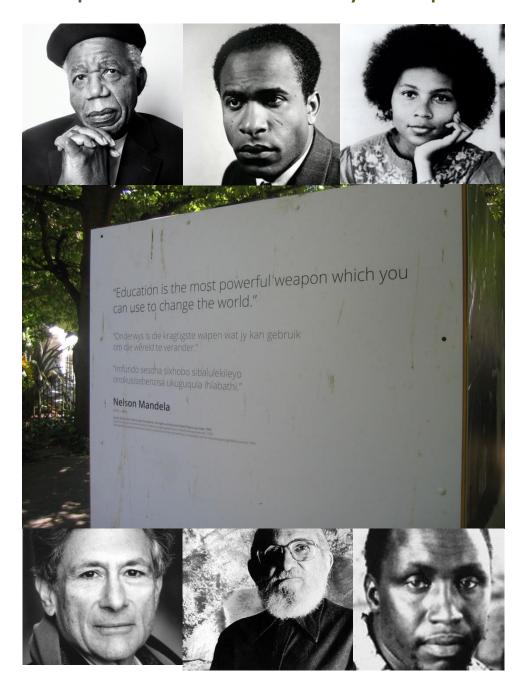# A postcolonial approach on legacies of apartheid in the post-apartheid South Africa university landscape

Master Thesis Research
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Radboud University Nijmegen
Human Geography – Specialization Urban & Cultural Geography
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I

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Legacies of apartheid in a post-apartheid South Africa University Landscape

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Portret of Chinua Achebe (*Source: Literary Arts, n.d.*)
Portret of Frantz Fanon (*Source: Tanoutout, n.d.*)
Portret of Bell Hooks (*Source: Obenson, 2012*)

Cover photo by Lieke Vogels:
View on a pillar in the Company Gardens in Cape Town, with Nelson Mandela's famous statement about the power of education. In the Company Gardens, several pillars are situated with statements from important persons in South Africa's history.

Portret of Edward Said (*Source: Reformancers, n.d.*)
Portret of Paulo Freire (*Source: Education in English (T4), 2010*)
Portret of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (*Source: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, n.d.*)

Preface

From my grandmother's and grandfather's stories, I already knew that South Africa is country with diverse populations and contradictions, which come forward in for example issues on discrimination and stereotypes. But which relations occur between people from such diverse backgrounds? That is a question I was very interested in. Being a student by myself, it seemed interesting to me which relations occur in universities in South Africa. Being a student already makes you having something in common with other students from all over the world. But which are the differences between me and students in South Africa, and how are these differences caused? Being curious about these questions, I made the decision travelling to South Africa to investigate legacies of apartheid in South African universities.

On the 15th of October 2015, when I boarded into the plane with destination ''Johannesburg, South Africa'', I had no idea I would meet so many wonderful people. During my stay in South Africa I met amazing, different persons, who each in their own way, made a contribution to the process of this master thesis research. Although writing a master thesis is an individual task, you cannot accomplish it without being surrounded by other people to inspire you and support you. Without the people that surrounded me in different stages of my research, before, during, and after my trip to South Africa, this thesis wouldn't be the same. Therefore, I want to thank some persons.

Firstly, I want to thank my supervisor dr. Olivier Kramsch for the wonderful insights and support he gave me in this research. Hereby, dr. Kramsch has let me discover the richness of using postcolonial approaches. Although I didn't felt anything for postcolonial approaches in the beginning of my research, his suggestions on postcolonial literature made me find rich and useful approaches for this research. The conversations we had about my research results and especially the role of language in everything in the world, kept me motivated several times in the process.

Secondly, I want to thank dr. Wendy Carvalho-Malekane, my supervisor at my research internship at the University of Pretoria, who gave me a warm welcome at the university. She provided me useful insights on my research, on approaching respondents and conducting the interviews in my research.

Thirdly, I want to thank my family members in South Africa, who I hardly knew before leaving, I only had seen them some several short times when they were visiting the Netherlands. They gave me a warm home, we have built a cozy family relationship. Living in an Afrikaans family for three months gave me useful perspectives on the South African society, which made me better understand respondents' experiences in the higher education system and South Africa as a country. I also want to thank them for showing me around some wonderful places in South Africa, which I, as a tourist or an exchange student, never would have seen. Besides, learning the Afrikaans language, which is originated from the Dutch language, and learning some Dutch words to them gave very funny incidents and stories. Sometimes when I miss South Africa I even secretly listen to TUKS FM radio.

Fourthly, I want to thank all the respondents of my research for their beautiful insights. Especially I want to thank the students for the wonderful conversations, stories, and bringing me in contact with other respondents. It does me good still being in contact with some respondents by Facebook or Whatsapp. I hope to see some of them again in the future.

Fifthly, I want to thank the 3 staff members of the Department of Higher Education and Training for the interviews and the useful background information they gave me.

Sixthly, I want to thank the Scriptieboost week of the Radboud University, and especially the other participants of the week. During the week I met some wonderful people who gave me confidence

and where willing to listen to my whining about my thesis, when my study friends got tired of me whining.

At last, I want to thank my mother, sister, grandmother and grandfather for supporting me in the weekends when I was grumpy, feeling sad, and sometimes not being nice to them. They always stand behind me.

Now it is time to finish this preface and bring you to the master piece of this process, my final master thesis research.

I hope you enjoy reading.

Nijmegen, 1 July 2015
Lieke Vogels

Executive Summary

After the abolishment of the apartheid, South Africa struggles with many tasks, including developing a non-racial higher education system that would be equal, diverse, that would expand access, and whereby the quality of institutions would be improved. Although several policies were set up to transform the higher education system, and there have been some positive outcomes, there are still many problems and struggles. One of the struggles is that divisions of apartheid are still replicated in institutions nowadays. This includes symbols, traditions, behavior, beliefs, discrimination, and high drop-outs. The Rhodes Must Fall Movement has recently shown that students and staff are dissatisfied with the way that such division of apartheid are still visible in universities. In 2010, the Soudien Report came out which has shown that in some universities, there still is some subtle racism and discrimination on other grounds such as gender and disabilities. Besides, the report has shown there is some unequal treatment between staff members and that there are some issues on the language policies. Because of the limitations of the Soudien Report, more academic and individual research was needed to be done on individuals. Thereby, this master thesis research is conducted to investigate those legacies of apartheid in universities.

