression and struggling to cope at university (Braxton, 1993; Efraty et al., 1991; Scheff & Retzinger, 2001). Suchman (1995) has shown that those who are othered, view the system as lacking legitimacy. Similar findings were made by Calhoun (1994) and Kellner (1995).

Lastly, the impact of affirmative action on the morale of negatively affected staff cannot be discounted as a cause of resentment and prejudice (Fischer & Massey, 2007). Affirmative action has in fact also been linked to stigma on the part of the intended beneficiaries (Heilman, Block, & Stathatos, 1997).

Findings In terms of Learning & Teaching and Aesthetics

The following key conceptual elements emerge from the textual data: Iconography, symbolism, language, ideas and stories, artefacts, racial prejudice and social and cultural 'othering'. In summary the central issues that can be identified from the main discourse are as follows:

- Not only does western culture predominate and permeate the classroom, lesson plans and every other aspect of university life at UCT, there has been an almost complete denial and lack of incorporation of African culture and forms of expression.

- The subtle and overt forms of cultural alienation and exclusion results in black members of the university having to constantly grapple with feelings of being unworthy and inferior, which results in a deep sense of resentment towards the university and the dominant western culture.

5.1.4 Overall Findings

These are listed in the table below and will form the basis of the deeper process of sensemaking in the next section.

Key Issues Found within the Coloniality Discourse at UCT
1. Eurocentrism as a holistic and all-pervasive worldview is manifested in the continuing dominance of logical positivism within key disciplines at the university and remains a mechanism of western cultural reproduction and of epistimicide [short tag: 'Eurocentrism and Epistemicide']
2. An afrocentric articulation of epistemic decoloniality, incapsulated in the centering of African ideas and aspirations as a type of African cosmopolitanism within the knowledge creation project, is contested by alternative post-structural, postcolonial and schismatic articulations of decoloniality, which are incapsulated in notions of the (1) decentered multiversity as an open field of subjective knowledges and (2) Essentialism, nativism and identity politics [short tag: 'An African Identity versus Institutional Schism]
3. The appropriation of the tools of measurement and comparison – integral to the curriculum development process – are appropriated and guarded by western scholarship within their established disciplinary power structures and this status quo results in that curriculum retains its western identity and remains pivotal in perpetuating western-based social ideals at the expense of local and African ideals [short tag: 'Colonised Curriculum']
4. Mode 1 knowledge is declared as having less imminent economic value notwithstanding the fact that it provides the learner with greater power to shape rather than implement practice in the discipline. Because no short-term return benefit is seen in this type of knowledge, is becomes less emphasised thus creating a power differential in society [short tag: 'Leverage of Powerful Knowledge']
5. Not only does western culture predominate and permeate the classroom, lesson plans and every other aspect of university life at UCT, there has been an almost complete denial and lack of incorporation of African culture and forms of expression [short tag 'Denial of African forms of expression']

| 6. | The subtle and overt forms of cultural alienation and exclusion results in black members of the university having to constantly grapple with feelings of being unworthy and inferior, which results in a deep sense of resentment towards the university and the dominant western culture [short tag: 'Subtle Racism']. |

Table 8 – Initial findings of the data analysis around cultural and intellectual coloniality

5.2   Theoretical Explanation

According to Archer (1998), a "theoretical explanation [within a critical realist study] proceeds by description of significant features, retroduction to possible causes, elimination of alternatives and identification of the generative mechanism or causal structure at work"   (Archer, 1998, p.xvii). In applying retroduction, the question which must form the basis of further causal analysis is what the university must be like to have brought about the key conceptual positions or elements that we established in the previous section (see Table 8). Phrased differently, the question is what the causal structures, located in the domain of the Real are - and therefore hidden from direct observation - that can be inferred from what we are observing empirically. This section must be framed within the findings of the previous section, which culminated in a set of key elements that were found to be extant as the conditions that bring into being and perpetuate the apparent morphostasis of cultural and intellectual coloniality at UCT (see Section 2.2.4, Figure 5).

The analysis in this section proceeds by developing more clarity around the key causal structures, and thereafter presenting a proposed model of causality which brings the key concepts together within the social realist framework presented in Chapter 2. The end goal of the analysis must be an explanatory model of cultural and intellectual coloniality that offers the power of prediction and guidelines towards emancipatory action.

5.2.1 *Eurocentrism*

I commence this analysis by deriving a more specific definition of Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism has in numerous previous studies and analyses been identified as the structure behind colonially founded exclusion or 'othering' (Murrey, 2018; Santos, 2014; UCT IRTC, 2019). The observed elements of

coloniality at UCT corresponded well with the literature in terms of the idea of Eurocentrism. The problem is that, even if Eurocentrism has so often been cited as a causal structure behind coloniality, it has been difficult to find a good definition of Eurocentrism in realist terms.

In arriving at a definition of Eurocentrism, there is a need to clarify the 'euro-' prefix. In the term Eurocentrism, the euro- prefix must be seen as code for Western, within the UCT context. That means that those who are said to be upholding and advancing Eurocentrism at UCT, display a cultural commitment to Western culture, rather than being European or white. This implies that being Western describes the agents, said to be advancing Eurocentrism, more accurately than being white or being European.

The reality of the indigenous adopting and committing to western culture and ideas is not an alien proposition. Frantz Fanon (1963) highlights this phenomenon for his home island Martinique, where his fellow islanders, being racially indistinguishable from each other, displayed a deep and impenetrable cultural divide between westernised Martiniquans - those who had become fully westernised, and the non-Westernised Martiniquans. The point being made here is that Westernism is a concept that clearly transcends race and nationality, and the conclusion I want to draw is that the term Eurocentrism denotes a causal structure not necessarily brought into being or maintained by white social agents. As I write in fact, the most senior positions at UCT are occupied by black

persons – a fact that in no way detracts from them being capable (though unconscious) maintainers[24] and advancers of Eurocentrism.

The next concept that needs to be incorporated into this analysis is the idea of an ethnic social identity, which has been described as "largely biologically self-perpetuating, shar[ing] fundamental cultural values, mak[ing] up a field of communication and interaction [and] ha[ving] a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Fought citing Barth, 2006, p. 9). These conditions of being an ethnic identity are certainly all attributable to the westerner (within which the westernist, defined in the previous paragraph is included). After all, culturally convicted westerners have become biologically self-perpetuating, share fundamental cultural values, make up a field of communication

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[24] It is necessary here to consider what the postcolonial literature sees as the subversion of the indigenous identity, as a key feature of conquest and colonisation (Kabeer, 2002; Santos, 2002; Villenas, 1996). According to Spivak (1995), postcolonial society experiences a fragmentation of the identity of the people, when a section of the indigenous take up the interests of the coloniser, in opposition to the interests of the subaltern, in order to secure its own interests (see also Guha, 1997). From the postcolonial subaltern literature perspective therefore, the idea of the westernised indigenous person, who advances European values, is explained in terms of a betrayal of indigenous culture and values. From a critical realist perspective, the phenomenon of indigenous people who embrace and advance western culture, must be taken out of its perspectival claddings of complicity and collusion, and be objectively identified simply as another form of social agency in pursuit of westernism, albeit comprised of agents with a brown complexion. A contradiction that does emerge between the indigenous identity and the brown western identity is a misalignment of interests, concerns and values.

and interaction, and identify as such and are identified by others as such as distinguishable from non-westerners.

Finally, we can then arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of Eurocentrism as a causal structure. If being Western - implying being culturally European – can be categorised as a form of ethnic social identity, then it is a reasonable to make the assumption that Eurocentrism is simply a unique case of western ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism has been described by Tajfel (1982) as the centring of the ingroup and the evaluating of all values in terms of the ingroup's values. Tajfel goes on to suggest that ethnocentrism shapes the attitudes of its subjects in relation to others. The assumption then that Eurocentrism is a case of ethnocentrism leads to the following, more accurate and usable definition of Eurocentrism:

> Eurocentrism is an attitude of those committed to western values to evaluate all values and social practices in terms of those western values, thus maintaining and advancing the Western identity as the ideal within social practice and behaviour. Within an organisational context, Eurocentrism amounts to advancing a European identity in terms of the goals, mission, values, culture and purpose of the organisation.

From critical realism theory, we know that Eurocentrism has a Real and objective existence, since it acts causally in the real world (Bhaskar, 2015).