The purpose of this research is to critically engage with legacies of apartheid that still live on in the university landscape in South Africa, in order to make recommendations to solve the current problems in the post-apartheid higher education system in South Africa. By conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews with students and staff members in the Gauteng region, and with experts on the field of higher education, there is critically engaged with those legacies of apartheid. The findings of this research are order by multiple dimensions of research, and they are explained by the use of a postcolonial approach. The following research question functions as a guidance in this research: *How do legacies of apartheid still live on in the post-apartheid university landscape in South Africa, and how are these legacies contested by students and faculties?*

The first chapter outlines the current debates on the post-apartheid South African higher education system, by explaining the project framework, outlining the context, using policy papers and former research. Hereby the relevance of this research will be addressed. Subsequently, the second chapter elaborates the theoretical framework. Paragraph 2.1 starts by outdrawing Postcolonial theories, emphasizing on echoes if complexities of identity, difference, representations from colonial dominations, discourses, narratives and social practices. Thereby, postcolonial approaches focus on different forms of domination such as cultural, political, economical and ideological power. Thereupon, Edward Said's concept of Orientalism is introduced, which assumes that by processes of othering, identity is socially constructed, whereby this construction takes place by looking to other identities. Hereby, Foucault's discourse concept is used. As a result of othering and the influences of discourses, people develop imaginative geography, often misrepresentations on others. In additions three approaches on the use and impact of language, namely from Frantz Fanon, Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o are introduced. Fanon mostly describes the power of language and the impact of using the native and colonizer's language on people's feelings and identities, while Achebe and wa Thiong'o have different debates what the role of language is, and whether native or colonizer's languages should be used in education. Achebe argues that English as a world language has different accents and pronouncements, student therefore don't need to and should not be able to write English very well, as long as they are able to express themselves well in English. wa Thiong'o argues

that native languages still need to be used in education to carry on local cultures. Hereby, also Frantz Fanon's work on the impacts and ideas of interracial relationships are outlined. Another approach that is introduced in Chapter 2 is Postcolonial Feminism, which argued that in investigating women's struggles, also the influence of race and class need to be taken into consideration. In Chapter 2, also two postcolonial approaches that focus more on the content of education, are discussed. Firstly the work of Crossley & Tikly give critique on using Orientalism and discourse analyses. They say that when discourse analysis is not critically applied, it will result in a homogenization of analysis results, mainly a question of language. They argue Postcolonialism can be used in reconsidering the present context of globalization. Hereby, they focus on the way how the globally spread western form of education and it's hegemony is a result of the successful colonial education that had its origins in the colonial era. They assume those western education forms don't pay much attention to local realities, but that postcolonial education forms pay more attention to former under-researched areas, towards a critical multiculturalism. The approach of Liberation Pedagogy refers to education as a practice of democracy and freedom, universities need to be understood as transformative institutions. Hereby, importance is given to the role of lecturers as cultural workers. Liberation Pedagogy also refer to Bell Hooks, who assumes that knowledge production mainly is executed by white and middle class, which results in the fact that conditions of poor and underprivileged groups are not taken into account. Liberation Pedagogy thus focuses on learning and knowledge production. Paragraph 2.2, Discrimination Criterion and Multiple Dimensions of Research, namely (Teaching and extra provisions; Staffing; Research on universities; Culture, social life and interactions; Non-academic student participation; Sports, living on campus and nightlife; Symbols and traditions; and University policy) are outlined, which serve as a framework to order the research results.

Guided by the in Chapter 3 outlined methodological framework of the single embedded case study, I started doing the interview with students, staff members from three universities in the Gauteng Province, and experts on the field of higher education in South Africa. Hereby, the eight dimensions of research were used to order the research results.

Chapter 4 shows the research results from the interviews with students, which proven that there are still some visible legacies of apartheid on universities. This is underpinned by a number of findings. There is a social divide between students from English classes and students from Afrikaans classes. Hereby, some Afrikaans students feel disadvantaged not all curricula are provided in Afrikaans. Some other students feel insecure and not comfortable in discussions because they don't master the English language that well. Some heated discussions emerge when students don't understand each other's points of view on the subjects. Besides, mostly Western and Eurocentric models and theories are used in lecturing, but students have to apply them on local South African examples. Most students have a normal teaching relationship with their lecturers. Lecturers, to a certain extent, developed into being cultural workers, by encouraging discussions and paying attention to sensitive societal issues. But a some lecturers still have wrong assumptions about students' background because of their color and race. Another legacy of apartheid is that students tend to stick together in cliques with students from the same background, race, language and religion.. This is reflected in friendship groups, group work choice, class compositions, and some friendships in university residences. As a result, students have many prejudices and stereotypes on other students and cliques, but they don't have much experiences of discrimination. Now, cliques are becoming more diverse and overlapping. Also, some students are not very tolerant towards others because they are

steeped in their background ideals, in their comfort zone. For example, interracial dating relationships still are not the norm. Some people behave according to those mindsets. Thereby, race still comes as first. There is not much resistance to those processes and such issues. Hereby, most students are not aware of gender relations, only some female students have struggle for dignity in their study degrees. Disabled students are treated normally and with respect, but they are judged on their capabilities. Mentally disabled students are mostly unknown. For many students, religion is important in their daily life, a part of the student culture on campus. But religion can influence students´ ideological beliefs on for example bi- and homosexuality. Although there is a variety of student societies and community service projects, not many students are involved. Mostly students are only involved in community projects if it is a compulsory part of their study degree. Also not many students are involved in university politics. They have bad attitudes on university politics because many parties are youth divisions of national political parties, thereby seen as race driven. Another legacy of apartheid is the fact that although there are some quotas to promote diversity, university sports , are still racially segregated. There are also quotas in university residences, but there is still a bit sticking together of students from the same language and race. Hereby, there still occur some discriminatory incidences on race and language in university residences. But there are some rules and traditions for the integration, bonding, disciplining of residence students, to teach them loyalty. Those were creating some hierarchies between students and seen as unfair, thereby many of those rules and traditions are now disappearing. That those rules and traditions have persisted so long can be seen as a legacy from apartheid. Besides residences traditions, students only recognize some old statues, buildings, and special Orientation- and RAG-weeks as symbols and traditions. At one of the universities, nightlife facilities are segregated because of music and race, which students feel as uncomfortable since some issues and incidents occur because of the segregation. This can be seen as a legacy of apartheid since people are divided according to their color and race. Because of the drinking culture, sometimes racial ideologies are strengthened, sometimes they disappear on the influence of alcohol. The abovementioned quotas, the access quotas and B-BBEE quotas are causing some debates since they are seen as a reversed form of discrimination. This can be seen as a legacy because still some get the unearned privilege over other students because of race. Also languages policies are causing debates. Students have different views on whether dual language policies are (dis)advantaging English or Afrikaans students. Hereby, it is argued it would be more fair if more South African languages would be provided on institutions. Besides, the universities focus more on academics, research and the international rankings. As a result, students experience the university as becoming too much strict and controlling.

Chapter 5 shows the research results from the interviews with staff members, wherein it was also proven that there still are some visible legacies of apartheid on universities. Also lecturers argue they use mostly Western and Eurocentric models, and applying them on local South African examples. Lecturers can see a legacy of apartheid in that Afrikaans students are less forthcoming in discussions, because they are less forthcoming. English class students are used to a culture of willing to express their opinions, they are more forthcoming in discussions. Another legacy of apartheid they can see in teaching is that in some workgroups there is not much confidence in African students. Lecturers also see some intolerance between students because of the haves and the haves-not. Mostly supporting staff members experience a difference between academic and non-academic staff, they argue academics feel superior over non-academics. But most staff members experience a nice working environment, that has been changing towards being more diverse. The

mindset of staff members have changed, the working culture became more diverse and respectful. They also experience much equal treatments, and mainly equal salaries. But, not all staff members receive as much appreciations for their work. Still, there have been some discriminatory issues on race and language, there are some anti-transformation settlements. Thereby some staff members feel not comfortable in complaining about those issues and they don't dare to stand up. Besides, especially non-academic staff experience not having many job opportunities, partly because of the B-BBEE policy. Those can be seen as legacies of apartheid since not all staff members feel equal. In addition, not many staff members take part in non-academic activities. Only a couple take part in voluntary or compulsory community service projects. Besides, some staff member think the university politics systems should change and focus more on campus matters instead of national politics. Language policies are causing some discussions because not all languages are and can be included. On one university, the dual language policy is seen as counteracting the internationalization of that university. Some institutional working environments are slowly evolving to English. Also the B-BBEE policy raises much discussions, for example whether the quality of employees is going backwards because of the B-BBEE quota. Besides, in one of the universities, alumni still are very powerful because of their financial contributions. Because of the focus on internationalization, curricula have to change every five years and there is more pressure on publishing articles. Hereby there are discussions whether this pressure is disadvantaging teaching.

In Chapter 6, through the lenses of the different postcolonial approaches, several legacies of apartheid can be explained. What can be seen through the lens of postcolonial theories is a divide between Afrikaans and English speaking students. Another experienced domination is the student politics system that is related to national politics. Other legacies through postcolonial theories are that there is still a racial segregation in university sports and sometimes in the nightlife. Besides the mindsets that some people have shown they haven't had a decolonization of the mind. They are still not liberated from old apartheid beliefs, which is influencing their behavior. New powers such as quotas are set up to promote integration but they are seen as a reversed form of discrimination, and therefore a reversed form of apartheid power. Through the lens of Orientalism, and the processes of othering, different apartheid legacies can be explained. Many students still tend to differentiate themselves from students on the base of colors, thereby they have misrepresentations, prejudices and stereotypes on other students. This is reflected in issues in relations in class, in residences and opinions on interracial relationships. These misrepresentations are caused by the fact that some students still are influenced by the same discourses, based on apartheid values. They revolve their identity by sticking together with students that they assume are the same as them. Some students behave according to those misrepresentations. A legacy of apartheid that can be explained through the lens of postcolonial approaches on language is that the divide in different language classes automatically creates a certain divide on race, especially because white Afrikaans students hereby are segregated from other students. Fanon's assumption of the power of language does correspond with the findings in this research, only the languages he assumed giving power hereby do not correspond completely. Following his assumptions, Afrikaans should give people power, but it is the English language that mostly gives power. The use of different languages is not per sé a form of discrimination, but students experience the use sometimes as very unfair. The real unfairness of using certain languages is difficult to decide, because all languages have their own advantages and disadvantages. The discontent about the language policies is also caused by the fact that not many students are aware of the role of different languages, for example how Achebe sees English as a