The added understanding that I am offering from the above few paragraphs is that Eurocentrism is not a simplistic racial or national phenomenon, but that Eurocentrism is advanced from non-European as much as from European social bases.

5.2.2 Theorising Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS)

A look at the findings made in Section 5.1 (Table 8), shows that the three fields within the academic project are all seen as being beset by Eurocentrism. When looking closer at how the term is interpreted in each of the three fields, it becomes clear that it denotes a different structure in each of

these fields. In terms of knowledge creation, Eurocentrism does not necessarily refer to everything western, but more accurately to the logical positivist scholarly paradigm. In terms of curriculum development, Eurocentrism denotes the appropriation by Western scholarship of the tools of knowledge indexing and selection. Within the classroom and within the general social and cultural milieu, Eurocentrism was described as the Western domination of language, aesthetics and iconography at the cost of African forms of expression. Within all three fields that constitute the academic project, we therefore find three different meanings of the term. This complexity of the term Eurocentrism raises the need for a logically more comprehensive conceptual framing of the phenomenon that we are witnessing. How for example does one explain the charges of racism and social alienation, simply from Eurocentrism?

To arrive at more explanatory model, there is a need to go beyond Eurocentrism as a causal structure. In listing the various purposes of developing theory, McKelvey (1997) includes in his list "The expansion of the scope of a theory to include new phenomena, and [t]he broadening of specific theories into more general theories" (McKelvey, 1997, p. 363). In line with this, I am introducing the concept of Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS), as an emerging structure.

Before presenting my definition of this term, it is useful to consider the meaning of the term solipsism. A useful definition appears in the Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, which states that solipsism is "the doctrine that, in principle, "existence" means for me *my* existence and that of *my* mental states. Existence is everything that I experience — physical objects, other people, events and processes — anything that would commonly be regarded as a constituent of the space and time in which I coexist with others and is necessarily construed by me as part of the content of *my* consciousness" (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d., Para.1).

I am introducing Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS) by means of an extrapolation of the term individual solipsism to the socio-cultural world. Applying this extrapolation to the above definition then results in the definition of the concept ICS as

the shared group delusion that, "what makes sense" means what makes sense for my group and in terms of my group's forms of cognition. Culture is everything that we experience — physical objects, other people, events and processes — anything that would commonly be regarded as a constituent of the space and time in which we coexist with others and is necessarily construed by us as part of the content of our consciousness.

By this definition, ICS becomes a condition under which a group who adheres to a common cultural identity, is unable to perceive of the boundaries and limitations of its own ideational sensemaking faculties and thus rendered unable to make proper sense of any idea or experience emanating from outside its ideational boundaries and limitations. The theory being proposed here must be read in the same vein as what Ellemers et al. (1999) see as the identity of the agents reflecting back on the organisation.

This attribution of the idea of solipsism to Western culture is not novel. Vandenberghe cites Dewey as stating "Failure to recognize that this world of inner experience is dependent upon an extension of language which is a social product and operation led to the subjectivistic, solipsistic, and egotistic strain in modern thought" (2013, p. 56). Bulhan (2010) also, in his study of the philosophy of Fanon and Eurocentric psychology, highlights the concept of solipsism as it related to the West. Most eloquently expressive of the concept may be the phrase 'I think therefore I am' attributed to Descartes, associated with the very foundation of Western science (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Thornton, n.d.). It is important however to draw a distinction between ICS and personal solipsism, which refers to a radical denial of the existence of the other. What we are instead referring to here is more akin to the epistemic solipsism which Fanon, cited in Bulhan (2010), refers to as the denial of any intelligence, outside of the western experience. Unlike Fanon's treatment of the concept however, I see ICS as an acquired *constriction* in the group's ability to make sense of any idea or experience outside of its own cultural and intellectual imaginary, rather than a *refusal* to do so. ICS is therefore not primarily a racist or chauvinistic trait, but rather an acquired hermeneutic void. When

looked at as a hermeneutic void, the idea of ICS can be related to the hermeneutic gap in the classroom that has been raised by Luckett (2016) and is also mentioned in Carnell and Fung (2017).

ICS as a Constriction of Reflexivity

The next stage of the theory is to explain ICS in light of the social realist framework presented in Chapter 2. What this explanation entails is explaining the cognitive and emotional states that are activated by ICS when the agents, who experience ICS constriction, engage the broader social structure. When the social agents, constricted by ICS (in short, *the constricted reflexives*) encounter a trans-cultural or 'outside' idea or experience, one of two possible problem scenarios ensue. Due to their constricted ability to make sense of the experience or idea, they firstly, under Scenario 1 are wholly unable to make any sense of it, or secondly, under Scenario 2, will misconstrue the idea or experience.

What happens reflexively in Scenario 1, when the constricted agents encounter an idea or experience that exceeds their ideational sensemaking boundaries thus never rising to the point of making sense to them? According to Archer (2003), personal reflexivity or the inner conversation makes possible the meaningful engagement of the individual with the social structure. The case does exist in which the inner conversation with regard to others does not take place in a productive way and this then prevents the person from formulating a course of action. If the idea of constricted reflexivity is applied to Archer's (2003) theory, then it resembles the case of the displaced fractured reflexive which she refers to. The displaced reflexive, according Archer experiences an absence of any passion being aroused from her social encounters, and consequently fails to formulate an action response. The figure below graphically represents this displaced-reflexiveness being applied to the person under ICS.
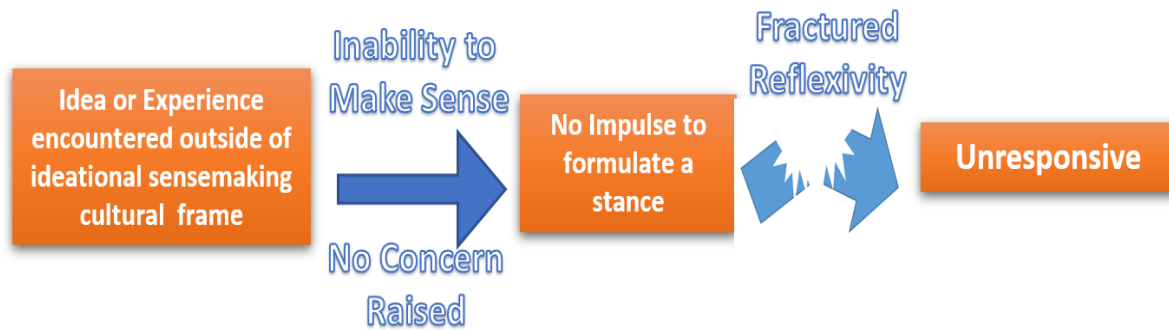
Figure 14 – Fractured Reflexivity when the constricted reflexive cannot make sense of the idea or experience

What this framing implies is that the reaction of the constricted reflexive, when he or she cannot make sense of and idea or experience, is witnessed as dismissive and uncaring behaviour. In the eyes of the 'other', the fractured reflexive agent is therefore seen as aloof and indifferent.

Let us look at the forms of reflexivity that unfolds for Scenario 2, in the case of misconstruing or subjectively interpreting the experience or idea. Should this occur, then the constricted reflexive is aroused emotionally because of experiencing complementarity or contradiction with the idea or experience. In response, they reflexively formulate a programme of action, but such a programme is based on their subjective or false interpretation of the idea or experience. Figure 15 below graphically illustrates how the constricted reflexive's misconstruing of ideas or experiences, translates into unproductive social action.
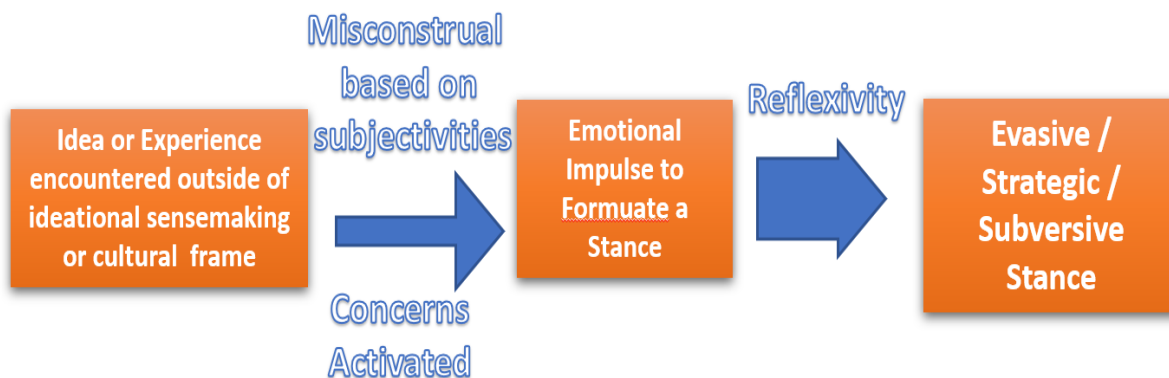