world language, whereby different accents occur. This results in the resistance against institutional changes into using the English language. This can be seen as a form of carrying on culture, just like wa Thiong'o assumes. But it can be argued that not many staff members are aware of this relation between language and culture. Providing and using all languages would be most justified, this is also claimed by wa Thiong'o, but unfortunately providing all languages is not possible. Through the lens of Frantz Fanon's assumptions on interracial relationships, legacies of apartheid that can be explained are the created ''inferiority of black people and white superiority feelings''. These are created by mostly white parents, in their opinions on interracial relationships. Thus, it can be said that the findings in this research do correspond with Fanon's statements about how people feel when rejected in interracial relationships, but the conditions are different from what Fanon supposes. Not all students on the forehand have the desire of having a relation with someone from a certain race of color. Inferior feelings mostly emerge when students are rejected in interracial relationships. This can also be applied to opinions on bi-/homosexual relations. Through the lens of postcolonial feminism, legacies of apartheid that are still visible are female struggles for dignity, white females feeling unsafe in the nightlife and inferior (group) feelings of black females, with the black face incidence as a good example. These feelings are influenced by race and class. The results linked to Crossley & Tikly show that education models have to a great extent been liberated from apartheid ideologies and thus also legacies. This is shown by the fact that there is much attention now to local realities, in community service projects and practical assignments. Hereby to a great extent the path of historicism can be seen, universities try to develop themselves according to other Western universities, by using mainly Eurocentric models and theories and by the use of the English language. The results linked to Liberation Pedagogy have shown there have been some well transformations such as lecturers transforming into being cultural workers and the increasing attention to local realities. The research results show that now, there is a racial diverse group of knowledge producers, which does not correspond with Bell Hooks' assumptions of knowledge producers mainly being white middle class. But legacies that still can be seen are Afrikaans institutional cultures that are difficult to change, which are influenced by the remaining influence of alumni, and the fact that some marginalized students still are discriminated by other students.

Concluding, it can be said that legacies of apartheid mostlyl live on in people's mind, and to a lesser extent in some institutional structures. Those mindsets change more slowly than institutional structures do. Universities do their best in trying to change legacies of apartheid reflected in institutional structures, but that does not automatically means that people's mindsets will also change that fast. Changing students' and staff's mindsets is a much slower process. Hereby, it needs to be said that the assumption that the students, being in the born-free generation, would be tolerant and havinng a strong belief in democratic values, may seem to be too simply assumed. Not all students are liberated from old beliefs. In addition, transforming institutional structures is a difficult task for universities. Different students and different staff members have different interests when institutions change. The dual language policies and residences spaces are good examples of such different interests for differen students and staff members. Students and staff seem not directly contesting legacies of apartheid. They don't want to pay attention or spend time to discriminatory issues, some of them seem to have a fear of complaining and standing up for themselves.

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Racial terminology used in the South African context

In this master thesis research, different terminologies are used to refer to the backgrounds of the respondents. The racial terminology that is used to describe South African people, are blacks, whites, coloreds and Indians. This terminology is based on the racial classification that was officially used during the apartheid era, and which is still being used today due to the new democratic government that uses these racial categories for policies of redress. By using these terms in this study, it is not a form of supporting or accepting the former racial classification. These terminologies are used because by mentioning respondents' backgrounds, their relations and experiences on different issues can be more clearly understood.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

In this chapter, in section 1.1 there will be drawn a picture on the current developments and literature. In section 1.2 the research objective of this master thesis will be formulated on the basis of the project framework. In section 1.3 the research model will be drawn. In this research model, the research objective and the action components will be shown schematically. In section 1.4 the main question and sub questions of this research will be drawn.

1.1 Project Framework

1.1.1 Rhodes Must Fall

On the 9th of April 2015, the statue of Cecil Rhodes on the University of Cape Town (UCT) was removed. This was a result of the so called Rhodes Must Fall Movement. A student defaced the statue with excrement, and after protest movements, the university decided to remove the statue. The movement fought for the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes on the University of Cape Town (UCT), because the statue was seen as an oppressive symbol that reflected institutional racism and that was showing a lack of institutional transformation. On the Facebook page of Rhodes Must Fall, liked by almost 10.5000 people, it is called ''*A student, staff and worker movement mobilizing against institutional white supremacist capitalist patriarchy for the complete decolonization of UCT''* (''UCT: Rhodes Must Fall'', n.d.) On the home page of the movement, the following description is stated (''Rhodes Must Fall'', n.d.):

> *The Rhodes Must Fall Movement is a collective movement of students and staff members mobilising for direct action against the reality of institutional racism at the University of Cape Town. Formed as a direct result of the Open Air dialogue that took place on Thursday 12th of March at the University of Cape town.*
>
> *The chief focus of this movement is to create avenues for REAL transformation that students and staff alike have been calling for.*
> *Calls that the institution have thus far ignored or silenced.*
>
> *While this movement may have been sparked around the issue of the Rhodes Statue: the existence of the statue is only one aspect of the social injustice of UCT. The fall of 'Rhodes' is symbolic for the inevitable fall of white supremacy and privilege at our campus.*
>
> *UCT students, workers, academics and interested staff members refuse to be alienated in their own university. If the institution will not bring true transformation to us – we will bring it to them.*

Thus, the Rhodes Must Fall Movement fights for further transformation of higher education institutions. Will such issues further emerge at other universities? Are such movements creating solutions or are they further strengthening issues? Why a movement such as Rhodes Must Fall emerged, will be clear at the end of this first chapter.

1.1.2 The apartheid context in South Africa

South Africa is famous for its colonial history and the resulting period of Apartheid between 1948 and 1990. As a result of the colonial history, a policy system of racial segregation arised, whereby the system of apartheid was established. Hereby it was one of the most controversial countries in the world where racial segregation was legalized in a political system (Picard, 2005). According to Foster (2012, p. 2),

> *''under apartheid (which means ''apartness'' in Afrikaans), one's identity was established chiefly on the basis of skin color: you were European (white), Coloured (mixed race), Asian (Indian), or Native (black). The vast majority had been governed, for centuries, by the white minority''*

One of the apartheid policy programs was the racial segregation of the living communities. Hereby racial groups were segregated by their living communities and by different uses of (public) facilities. By the use of several laws the policy of apartheid was conducted. Thus, in the period of the apartheid, spaces were structured and divided. As a result, practices in the everyday life became more difficult (Stevens e.a., 2013). Another program of the apartheid was the Homeland system, a policy to displace certain races to designated areas and then to make them independent. For example, there were ten autonomous territories for the black people, situated on small parts of the land area of South Africa, but they had to house the biggest population part. Often these were poor land areas of low quality, while the white people got the areas of high quality. The white people were favored. Thereby, the black people's South African citizenships were deprived, *''… Africans, who accounted for over 70 per cent of the population, still had no effective political rights in 83 per cent of the country, land that was reserved for whites, (…) Almost half of all South Africans lived below the poverty line, eight million people were totally destitute, and 25 per cent of all households lived on less than half of poverty line income''* (Picard, 2005, p. 4). The big apartheid thus was the main reason for the forced displacements of people. The state-societal relationship remained historically defined, even after the abolishing of the apartheid (Picard, 2005).