Figure 15 - The reflexivity of the constricted agent based on a subjective misconstrual of the idea or experience

Figure 16 below depicts the structure of ICS and how it forms part of a greater causal mechanism, which brings the observed social reality into existence. It proposes a causal model, showing both Scenario 1 and Scenario 2 problems that are caused by the structure. A Scenario 1 problem occurs when constricted reflexivity causes a hermeneutic gap for the agent, which leads to fractured reflexivity. Scenario 2 problems occurs when constricted reflexivity causes the agent to develop a subjective set of concerns, which leads to an unproductive cause of action.
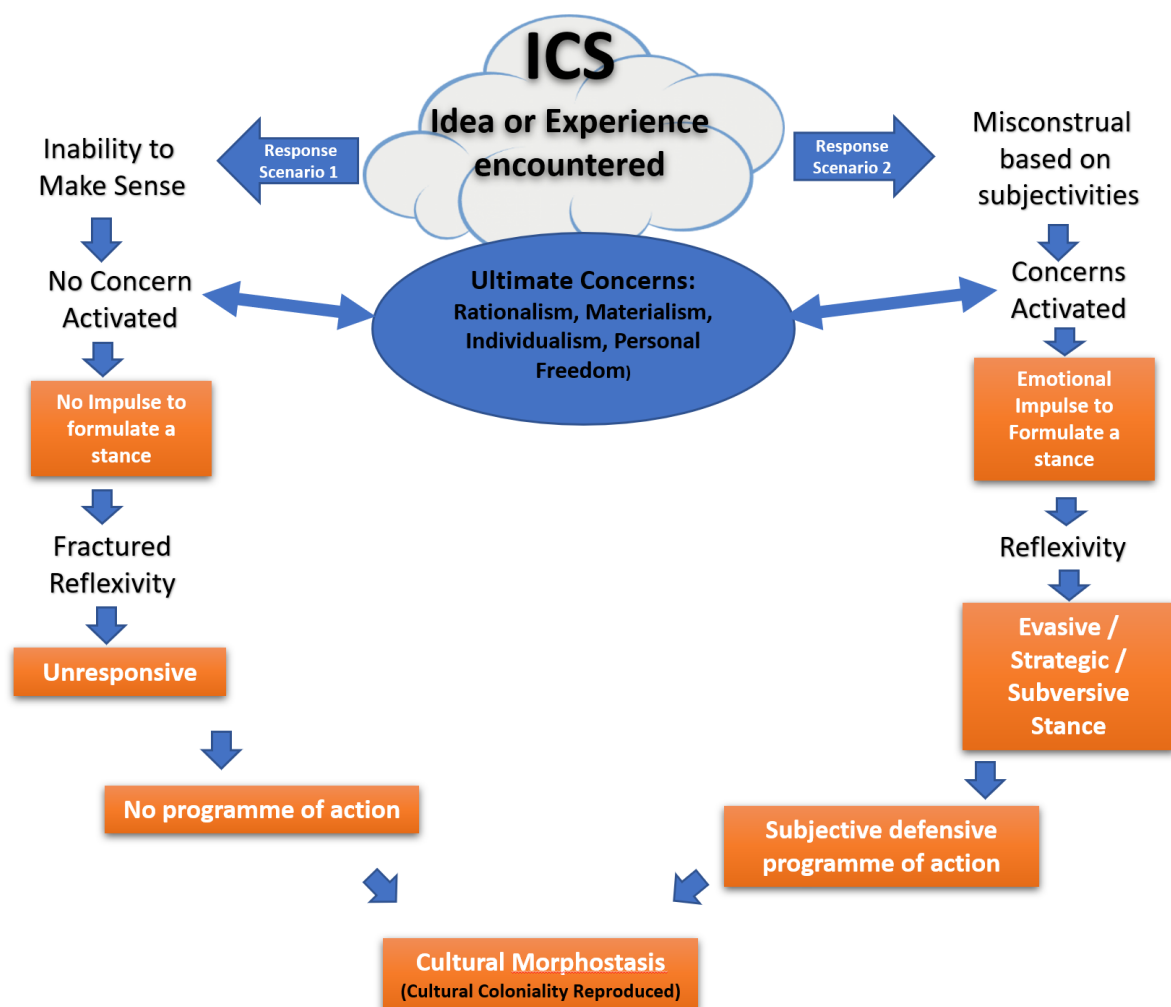

Figure 16 - The model of ICS and constricted reflexivity as the cause of colonial morphostasis

In conclusion, the theory which I am proposing is that Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS) is the causal structure, brings into being the social reality of cultural coloniality through the mediation of constricted agency. Figure 17 below graphically illustrates this model of causality.

Figure 17- The Model of Causality of Cultural Coloniality

Before embarking on a more systematic testing of this model, and initial application of the model is presented. (A more systematic testing of the model will follow in Section 5.2.3 while triangulation of the model follows in Section 5.3).

Let me illustrate by means of a practical application at UCT, how constricted agency causes particular social circumstances to emerge. For this application, I am assuming four core values which define the Western identity namely individualism, materialism, personal freedom and rationalism (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Taylor et al., 2003). These core values, applied and invoked jointly or severally, are a central pathway to the formation of ultimate personal concerns to the agents. The application goes as follows.

There is a common slogan within the oppressed community in South Africa which goes that 'an injury to one is an injury to all!' The slogan amounts to a doctrine that an injustice done against one person must be seen as if that injustice was done to the entire community. The doctrine makes sense in a context where the individuals are generally inadequately resourced to defend themselves individually and when such individual weakness encourages constant persecution, at the individual level. It effectively sets up a unified and co-ordinated defence system against persecution. For decades under Apartheid, this slogan formed the basis of social solidarity in South Africa. The doctrine came at a cost to the individual, however. Because of it, all the members of the community

were obligated to stand in solidarity, no matter the sacrifice, when a section was afflicted by an injustice. The result was that, during Apartheid, whenever a boycott of a particular product or business was called for, everyone was obligated to comply and those who ignored the call met with retribution.

This very idea surfaced during the Fallist protests. During the Fallist period, 'an injury to one is an injury to all' was clearly being invoked when classes were disrupted. The operating principle, when a class was disrupted, was that no person should act normally by attending classes when an injustice was being committed to others. Those injustices, as we know now from Chapter 4 were mostly tied to financial exclusion initially and later on to a lack of accommodation and other deprivations.

Now, how do we anticipate the constricted agents to make sense of class disruptions in terms of the model portrayed in Figure 16? Clearly the central concern from a western perspective would have been to defend the right of the individual against the imposition of the group. When the agents therefore experienced the call to shut down the university out of solidarity, and suffered physical ejection from his classroom, the action was met with immediate condemnation. This was because their core concerns around personal freedom and individualism were triggered immediately. The class disruptions were therefore felt as wrong and immoral. One professor, expressing this widely-held sentiment by a large section of the campus community at the time, describes the class disruptions as "appalling behaviour" (Item 41, Para.16). A gap therefore arose between those who fundamentally upheld the "an-injury-to-one…" idea and those who fundamentally opposed it. The end result was that a cultural partition of the university took place during the Fallist period, between those who upheld group solidarity as a higher principle and those who upheld individual freedom as the higher principle. For the university administration, driven by the latter principle, the course of action became taking out court interdicts, calling in the police and increasing campus security, which all in hindsight proved counterproductive. This example represents an example of misconstrual (i.e. Response Scenario 2 in figure 16).

What then would have been a more objective interpretation of class disruptions, which could have led to a more productive course of action? The key idea within the disruptions was the invoking of group solidarity towards the injustice which black students were suffering. Perhaps a special effort to make common cause with the protestors and to have taken up their plight, galvanising broad support and solidarity with them, would have been a more productive course of action, which may have averted the direct conflict between the university administration and the students, which is what ensued after the police were called on Day 1 of the class disruptions.

5.2.3 *Explaining the Earlier Findings in terms of the Model*

This second section of Chapter 5 set out to use retroduction in order to arrive at a causal explanation which explains the findings that were made in Section 1 of the chapter. To now complete the retroductive reasoning process, what is needed is a systematic consideration of each finding which was made at the end of Section 5.1 in order toto explain it in terms of the model of constricted agency. To accomplish this, the six key issues, listed in Section 5.1.4 are restated, along with a brief causal explanation in terms of the proposed model.

5.2.3.1 *Eurocentrism and Epistemicide*

The destruction or denial of indigenous knowledge pathways by the structure of coloniality is addressed and confirmed in both the literature and the in our textual data sample (Abdullah, 2012a; Mbembe, 2016). The finding from our sample texts was that a stubborn clinging to Western-style logical positivism by the established scholarship fraternity has the effect of denying African knowledge pathways. It is the way that African knowledge pathways are perceived by the western cultural agent, that has resulted in the denial or destruction of these pathways. The western agent, being concerned with defending the Western intellectual and cultural identity, subjectively sees African knowledge pathways as invalidated by virtue of them being clouded in superstition and other non-rational practices. The result is that an emotional commitment to rationalism triggers a set of negative concerns around rationality when African knowledge pathways are considered for epistemic

inclusion. This results in a negative stance which becomes the causal mechanism that drives traditional Western scholarly practice. What I will show in the final section of this chapter is that an elaboration of the core identity of the agents will be a route to counteract such a subjective stance.

5.2.3.2 *An African Identity versus Institutional Schism*

This finding from the textual data and the literature, refers to the contestation between Africanist articulations and postmodern articulations of decoloniality. Postmodernism is an emerging phenomenon within western culture, which arose out of the crisis caused by logical positivism, and the failure of socialism (Hicks, 2011). Cogent critiques can be found from the perspective of critical realism that exposes the failures of postmodernism within the knowledge project (Maton & Moore, 2010). Notwithstanding these critiques, the presence and appeal of postmodern ideas – albeit via postcolonial studies - remains indisputable at UCT and within broader radical intellectual circles. This has been illustrated in the literature review chapter (section 2.5) and pointed out in the data analysis in section 5.1.1. This bias is evinced by the subjectivist, and interpretivist approaches employed in recent campus initiatives such as the Curriculum Change framework document (Item 71) and the report of the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Workgroup (Item 60). The textual data in the sample is certainly also replete terminology central in postmodern writing such as 'the narrative' and 'deconstruct' (See for example Item 09; Item 11; Item 33; Item 64; Monday Monthly, 2015). In my assessment of the textual data at hand (particularly Item 38, in which a number of scholars appear), it does appear that postmodern activists are more organised, better resourced, more effective at discursive penetration and better accommodated by the institution, and therefore posing a much greater threat to the existing established cultural structure.

This stance of greater accommodation of the postmodern articulation of postcoloniality can also be explained in terms of the model of constricted agency. Postmodern politics have been described as a complicit critique of modernity (Hutcheon, 2003), meaning that postmodernists have largely advanced their critique of modernity while being embedded within the structures of modernity. That

means that the language and the tools deployed in this critique has escaped the hermeneutic gap experienced by alternative indigenous African and non-Western critiques of modernity.   The prominent Africanist writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1997) in fact highlighted the problem of effectively transmitting the full depth of African thinking through non-African languages.

So firstly, the postmodern articulation does not suffer the hermeneutic gap which non-Western articulations suffer. This excludes the possibility of the constricted agents being unable to make sense of its ideas. Being ignored or overlooked, a fate which much of indigenous writing and discourse suffers, therefore does not afflict poststructural, postcolonial thinking, which greatly advantages this form of activism.

There is a very powerful second explanation for the accommodating stance that has been found to exist towards postmodern activisms. The reason why activism exists and has intensified at places like UCT is the restraining and inhibiting experience that the colonial structure has visited on the agents. That the university has had to deal with the pain and injustice of the history of dispossession and violence was undeniable and unavoidable. In short, past oppression is undeniable and the system can no longer ignore this fact. But this also implies that the university and its traditional actors have had to face and deal with their own historic complicity in colonialism and Apartheid, which poses a contradiction with their own concern for maintaining a grip on the system. In terms of our causal model, this fact of complicity coupled with the desire to retain control has had to be processed cognitively and reflexively, and a programme of action formulated.

Being accommodating of certain aspects of postmodern activism offers such a programme of action. It offers a palatable multi-truth paradigm where the complicit and the victim can co-exist. This complicity of postmodern forms of postcolonial activism has been raised elsewhere (Chibber, 2013; Hutcheon, 2003). According to Dos Santos (2014), the all-consuming nature of Occidentalism - a term he uses and which I see as akin to Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism – has caused even the western educated decolonial scholar and activist to fall prey to the false assumptions of Western

universalism. It is in this respect that Grosfoguel (2007) refers to the Eurocentric critique of Eurocentrism. I have thus far interpreted UCT as a case study of constricted agency. It is however possible that the entire decolonisation response could have fallen prey to agentic constriction and the two problem scenarios that come with it.

The unfortunate consequence of this unusual bed-fellowship at UCT was the sacrificing of any unifying and coherent framing of the emancipation process. The result was that the multi-truth perspective, upward conflationary merging of truth with perspective ended up in schism and chronic disaffection.

5.2.3.3 The Colonised Curriculum

The finding that requires explanation in terms of the postulated model is that the tools of sequencing and selecting knowledge, integral to curriculum construction, are firmly in western scholars' hands, with the result that the curriculum perpetuates western forms of cultural and social reproduction.

We know from the literature that the curriculum is a powerful tool of cultural and social production and reproduction (Le Grange, 2016; Maton & Moore, 2010; Muller, 2009). What can be expected from the constricted agents who reflexively consider the developing of the curriculum? If one is to link the practice of the agents to their ultimate concerns, and their ultimate concerns to their cultural identity (as our model states), then an undeniable link must be inferred between the Western core concerns for individualism, personal freedom, and secularity and the curriculum. The problem is that in South Africa, with its extreme social and economic inequality, these values form the basis of neo-liberal capitalism. That is how western agentic constriction is causally implicated in the perpetuation of the colonial curriculum and in social inequality.

5.2.3.4 Leverage of Powerful Knowledge

The finding that must be explainable in terms of the model is that the instrumentalisation of the university towards free-market ends, resulted in depriving the majority of powerful knowledge. Such

deprivation denies these learners the ability to engage in the public arena on an equal footing when it comes to the powerful foundational aspects of the discipline or practice. Health workers for example are stooped in learning to execute treatment protocols without engaging as thoroughly on how and why these protocols come about (See Item 71). This finding echoes the finding that universities have increasingly undergone vocationalisation in recent years (Forest & Altbach, 2006; Wheelahan, 2010). In a country such as South Africa, where the causes of poverty, poor health and inequality go far beyond mundane professional practice, such vocationalisation ends up becoming an obstacle to practitioners challenging deeper systemic and historical causal realities, which reside beyond their immediate professional practice. They simply cannot challenge what they are not hermeneutically provisioned for (Fricker, 2007).

How is this form of coloniality explained by the constricted agency model? The drift to vocationalisation must be seen as part of a trend to managerialism at the university, which is in turn the result of globalisation (Altbach, 2004). The outcome of this is that the university and its administrators function within a global ideational and material structure where business principles and ideas prevail as the institutionalised logic. Within this institutional logic, where efficiency and return on investment are paramount, the idea of bearing a cost for imparting powerful and emancipatory knowledge, with no demonstrable short-term yield, simply becomes unfathomable. This is the type of environment which Fricker (2007) describes as hermeneutical injustice, perpetrated by the structure rather than the individual. For the constricted agents, functioning within this institutional logic, their state of oblivion about the importance of powerful knowledge translates into a lack of concern, which, in turn leads to vocationalisation going unchallenged. The result is that the global drift shapes the national curriculum in an unhindered way, and thus play a role in perpetuating the power differential that, in turn perpetuates coloniality.