The black people in South Africa thus were politically, socially and economically excluded (Picard, 2005). Processes of dispossession and forced displacements did have immense effects on emotional dimensions of remembering the apartheid. Therefore there are issues and problems on the construction of (cultural) identity and the imagining memories of the apartheid (Field, 2012). Thereby there are still *''ongoing struggles for social justice and human rights''* (Field, 2012, p. xv). In South Africa as a transitioning nation, the South African society is searching for spaces to construct identities (Stevens e.a., 2013).

1.1.3 The born-free generation within a democratic South Africa

When apartheid disappeared, the South African society demographically changed. A new generation, after 1994, was born. This generation is called the born-free generation. The born-free generation, containing of almost one-third of the population, *''… is now too young to have any direct memory of race classification, passes, official segregation of churches, schools, residences and interpersonal relationships, the drastic repression of dissidence and resistance, or of the armed resistance and popular struggle against apartheid''* (Mattes, 2012, p. 135). Therefore, it is assumed that the born-free generation does have totally different experiences of the world, opportunities,

infrastructure, society, dominations, relationships, media, education, and access to welfare, than their parents do. Mattes (2012, p. 140)) therefore assumes that the born-free generation *''would have internalised a belief in democracy and embrace democratic values at far higher rates than older generations''.* But since an new economic apartheid developed, the inequalities in South Africa became bigger, and many of the born-free generation experience poverty, unemployment, and unequal access to (higher)education (Mattes, 2012). Students within this study can be considered as being part of the born-free generation

1.1.4 Struggles and developments in Post-apartheid South Africa
By abolishing the apartheid in South-Africa in 1990, the society has been changed. According to the law the racial segregation should have been disappeared (Foster, 2012). Thereby,

''The non-racial government in South Africa faced three tasks in 1994:'' (Picard, 2005, p. 3)
- *the development of a non-racial state and public service, with all of the educational and training implications*
- *the creation of a balance between a private sector that could serve as the engine of growth and a public sector that could meet the country's overwhelming social needs*
- *the creation of a policy-making process that could plan, coordinate and manage economic development into the twenty-first century''* (Picard, 2005, p. 3).

Several policies were set up to accomplish those tasks. But Short after the abolishing of the apartheid, new social struggles emerged. For example struggles against some government policies and implementations, and struggles around challenging local enforcement of politics and repression. It was promised that South-Africa would become nonracial, nonsexist and egalitarian. Still, there are issues on civil rights freedom, (social) exclusion, racism and discrimination. The use of race as a construct still causes strong and anxious sentiments for people (Ballard e.a., 2006; Foster, 2012; Stevens e.a.,2013).

An example of a policy that has gained much critic is the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE), former known as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). The BEE and later B-BBEE were set up to give a form of positive discrimination in the sense that former disadvantaged groups, such as people of color and women, got preference and more advantages in working opportunities. According to the Department of Trade and Industry (2013, p. 7), B-BBEE was set up to make *''… transformation of the South African economy for the majority of its people. It was envisaged that through this economic and socio-economic process, the number of black people who managed, owned and controlled the economy would increase significantly. Furthermore, it was anticipated that this process would lead to a significant reduction in inequalities in society.''.* Critique on the B-BBEE is that it is a form of racial discrimination, since it is more difficult for white people to get jobs, and especially just graduated white people do have less job opportunities than just graduated black people do. Another critic on the B-BBEE is that it almost only focuses on the middle class of the South African economy, and not on the lower class of the economy that is characterized by much poverty. Therefore not all people have access to new opportunities (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013).

The former priorities concerning problems of unemployment, poverty and inequality are further developed into prioritizing national economic development, in which education and training play an

important role and whereby inclusive growth and employment generation are emphasized (Department of Higher Education and training, 2013). Besides the important role in national economic development, ''*quality education is an important right, which plays a vital role in relation to a person's health, quality of life, self-esteem, and the ability of citizens to be actively engaged and empowered*'' (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013, p. 3).

1.1.5 Higher education in post-apartheid South Africa

As mentioned above, by the transfer from apartheid to post-apartheid after 1994, several institutional structures disappeared and new ones, based on new post-apartheid values such as a quest for equity and fairness, emerged. The new democracy guaranteed equal rights for all South Africa's inhabitants. This was also applicable to South Africa's universities, that together form the higher education system. The higher education system had to be reformed to reflect the new democratic values (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2014).

During the apartheid period, there hardly were educational opportunities in South Africa. Almost only the welfare whites did had enough opportunities to attend higher education. This was a result of the Bantu Education Act, whereby the (higher) education system was racially separated. An outcome of the homeland system was the creation of separate homeland universities. These universities were also called historically disadvantaged institutions (HDI's). These HDI's and their professional programs did not had much capacities and were limited, understaffed, undeveloped, fragmented, inefficient and ineffective. These historical developments still have influence in the contemporary situation in South Africa. As a result of the Bantu Education Act and its separate homeland universities, ''*education and training was the biggest challenge to development in post-apartheid South Africa*'' (Picard, 2005, p. 217).

In the post-apartheid higher education system, social and economic challenges arised. There were struggles with curricula, the utopia of ensuring scholarships available for every needy African student, and capacity deficits, also called educational deficits, whereby the equality of opportunity was difficult to improve. According to Picard (2005, p. 219), ''*What was required over the long term was a single, coordinated system of higher education with strategies of human resource development to address historical inequalities and poor quality output*''. The Department of Higher Education and Training (2013) argued that the new higher education system would have to meet the needs of a democratic society. Hereby, unfair discrimination had to decrease and disappear, the access to higher education institutions should expand and the quality of the system as a whole had to be improved. As a result, some basic principles were drawn: ''*democracy, equity, quality, expansion of education and training opportunities, and the integration of education and training*'' (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013, p.1). The ensuing policy instruments hereby are the so called White and Green papers and legislation.

Positive outcomes related to higher education in post-apartheid South Africa
Since the higher education system changed, there have been some positive outcomes. The enrolments of students have rapidly expanded. From 1994 to 2010, black people and woman got better access to universities. The proportion of black students increased from 55% of all students to 80% of all students. The proportion of male students decreased from 55% to 43%. Besides, some institutions qualitatively improved, a process of desegregation developed, and black and female

students got more opportunities (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012;Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013) **.** But a critical point here is that *''while the number of Africans has increased substantially, the level is still smaller than the proportion of Africans in the population. The proportion of males however, has decreased dramatically and must be a cause of some concern if the trend continues''* (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012, p. 37). The South African government wanted and still wants to achieve more diversity in the higher education system, the access to higher education need to be expanded, the equity need to be increased and higher levels of excellence and innovation need to be achieved; *''Expansion is needed, both in terms of numbers of available places, and the types of education and training that are available. There should be greater differentiation and diversity among our institutions in order to provide for the wide variety of need of both students and employers''* (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013, p. 2).

Negative outcomes and challenges related to higher education in post-apartheid South Africa
The changes in the higher education system caused some challenges and problems. Black scholars were still difficult to recruit because the private sector was still financially more attractive, white males were still the most important knowledge producers. Above, there was a lack of capacity, there was an absence of sufficient numbers of professional staff. Another challenge is that there were limited linkages between different higher education institutions. Besides, research production was still low and unequal and the institutional cultures within the higher education system did not change (Jansen, 2004; Picard, 2005).

   An important thing that can be said is that some divisions of the apartheid are still replicated nowadays: *''institutions still bear their racial birthmarks in terms of dominant traditions, symbols and patterns of behaviour that remain distinctive despite the broader changes sweeping in the higher education landscape. These deep-rooted beliefs and behaviours will take some time to change, and compose the subject of several research investigations underway at the time of writing''* (Jansen, 2004, p. 311). That this is still an ongoing problem is demonstrated by the Department of Higher Education and Training (2013, p. 1) arguing that *'' the education system continues to replicate the divisions of the past''.* This is also confirmed by The Department of Higher Education and Training (2012, p. x) that argue that *''the system continues to produce and reproduce gender, class, racial and other inequalities with regard to access to educational opportunities and success''.* Black students on formerly whites-only institutions are still discriminated, and female students are still disadvantaged and intimidated. Also disabled students are discriminated and they have less access opportunities than not disabled students. Poor students still have difficulties with fitting in the former relatively privileged institutions for rich people (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012).

   Another critical point is that because of the lower quality of schoolings in rural areas and township, the group of African students is characterized by high drop-out rates and poor academic performances (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012).

   The former black and rural institutions (former HDI's) are still disadvantaged. They have bad infrastructures, and poorer teaching facilities, low staffing quality, insufficient staff numbers, poorer materials provision, and they are characterized by limited opportunities, compared with urban institutions. There are some inequalities between campuses. They remain underfunded and under-resourced, which results in poor research output levels, low fees, a high rate of non-payment, weak management and governance structures, mismanagement, and at last, in some cases, corruption

(Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012). The university system thus is still not fully differentiated and there are still inequities, due to the diverse histories of the universities.

The Rhodes Must Fall Movement, and the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes from UCT, is a recent example of resistance against dominant powers on universities. Although the removal of the Rhodes statue was a starting point, the movement will go on further mobilizing action against institutional racism and colonial dominations on universities (''Rhodes Must Fall'', n.d.).

1.1.6 The Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (The Soudien Report)

In 2010, the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2010, p. 9), drawn by The Soudien Committee, came out. The report was formed as follow:

> ''In March 2008, the Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, announced the establishment of a Ministerial Committee on Progress Towards Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions to ''*investigate discrimination in public higher education institutions, with a particular focus on racism and to make appropriate recommendations to combat discrimination and to promote social cohesion*'' ''

The Soudien report elaborates on the before mentioned negative outcomes. From the research it was proven that there is still some racial and sexual discrimination on universities in South Africa. These discrimination and racism occur ''*on multiple fronts including research, teaching, students social life, community engagement, informal interactions, recreational, cultural and sporting facilities and settings, as well as at the symbolic level of architecture, signs, flags, songs and traditions*'' (Higher Education South Africa, 2010, p. 11). According to Higher Education South Africa (2010) the report proved that racism on universities mainly occurs in subtle, indirect and subliminal manners. Hereby direct racism manifestations are mainly absent. As a result, indirect manifestations of racism are hard to see by people who do not experience these subtle racism. The mentioned manifestations of discrimination and racism are difficult to identify and measure. As a result, when discrimination and racism are charged, the responses on these charges are very polarized. This causes more incomprehension, pain and humiliation at the victims. Hereby, some institutions do not accept the fully responsiveness to act against discrimination and racism, because they do not perceive discrimination and racism in their institution. Another problem is that there is also still some xenophobia and sexism on universities: ''*woman continue to experience painful exclusion, discrimination, victimization, violence and sexual harassment*'' (Higher Education South Africa, 2010, p. 13). The problems around sexism seem to be forgotten due to the great attention to and emphasis on racism on universities. Also disabled people still have to face with some disadvantages. Many universities are not fully inclusive places for disabled people, in terms of infrastructures and educational structures. There are not enough solutions to problems that disabled people are challenging with.