5.2.3.5 Denial of African forms of expression

This finding pertains to the classroom and to the general campus environment. The textual data refers for example to the absence of relatable content and examples in the classroom, the difficulty of being understood and the omnipresence of white iconography, to the exclusion of indigenous forms of expression.

This can be explained in accordance with the proposed model, and specifically in terms of the inability by the constricted agent to make any sense of indigenous iconography or forms of representation, beyond the curious. The literature surveyed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.2 under the heading "Elitist Mindset" is relevant here. Steyn (2001) refers to the state of oblivion within which South African whites occur regarding their own elitism, while Seekings (2008) relates how white South Africans take their own culture for granted. What can be deduced from the literature is that, in the elitist mindset, the "other" only assumes human form when he or she surfaces linguistically, culturally or intellectually in their playground. In terms of the proposed model, African art, rituals, ideas and stories simply do not rise to the level of being understood or fathomed and is therefore annihilated from the world created by the constricted agent.

5.2.3.6 Subtle Racism

How does the model explain the subtle racism that is often mentioned in the textual data? The way that racism is experienced is in the form of subtle and overt alienation and exclusion and in an overly bureaucratic attitude. The model can explain the experience of black members of the university community as a failure by the established community to make sense of their context. Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism causes the agents to project their subjective understanding of accomplishment, excellence and acceptable behaviour on all other people and then judge them in terms of those subjectivities. There are numerous examples where personal mannerisms and practices are interpreted as offensive, resulting in censure. This happens because of the communication and cultural gap and can therefore easily be interpreted by the receiving party as

discriminatory. The same reprimand from a person from the same culture may not have drawn out the same interpretation.

To summarise, this section of the chapter has laid out a causal structure that explains all the findings that were made around cultural and intellectual coloniality. These findings could also be individually explained in terms of the causal structure of Cultural Solipsism.

5.3 Further Exploring and Testing of Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS)

Vincent and Wapshott (2014) see a case study research as needing to test all claims of causality by returning to the data. Since ICS is a structure postulated as vested in the institutional governance and management structure, the interview transcripts of the two senior executive interviewees presented an appropriate source from which to seek evidence of constricted reflexivity. The examination of interviews entailed a re-examination of the interview transcripts of the two senior members of the UCT executive who were interviewed for this study. Both these actors expressed views which they held professionally, and the investigation therefore is not aimed at exploring the position of the interviewees but rather to gain an impression of the broader institutional presence of constricted reflexivity. A summary of each of these two interviews are presented, along with some findings and conclusions.

Interview 1

The following issues were addressed with the interviewee, namely what decoloniality entails, how it relates to the existing transformation agenda and how recent change initiatives have been received.

On what decoloniality entails, the interviewee made the assumption that coloniality referred essentially to the curriculum. The following comments illustrate his/her stance

> *I think curriculum is central to the whole decolonisation debate; curriculum and I would say research as well. ... the DVC teaching and learning leads the conversation around*

> *curriculum reform …a grant proposal or opportunities for people to apply for grants to work around decolonization [have been put out]. So that's what I am trying to tell you…. that it's been institutionalised. A Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC) drives the transformation portfolio and a different DVC drives [decolonisation as part of] the teaching and learning portfolio*

On how decolonisation is to be achieved, the interviewee took a decidedly bureaucratic stance, as can be seen from the first excerpt above. His/her view was that curriculum change was now squarely located with the respective institutional structures set up for the purpose. From the above excerpt it is also clear that the interviewee saw decolonisation as separate from and different to the existing transformation agenda, although he/she did see some points of intersection.

The following extract from the interview summarises his/her view on decolonisation as it pertains to the existing transformation agenda pushed by the governing party.

> *…national policy has not really taken decolonisation onboard…[government] hasn't taken a position to decoloniality. There isn't any policy document that pushes it… but I would say national is supporting decolonisation in the sense that it has made money available through the UCT grant process where people have benefited…they have applied for grants to work on decolonisation projects… the decolonisation framework is a broader so I don't use transformation and decolonisation as a kind of synonymous with each other because I think they are different. Its different but it's about how you integrate it. But national policy is around the broader transformation project as is understood and aligned with. I think government and the ruling party are quite quiet around decolonisation, you should know that right. So I think that it hasn't gotten traction really outside of academia...*

In summary the view is that transformation and decolonisation are treated separately and that the national government is strategically only advancing transformation, which, if interpreted, amounts to changing the student and staff demographic or racial composition.

The interviewee felt that recent initiatives such as the Curriculum Change Workgroup and the Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Task Team were somewhat unfairly criticised from some quarters, and that the reports generated within these initiatives are now being processed by the relevant institutional structures. To the question as to whether there was push-back to the ideas contained in the Curriculum Change Framework, his/her response was

> *There is push back, that much I know… some lecturers don't agree with the whole concept of decolonisation and these people are very vocal…. They certainly have not made it secret that they are opposed…. The framework went out for consultation… there is a whole lot of push back and that's very public …they have written in public media around how they feel about decolonisation*

The overall impression created by the interviewee was that he/she was fully at one with the reigning institutional position on all the issues that were explored. He/she never revealed an individually held perspectives and referred me to public official statements on more than one occasion.

Very crucially though, the interviewee never raised any of the key issues that were ubiquitous in decolonial discourse such as epistemic violence, cultural 'othering' or Eurocentrism. He/she surprisingly actually saw the call for decolonisation as being sustained mainly from some academic quarters, and that the national ruling party was quiet on the matter. If ICS describes a form of subjective ideational disjuncture, or a hermeneutic gap, then this interview clearly confirms such a disjuncture on behalf of the UCT executive. The gap between what I have observed in the data, and what I have learnt from this interview does reveal a clear hermeneutic void between decolonisation proponents and the administration of UCT.

Interview 2

The interview covered the issues of coloniality, the recent initiatives launched in response to Fallism and the causes of the Fallist protests.

On the question of what decoloniality entailed, the interviewee felt that it was merely a small proportion of the overall curriculum – around 20% - that required serious transformation. The majority of courses and programmes were aligned with technical standards that made serious change unfeasible and also unnecessary. This view is seen in the following excerpt.

> *...I wouldn't call [the curriculum] a colonial curriculum but it is .. possible to see why many subjects are regarded as still having too much of the remnants of coloniality... On the other hand, there are many parts of the university such as the natural sciences which will be very hard to [claim its] curriculum as being colonial... in the sense that it's the same curriculum you will study in America or Britain. It's the same if you were studying Statistics, if you were studying Physics or if you were studying Electrical Engineering ... why would you want it to be different? ... So I would say that for 80% of what we teach, the question doesn't really arise, it doesn't necessarily make sense. To say curriculum is colonial as a generalisation when actually we are talking about 20% or 30% of the curriculum...*

He/she also felt that it was strategically critical that UCT retained its current curriculum structure for its major faculties and that any change had to be incremental and supplementary to what is in place currently. The following excerpt provides the reasoning behind retaining the current medical doctor training curriculum, which was in response to a question of why African disease profiles do not form the basis of UCT's doctor training.

> *...unless you are going to say that we don't want to train doctors for the 20% of the population that has access to that medicine, we would ought to train them; we would want them to be able to go overseas and get some specialist training and come back here. Some won't come back which is the society we are living in, [where there is a] significant brain-drain of all our professionals. But some will come back. If they are going to do training overseas then they have to be sufficiently familiar with the medical requirement otherwise they won't be accepted to train overseas...so I reject the view that we should only train in*

things that are priorities here; I think we should be training doctors to cope with the whole population, which includes an elite or middle-class group that has access to them.

On the recent initiatives around transformation and curriculum change, the interviewee expressed regret that these initiatives seemed to have gone awry. The findings contained in the final report of the IRTC lacked credence since they only emanate from a limited section of the university community. In his/her words

…the IRTC (Institutional Reconciliation and Transformation Commission) which published its report earlier.., I think was a mistake, just because of the way it turned out…people said right from the start that this was not gonna work out and it turned out they were right… the commissioners just did not apply themselves, I am not sure they read the file report, I think they didn't participate fully, the report says they often only had 3 out of 5 commissioners present, I think there were 2 or 3 who were consistently not involved…I think they did a terrible job and I think they were wrong on almost everything they said…[To fix it] we would have to find some other device, probably....