Some other problems outlined outlined in the report were that at some institutions, there is not enough funding for staff development and salaries. Hereby staff development, especially for female

staff, sometimes is not functioning well (Soudien e.a., 2008, p. 17).It also appeared that black staff members are discriminated and intimidated by white students. Besides, in some institutions, there is not enough residence accommodation for all students, and some are in a poor state of repair. Hereby, there still appears to be racial segregation and discrimination in the admission practices of rooms and in the election process for residence managers (Soudien e.a., 2008, p. 20). A frequent phenomenon in residences is that there is still some blind obedience from junior students to senior students in many residences. This includes encouraging, orientation and citizenship practices.

In addition, in some universities, language policies are causing some problems. In some universities the language policy, whereby English is the main language, is discriminating against some students. Furthermore, there were also found some governance problems. It appeared to be that at some institutions, students do not have the freedom to organize along political lines anymore. Also not every institution does have an Ombudsman, which serves as an office where people can complain about issues on discrimination. A requirement of an ombudsman is that it is independent of the institution.

Another stated problem is the low graduation rates of black students, and to a lesser extent white students. This can explained by the fact that due to socio-economic factors, some students have other jobs alongside their study to support their families. As a result, they are not able to follow full-time basis study programs and thereby fail to succeed. Because of socio-economic factors, not all students can profit from access to universities and provided opportunities, suchs as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), that did not appear to sufficient.

In the report, some limitations on the Soudien research were outlined. The evidence presented in the report is mainly based on submissions of institutional stakeholders and constituencies, official institutional view. In contrast, there were only a small number of individual submissions. It was also stated that students and staff were hardly informed about submissions to the report and of the visits of the Committee to universities and institutions. Hereby, meetings with the committee were limited to ''*the statutorily recognised institutional stakeholders and constituencies''* (Soudien e.a., 2008, p. 12). Not everybody could be heard. therefore more comprehensive and carefully research needs to be done on experiences of individuals. Another stated shortcoming is that the research was not based on academic exercises and therefore cannot be academically judged. Therefore, for this research, it is interesting to precisely investigate individual experiences, since they can challenge the official institutional views. Hereby it is important to investigate expressions and traces of discrimination that are not obvious, and thereby often are forgotten and not be considered as important.

1.1.7 Relevance of the research

Concluding, it can be said although the higher education system already changed in positive ways, some divisions of the apartheid past are still replicated. They are expressed in negative outcomes such as unchanged dominant institutional cultures and traditions, discrimination, racism, inequalities between gender, class and races, intimidation, staff inconsistencies, high drop-out rates and unequal funding.. The higher education system still has to change to make the system more attractive and accessible for the whole society. More than three million people in South Africa are excluded from education and employment, which is a waste of human potential, a sign of serious social instability (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012). This has consequences on both the South African society and the South African economy, and its international position. South Africa only can

develop further into a modern economy when the skills levels will enhance and when high-level research and innovation will be provided. Therefore, a further development of the higher education system is needed (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013). By qualitatively improving the system, the South African society becomes able to achieve more job opportunities. By improving the system, also the quality of the higher education system will improve, which can further develop the international position of South Africa in trade, research and politics. This is important, because higher education is needed ''*in order to fulfil the economic and social goals of participation in an inclusive economy and society*'' (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2014, p. 4). More research on the higher education system is needed because ''*research can make available the evidence on which the department is able to make decisions, review policy and improve upon the system, services and practices*'' (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2014, p. 3).

The Soudien report has been a useful research on problems in the higher education system, whereby recommendations have been made to improve the system. But because of the shortcomings of the report, namely the lack of individual submissions, students and staff who were hardly involved in the research, and the non use of academic exercises, it is particularly important to investigate individual experiences of dominant traditions, unequal processes and treatments, and traces and expressions of discriminations, of both students and staff. These individual experiences are particularly important in investigating the subtle practices of discrimination and former apartheid habits and practices. When these individual experiences are to be heard, some missing links responsible for challenges in the higher education system can be discovered.

In this master thesis research, it is chosen to investigate students and staff living in the Gauteng province. The Gauteng province is known as the academic centre of South Africa, where several higher education institutions are located. In this research, it is chosen to investigate students and staff from the three biggest universities in Gauteng, namely the University of Johannesburg (UJ), the University of Witwatersrand (WITS) and the University of Pretoria (UP).

1.2 – Research Objective

In section 1.1, changes in South Africa's higher education system were mentioned. After the apartheid, there have been some positive but also some negative outcomes and challenges. Although access and opportunities increased, there are still some dominant former apartheid traditions and practices that shape the current landscape of the system, such as reproducing former inequalities, discrimination, racism, intimidation and unequal treatments. Will these challenges remain in the higher education system? Is discrimination of big influence? How do people experience discrimination in higher education institutions? Which relations do students and staff have with each other? What is the role of language in universities? Do students and staff have trust in the higher education system? How do the findings of the report by the Soudien Committee act into practices, at individual experiences?

It is the question to what extent there are still some legacies of apartheid in the university landscape, and how they act into practice. Therefore, it is useful to investigate how students and staff on universities in the Gauteng region experience legacies of apartheid and to what extent these are contested.

These outcomes can be used to make recommendations how to solve current outlined problems in South Africa's Higher Education System. This leads to the following objective of this research:

Objective research:

The objective of this research is to critically engage with legacies of apartheid that still live on in university landscape in South Africa, in order to make recommendations to solve the current problems in the post-apartheid higher education system in South Africa.

To investigate those legacies of apartheid in the university landscape, a framework will be used which separates multiple dimensions of research on the university landscape. In this master thesis research, the dimensions that will be used are Teaching and extra provisions; Staffing; Research on universities; Culture, social life and interactions; Non-academic student participation; Sports, living on campus and nightlife; Symbols and traditions; and University policy. These dimensions will be further explained in Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework.