During the interview the interviewee added that the university continues to address the plight of poorer students in order to increase their chances to succeed. On the reasons behind the violence and anger of protests, the interviewee offered the view that any black students come to university unprepared for the challenging environment, and experience severe depression when experiencing difficulties coping.

In summary, the interviewee's perspective on coloniality, Fallism and transformation was perfectly reflective of an honest western perspective. The problem is that at no place in the interview is there evidence of a deeper understanding of the existence of alternative non-western worldviews. The reality of constricted agency, brought about by ICS within the institution is confirmed also by this

interview, in the sense that the western understanding is projected onto the institution uncritically and unwaveringly.

5.4 Implications for a Decolonial Framework: Postulating a Transcendent African Identity for UCT

5.4.1 Implications for Decoloniality

The conclusion in the previous section implies that UCT remains committed to a western middle-class conceptualisation of its purpose and mission. That means that UCT remains committed to individualism, personal freedom and logical positivist rationalism. We must deduce also that UCT remains fundamentally geared reproduce neo-liberal capitalism. UCT therefore remains for now a reproducing agent of inequality in South Africa and on the African continent.

This finding does not imply that UCT has not achieved successes in terms of decolonisation, but rather that it has failed to set up a framework to understand the scope, nature and extent of the decolonisation imperative, that can contextualise and make coherent all efforts to that end. Being trapped in ICS also does not mean that UCT is unwilling to undertake the intellectual migration away from Eurocentrism, only that the institution is unable to conceive of a way out of it.

In the final section of this chapter therefore, the challenge of overcoming ICS and constricted reflexivity – as the structure and mechanism behind coloniality - is discussed, and a way forward offered. What are some important considerations in contemplating decoloniality as a process of remedying the ICS condition?

Identity lies at the heart of ICS and so the forging of a stable and inclusive institutional identity must be seen as fundamental to a process of decolonial change. If identity is a reflection of what matters most to us, and if our people and their concerns matter most to us, then UCT must undertake a cultural and epistemic migration away from its western identity towards a new inclusive and locally founded identity. The migration from personal interests needs to be replaced by a discourse of personal

concerns. Using human concerns rather than human interests, must be embraced as the driver of human action as argued for by social realists (Archer, 1995; Sayer, 2011).

Secondly, a fundamental epistemic reframing process is required, which will interpret the key issues at stake, not from a western gaze, but rather from a new emancipatory perspective. This will inter alia include the framing of justice and inclusivity, not as aid to blacks, but as the natural birthright of all. The terms "black empowerment", "social upliftment", "Academic Support" and "Financial Support" all imply a crippled subject and a powerful western benefactor, thus ontologically locating black emancipation within Western benevolence. In echoing this need to transition from patronage to emancipation, Luckett and Shay (2020) call for a shift away from affirmation towards transformation. The same Professor Suellen Shay, dean of the Centre for Higher Education Development at UCT raises the negative stigma that comes with maintaining the 'black aid' narrative stating "Over the past few months we have heard anger from black students about academic development programmes and the ways in which students feel stigmatised by these courses. They are right to raise their anger[…]" (Item 30, Paragraph 3).

5.4.2 Imagining a Transcendent African Identity for UCT

The idea that I am putting forth is that UCT must transform its identity, not only its image. That means that UCT must become African in its very being. Such Africanisation should however take an inclusive pathway. To enable this, a concept of Africanity that avoids nativism must be sought. The key question in the regard is "what makes one an African?". Ashforth and Mael's states that "[T]he self-concept is comprised of a personal identity encompassing idiosyncratic characteristics (e.g., bodily attributes, abilities, psychological traits, interests) and a social identity encompassing salient group classifications" (1989, p. 21). How does this relate to the African identity? In other words what is the ontology of Africanity?

At its most banal level, the notion of an African follows the definition invented by Apartheid, namely as a member of one of four ethnic groupings in South Africa namely Nguni, Sotho-Tswana,

Shangaan-Tsonga and Venda. In this Apartheid ontology of Africanity, Africanising UCT means appropriating UCT for Nguni, Sotho-Tswana, Shangaan-Tsonga and Venda South Africans. The danger of this nativist approach to Africanism has been pointed out in the literature by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and by a revolutionary no less than Fanon, (1983, see also section 2.5.2). Fanon in fact sees the swopping of a white elite with a black elite as a betrayal of the process of national liberation. To avoid such a sad indictment of the concept Africanism, one must seek for the meaning of being African, beyond Apartheid's ethnic definitions.

Mafeje (2011) offers a more transcendent approach to Africanity by relating the common African identity to a common legacy of European exploitation and domination, thus fostering a combative, emancipatory conception of being African. Mafeje's concept of an African does still however imply an essentialist view of being African. Mbembé (2001) moves beyond essentialism and defines Africanity in terms of understanding oneself, the world that one inhabits and the formation of personal agency with respect to that world. When studying their conceptions of Africanity, one comes away with the impression that Mafeje's definition of Africanity is retrospective, founded in solidarity, while Mbembé's definition seems to be prospective and founded in a common dream to rebuild Africa's dignity and respect in the world.

Is it possible to construct a conception of the African identity by incorporating elements of both these views? If that could be achieved, then the notion of Africanity can be a force for inclusiveness rather than a cause of new forms of elitism and alienation. Such a conception of the African identity will incorporate the important elements of emancipation and decolonisation, as contained in the definition of Mafeje. It will also incorporate the elements of African agency and Africa's common destiny as ensconced in the definition of Mbembé. In this case, the core concerns that would shape such an identity will be solidarity, emancipation, re-humanisation and the collective good. Africanism, theorised in such an inclusionary and focused way, has the potential of becoming a powerful social mechanism with which to propel a unified and coherent process of transformation.

The role of emotional reflexivity has been discussed in Chapter 2. Its importance in rallying people who are emotionally aligned to a common identity, has been established (Goodwin & Jasper, 2006). That means that a broad solidarity by all UCT, can be fostered if a broad African identity can be inculcated in the entire community that make up the institution. When being African is perceived as being born Nguni, then there is no chance of such a broad solidarity. However, when being African means being emotionally aligned with a common recognition and rejection of past injustices inflicted on Africa, and a common passion and desire to undo injustice and build a prosperous Africa, then a broad and powerful solidarity that transcends ethnicity can be effectively fostered. In that case, an inclusive and coherent vision of decolonisation will be possible. This view is also advanced by Mamdani (2001), a longstanding voice against coloniality at UCT and on the African continent broadly.

It is only under such a concept of Africanity and decolonisation that an effective challenge to the structure can be mounted.

Using Archer's conception of Agentic Morphogenesis, the key to UCT's transformation lies in its agents successfully embracing a new and inclusive bundle of ultimate concerns, which will mediate the emergence a decolonised intellectual and cultural socio-cultural structure.

5.4.3 Retaining Institutional Integrity

The challenge facing UCT is to achieve a grand merging of the ultimate concerns of all the people of UCT − founded in a single institutional identity to which the people have an emotional attachment. The preceding proposal of an African identity that is primarily concerned with emancipation, re-humanisation and the collective good, and **not** nativism and ethnic appropriation offers such a pathway. The added challenge is to retain the present material support base, while simultaneously embarking on a mission to transition to an Africanity of being. The way to guarantee that transformation to a transcendent Africanism is by embarking on a collective undertaking that will involve all the players and not just the victims of coloniality.

The most realistic route, if UCT wants to avoid schism, massive disaffection and slow-motion collapse – is to avoid nativism and tokenism. This means that UCT must assume a more challenging posture to irrational and damaging state policies that have the effect of advancing African nativism and white condescension. It means critically engaging the state in respect of policies that convey within them the implication that blackness, womanhood or Africanity are forms of social disability, in need of affirmation. It means ending the damaging process of simplistically defining decolonisation as moving black people into positions being held by whites. Instead, UCT should reinterpret and rewrite the current strategic policy regime in the light of a new unifying non-essentialist and non-ethnic African identity, and restructure job descriptions, evaluation criteria and all other intellectual assets to give expression to that identity.

Prioritising aesthetics and the moving of black bodies into jobs held by whites, amounts to appeasement, co-option and subversion of the real mission of emancipation. It amounts to a betrayal of the mission to free Africa and it will in the end fail to secure general inclusivity. It is within this flawed understanding of the revolution that the following words of a UCT lecturer acquires meaning:

> Only the future will reveal whether the current political navigations will rescue UCT from the ire of revolutionaries without driving it onto the rocks of inadequacy. This peril would not exist if reasoned argument really did guide enough members of the university community

> (Politicsweb, 2015, Final Para.)

In Chapter 1, the fact of UCT's global connectedness as a cornerstone of its success, was mentioned. Retaining UCT's strength and organisational integrity will require that the process of decolonisation of the institution guards this position. It requires a radical attitudinal shift towards serving an African agenda, while drawing and offering intellectual and economic sustenance, globally.

5.4.4 Creating the Conditions for Change at UCT

In this concluding section, I set out the important conditions of change that need to be established in order for social change to be possible at UCT.

The most fundamental condition that must be achieved for change to become possible is a radical change in the attitude of all the actors at UCT away from the victim-patron framing of the emancipatory decolonial programme, towards a social justice humanizing framing of the problem. In terms of the social realist perspective assumed in this research, this emancipatory project – being a project of rehumanizing the dehumanized - integrally involves the awakening of agency borne from a sense of identity at an individual, and also at an institutional level. A victim-patron framing presupposes a black state of inferiority and white state of benevolence outside of a historical framework. Besides being demeaning to the oppressed, the victim-patron framing also skirts the requirement for moral accountability for historical injustices committed. This constitutes the first important condition for change.

A second important condition is for the hitherto areas of the unthinkable in terms of non-western ways of being – found to be the by-product of cultural and intellectual coloniality – must be legitimately introduced for debate and deliberation within the public domain. Such an opening of the intellectual public domain will require a process of overcoming resistance which will require a bridging the hermeneutic gap, as a facilitated catalytic process. Such a bridging of the hermeneutic gap may create conditions what will enable broader and deeper reflexivity to take place within all the agents thereby counteracting resistance borne from partial or fractured reflexivity.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Summary of Research and Findings

The research was designed as a single organisational case study of the University of Cape Town to investigate the problem of coloniality. The problem of institutionalised colonialism has been a central grievance within activist circles. It is also regarded as a causal factor in the destructive conflict which the university experienced in recent years. The singular most disruptive crisis has been the protests over a two-year period from 2015 and into 2017, referred to in the study as Fallism.

The research was based on two questions, each one having a practice-based corollary component. The first question asked was what the nature of social and economic exclusion of students was at UCT and how such exclusion has given rise to Fallism. As an adjunct, a further question was what the features of an institutional decolonial response should be. Research question 2 asked what the nature of cultural and intellectual alienation at UCT was and, additionally how a consolidation of identity between the institution and all the agents could be accomplished, that can energise a unified emancipatory decolonisation project.

Both these research questions have been effectively answered by my study.

For question 1, social and economic coloniality was set out in its detailed elemental structure. This led to the theorising of student secureness as the emotional and cognitive structure, which lay behind the violent Fallist protests. This same structure of student secureness was offered as a mechanism with which to leverage student reflexiveness, agency and engagement within a decolonial mitigation strategy.

The second question was answered by identifying the key elements that constitute the structure intellectual and cultural coloniality. These were used to theorise Cultural Solipsism (CS) as the limiting condition that restrains the university from undertaking a transformation of identity. Decolonising the university was further proposed as entailing a radical identity shift towards and

Africanity of being, where Africanity rejects nativist tendencies while embracing an African solidarity and a common African emancipatory vision.

6.2   Practical Recommendations

In this section, the main findings are summarised along with the implications for practice improvement. The study made findings in two crucial areas of coloniality, namely (1) in its materiality, which relates to the black student body and (2) in its cultural and intellectual impact, which relates to the entire university community.

6.2.1. Practice Recommendations to Mitigate Material Structural Coloniality

In terms of the theory postulated around Student Secureness (see section 4.2), the central finding from this study is that purely material forms of remediation constitute an insufficient and sometimes inappropriate response to the holistic needs of students who lack strong cultural, emotional and social provisioning.   The data in fact shows that even when students came to UCT well-provisioned materially, do they still often still experience a low level of secureness.

The practice implication is that a more complex needs assessment process is required when students enter UCT. Such assessments must take into account their material provisioning as well as their emotional, social and cultural provisioning. In contemplating restorative action, costly professional services may not always be necessary as a first intervention. It was observed in some cases that a good peer support system or a good coaching or mentoring scheme could prevent the deterioration of the student who experience a low level of secureness. An ongoing monitoring system will also be useful to enable to university to detect cases where students experience a loss of secureness due to emerging challenges which they may face at campus.

A pro-active strategy by the university to counteract the adverse social, economic and emotional legacy on students could be to address high-risk behaviour that results from low secureness at the outset as part of the initial orientation of first year students. This will require a study into the patterns

of high-risk behaviour caused by depression and disengagement. It must be emphasised that this recommendation does not relate high risk behaviour to black students, but rather to low secureness – a key causal mechanism identified in the study. No implication is made that privileged students do not engage in high risk behaviour. UCT does however face a serious challenge around student mental well-being – something that is confirmed in official reports (See Item 60).

6.2.2. Practice Recommendations to Reverse Intellectual and Cultural Forms of Coloniality

The central finding in Section 5.2 of this study was that a form unconsciousness of non-Western ways of being is institutionalised within the mindset of key actors at UCT, which is theorised as Western Intellectual and Cultural Solipsism (ICS). The way in which this Western-centric mindset functions as a causal mechanism of cultural and intellectual coloniality has been set out in detail in Chapter 5. Consequently, what has been proposed in Chapter 5 is that, as a very first step, the traditional framing of the problem of dehumanisation and deprivation needs to be intellectually reframed, outside of its present ICS-based Western-centric black victim / white patron framing. This means that the framing of blacks as the needy recipients of empowerment from the established white structure of power, has the effect of muting the moral and legal claim of blacks to restorative justice while also muting the white institutional power structure (not white individuals), of its historic complicity, culpability and its resultant legal obligation to restore past injustices.

The practice implication is that the hermeneutic gap, caused by ICS needs to be bridged. This suggests a process of mass reorientation of all the members of the university community. To maximise buy-in and institutional cohesion, and to prevent narrow white scapegoating and mass disaffection, such a process should take the form of a constructive dialogue, rather than a corporate imposition. A historical contextualisation of black deprivation and white UCT's institutional complicity, including the devastating social, emotional and economic injustices that accompanied it will hopefully be made explicit within UCT through such a free and open process. Such a process

of explicating past institutional complicity should then set the scene for a radical new economic and moral commitment towards restoration by the university – while retaining institutional integrity.

6.2.3. Additional Practical Recommendations, based on the findings

These additional broad recommendations are included, along with references to the relevant sections of this thesis in which they are grounded.

Recommendation	Founding References within this Thesis
1) **UCT must place the common African past of resistance to colonialism and the common African mission to rebuild Africa at the centre of all its knowledge production, curriculum development and teaching activities.**	5.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.4.2
2) **Emancipation must be reconceptualised in terms of social justice and humanism rather than of in terms of commonly adopted notions of empowerment with roots in the west. White paternalism, inherent in policies such as affirmative action, academic support and other black empowerment practices must be replaced by policies that restore black humanity instead of aiming for mere black empowerment. A critique of concepts such as Affirmative Action is not wholly contentious and was in fact advanced from revolutionary thinkers at UCT such as Neville Alexander (See Alexander, 2007). The call to reassess the adequacy of Black Empowerment is therefore not necessarily reactionary. The practice is commonly viewed in a critical**	5.4.1, 4.4 (Introduction paragraph)

light in scholarly literature (Braxton 1993; Efraty et al.,1991; Scheff and Retzinger, 2001). This research and its findings around around Cultural and Intellectual Solipsism, sets the scene for a revision of many common practices in terms of their cultural and intellectual origins.	
3) UCT must be a meritocracy with a demonstrable record of commitment and service to the social and intellectual emancipation of South Africa and Africa being regarded as the highest merit	5.4.3, 5.1.3
4) Traditional African pathways and ideas such as Ubuntu must be absorbed into the fabric of UCT, as the university sustains and grows its global connectedness and relevance.	5.1.1

6.3   Areas of Further Research

An area of further research that was identified in chapter 4 was around the exact way in which social support mediates better reflexivity under conditions where students suffer financial and other forms of pressure at campus. Such an investigation could benefit from an ethnographic investigation in which more qualitative data is obtained on the types of challenges that the student suffers as well as the types of support that the student is able to access.

Another important area of further research is around how to achieve hermeneutic bridging under conditions of epistemic injustice. This corresponds to the findings of Luckett who argues that "decolonizing [the] Humanities curriculum for a post-colonial university should provide students with conceptual tools and methodologies that allow them to challenge, de-centre and deconstruct colonial canons and re-read old texts in new ways. (Luckett, 2016, p. 425). What is needed is

research on incorporating this skill into the curriculum. As a hard skill, this competency will be essential in countering the problem of cultural solipsism that was introduced in chapter 5.

6.4 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The study has benefitted from a greater distance of the researcher from the university but could also have suffered as a result of it.

As a more independent observer, much of the politics normally experienced by an actor in the structure was eliminated and the researcher had to deal only with other forms of biases based in political and social positionalities.

There was the limitation of not being an actor within the institution and possibly overlooking important knowledge that is not explicitly located in recorded documents and other material. To this end however, the limited set of seven interviews, spanning more than seven hours, did serve to ameliorate this problem, and ensured a direct connection with the actors in the institution.

This research also does not regard itself as the last word in the response to (de)coloniality, but rather as a convenient common platform from which to advance a constructive intellectual engagement.

6.5 Original Contributions of the Research

There is the requirement that the study had to produce findings which added to the existing body of knowledge in the chosen topic (Potter, 2006). This research has made original contributions in two areas within the field of higher education research.

Firstly, within the area of student retention and performance, an area of intervention was uncovered which can make a marked contribution to student performance at university. The structure of student secureness, if investigated further can become a good instrument to predict and support student success in conditions where students face inordinate physical and academic challenges.

The second contribution of the research is in the field of institutional governance. The phenomenon of Cultural Solipsism (CS) was identified as a condition that stifles productive action borne from healthy reflexiveness and agency within an institution. This finding be applied to other cultural milieus. Having been a student in a Muslim madrassa[25] environment, I can see clear relevance of ICS and constricted reflexivity within that environment. Failure to identify and remedy the condition can lead to social dissociation amongst the members of the institution and eventually to institutional malaise. For the particular case of UCT, the research made an additional contribution by identifying a possible exit strategy from ICS through the forging of a new transcendent identity based on a shared tradition, a shared vision and shared values.

6.6   Personal Learning and Development

Through the completion of this research I have undergone personal growth and development in three areas − professional, personal and intellectual. I will elaborate briefly on each of these.

Professional

My research required the balancing and negotiation of work and research objectives. My own organisation, Grassroots, which I continued to serve for most of the research period, required my constant involvement. The demanding schedule of Grassroots regularly conflicted with the demands of the research, and I had to become highly adept at planning and prioritising in order to have successfully accomplished my work and research goals.

Personal

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[25] Muslim traditional religious school.

The constant and detailed feedback by my research supervisor served as a valuable opportunity for deep reflection on many aspects of my own character. My bias for restricted reflexivity and even at times, non-reflexive action is probably the greatest aspect of my development. Kahn et al. (2017) in fact point out the problem of restricted reflexivity in online learning programmes, which amounts to the student avoiding the required level of meticulousness, when rushing to accomplish an objective. I believe that the two years of constant writing, evaluation and reflection has instilled a discipline in me in this regard.

Intellectual

My strongest area of growth has been in an intellectual sense. As a result of my assumption of the critical realist paradigm, I was able to also benefit from a much more in depth understanding of the traditional positivist and constructionist paradigms. Consequently, I was able to engage much more independently and broadly with scholarly material for the sake of drawing out meaning. As the references section of this thesis shows, the number of references consulted for this study numbers in excess of 500. That means that I have had 500 opportunities to read, reflect and apply scholarly and other literature in constructive manner. This is an area of learning that will hopefully be of major benefit to the community in which I work.

6.7   Final Reflection – What next?

I sincerely hope that UCT and other institutions will be able to draw some benefit from my years of labour to bring this thesis about.

For UCT and any other institution to benefit from this research, the research will firstly have to be made accessible. This will be done by immediately commencing with the publishing of two journal articles based on this study. The first of these two articles, focusing on intellectual and cultural coloniality is planned to be published in the next six months. The following article, focusing on

student secureness will be published within another six months. Both these articles will benefit from being collaborative team efforts. It is hoped that the research will contribute to student success as well as making a contribution to decolonising the university, in South Africa, and even globally.

To promote the findings of the research, and to build further on the core ideas and approaches developed within it, the establishing of an institute for decolonial thought will also be of great benefit. Since such an institute will further the emancipatory agenda for national higher education, as advanced by the South African government, a funding partnership can be foreseen. I will therefore explore the founding of such an institute by initiating discussions with other relevant stakeholders as well as the Ministry of Higher Education upon successful completion of this thesis.

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ETHICS APPROVAL LETTERS

University of Cape Town

CENTRE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Hoerikwaggo Building, North Lane, Upper Campus
Postal Address: Private Bag Rondebosch 7701
Telephone: (021) 650-5730

11 December 2018

Anwar Shaik
University of Liverpool

Dear Mr. Shaik

A Decolonised UCT: In Search of the High Road

The Research Ethics Committee of the Centre for Higher Education Development has reviewed the documentation you submitted in respect of the above proposed research study.

I am pleased to confirm that the REC has approved the study to proceed on the terms specified in your submissions to the committee. Should the research focus and process change in any substantive way, you are requested to make a new submission to the Committee.

Please note that researchers who wish to access UCT students for research purposes must also apply to the Executive Director, Department of Student Affairs (DSA) using the DSA100 form and those wishing to access UCT staff for research purposes must apply to the Executive Director of Human Resources.

We wish you all the best with the research.

Yours sincerely

Sheena Rughubar-Reddy

Chair, CHED Research Ethics Committee
(on behalf of the Committee)

"Our Mission is to be an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society."

University of Liverpool

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL | ONLINE PROGRAMMES

Dear Anwar Shaik,

I am pleased to inform you that the EdD. Virtual Programme Research Ethics Committee (VPREC) has approved your application for ethical approval for your study. Details and conditions of the approval can be found below.

Sub-Committee:	EdD. Virtual Programme Research Ethics Committee (VPREC)
Review type:	Expedited
PI:	
School:	School of Histories, Languages and Cultures
Title:	In Search of the High Road: Making Sense of the Call to Decolonise the University of Cape Town
First Reviewer:	Dr. Marco Ferreira
Second Reviewer:	Dr. Ellen Boeren
Other members of the Committee	Dr. Lucilla Crosta, Kalman Winston, and Dina Belluigi
Date of Approval:	3rd April 2019

The application was APPROVED subject to the following conditions:

Conditions		
1	Mandatory	M: All serious adverse events must be reported to the VPREC within 24 hours of their occurrence, via the EdD Thesis Primary Supervisor.

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This approval applies for the duration of the research. If it is proposed to extend the duration of the study as specified in the application form, the Sub-Committee should be notified. If it is proposed to make an amendment to the research, you should notify the Sub-Committee by following the Notice of Amendment procedure outlined at http://www.liv.ac.uk/media/livacuk/researchethics/notice%20of%20amendment.doc.

Where your research includes elements that are not conducted in the UK, approval to proceed is further conditional upon a thorough risk assessment of the site and local permission to carry out the research, including, where such a body exists, local research ethics committee approval. No documentation of local permission is required (a) if the researcher will simply be asking organizations to distribute research invitations on the researcher's behalf, or (b) if the researcher is using only public means to identify/contact participants. When medical, educational, or business records are analysed or used to identify potential research participants, the site needs to explicitly approve access to data for research purposes (even if the researcher normally has access to that data to perform his or her job).

Please note that the approval to proceed depends also on research proposal approval.

Kind regards,

Lucilla Crosta

Chair, EdD. VPREC

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Item 18. Knowledge must serve the interests of the majority.

Item 27. Questions, but no answers, about decolonizing South African university curricula - OpEd by Prof Time Crowe.

Item 30. Shedding the colonial curriculum structure by Assoc Prof Suellen Shay, Dean ofthe Centre for Higher Education Development.

Item 33. The challenge of decolonisation UCT's transformation journey.

Item 34. Thinking, researching and writing Africa insights from Nigeria's Tutuola - short artical.

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