1.3 – Research Model

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)

Figure 1: Research model

(a)A study on scientific literature on Postcolonial theories and Discrimination deliver (b) the Dimensions of research, whereby legacies of apartheid experienced by students and (non-)academic staff in the Gauteng province can be investigated. By (c) analyzing the data results by using Postcolonial approaches, (d) recommendations can be made to solve current problems in the post-apartheid higher education system in South Africa.

1.4 – Research Question

In this master thesis the legacies of apartheid, and resistance against those legacies, that still live on in post-apartheid university landscape in South Africa, will be investigated. This leads to the following research question of this master thesis:

How do legacies of apartheid still live on in the post-apartheid university landscape in South Africa, and how are these legacies contested by students and faculties?

To answer the abovementioned research question, the following sub questions will be used:
1. How do students perceive legacies of apartheid in the higher education system, and which dimensions of research are remarkable in these perceptions?
2. How do academic staff and non-academic staff perceive legacies of apartheid in the higher education system, and which dimensions of research are remarkable in these perceptions?
3. How do postcolonial theories explain the perceived legacies of apartheid?
4. Which conclusions can be drawn from the explanation by postcolonial theories? Where in the systems are the problems situated?

1.5 Outline of the thesis

In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework that will be used to analyze the research results, will be outlined. The theoretical framework that will be used is Postcolonial theories. Approaches from Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Chinua Achebe, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Postcolonial Feminism, the work of Crossley & Tikly and Liberation pedagogy will be outlined. Later on in Chapter 2, Discrimination criterion and dimensions of research, concepts to order the research results, will be outlined.
In Chapter 3, the Methodology of this research will be outlined. This chapter consists of the research strategy, the research material, and the analysis methods. In Chapter 4, students' experiences on legacies of apartheid will be explained. Hereby, the in Chapter 2 outlined dimensions of research will be used to order the research results. In Chapter 5, staff members' experiences on legacies of apartheid will be explained. Also hereby, the in Chapter 2 outlined dimensions of research will be used to order the research results. In Chapter 6, the founded research results will be explained and analyzed by the in Chapter 2 outlined theoretical approaches on Postcolonial theories. The theories and concepts that will be used are Postcolonial theories, Orientalism, Postcolonial approaches on language, Frantz Fanon's work on interracial relationships, Postcolonial feminism, the work of Crossley & Tikly, and Liberation pedagogy. In Chapter 7, the conclusion, the research question will be answered. Hereby, a theoretical debate on postcolonial approaches will be outlined. Later on in Chapter 7, recommendations will be done to solve current problems in the post-apartheid South African higher education system. Thereby, a critical reflection on this research will be given.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework

The research question, formulated in paragraph 1.4, consists of a number of terms. These terms will be explained in paragraph 2.1 to clarify their meaning and relationships. In paragraph 2.2, Discrimination Criterion and Multiple Dimensions of research, to investigate legacies of apartheid, are outlined. In paragraph 2.3, relationships between concepts and theories will be explained. In paragraph 2.4, the conceptual model will be drawn. This model represents a schematic view of the concepts and theories set out in section 2.1 and 2.2.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Postcolonial theories

Another set of theories that can be used to analyze legacies of apartheid and expressions of discrimination are postcolonial theories. In literature, postcolonial theories are presented in different ways. The origins of postcolonial theories were in the middle part of the twentieth century, when there were many anti-colonial struggles against formal European territorial control. Postcolonial theories emphasize on complexities of identity, difference and representation under colonialism, and their echoes in the postcolonial period, after formal independence. In colonized spaces, cultural power was a tool to control and dominate subordinated populations. The traditions of the colonial, non-western cultures were denigrated, and the culture of the western cultures was presented as superior. An emphasis presented in Aitkin & Valentine on postcolonialism is that ''*the formal end of European colonialism would not necessarily mean the end of colonial forms of power''* (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006, p. 147). Crossly & Tikly (2004) are supporting this by arguing that after the formal end of colonialism, there still were and are some political and economical dominations in former colonies. Hereby, Aitkin & Valentine call a decolonization of the mind, which means ''*the mind is concerned with working through the embedded modes of reasoning, thinking, and evaluating that secrete assumptions about privilege, normality, and superiority''* (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006 , p. 147). Besides, the work of Frantz Fanon (1967; 1991) is mentioned wherein Fanon states that the First World had built its wealth, culture and civilization by exploiting non-West, Third World societies. Thus, he said that the ''*First World was, in fact, the product of the Third World'* (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006, p. 148). The view of Europe as the core region of world history, whereby other areas have to process in a single path of development, modernization, in the same way as Europe, is called historicism. And making doubts about the legacies of this historicism, is the main challenge of postcolonial thinkers (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006). Lavia & Mahlomaholo (2012) argue that postcolonial theory can be used to analyze how discourses, narratives and social practices reflect differences occurred as a result of ideological influences.

According to Schech & Haggis (2000) postcolonial theory refers to the view that Western colonialism was the obscure side of modernity. Hereby, the Western colonizers were distributing ideological constructions of the non-West as being traditional, barbaric and ignorant. As opposed, the West was seen as modern, civilized and enlightened. This is also applied in Edward Said's concept of orientalism, which will be explained in the next section. It can be said that during the apartheid period, these two views were officially applied by law. The white people were seen as modern, civilized and enlightened, while the black people and other groups were seen as traditional and barbaric. In South Africa, during the apartheid, the culture of the whites was an instrument of

domination, the traditions of the black Africans hereby were denigrated. The culture of the whites was seen as superior over the culture of the black Africans. The whites were the group of society which to judge other groups of society

Schech & Haggis argue that the way in which postcolonialism is interpreted depends on the way it is used. Hereby, they distinguish five elements, namely ''*1. The study and analysis of European territorial conquests; 2. The institutions of European colonialisms, 3. The discursive operations of empire; 4. The subject construction in colonial discourse; and 5. Resistances to colonialism*'' (Schech & Haggis, 2000, p. 67-70). An element of these that can be used in analyzing data in this master thesis research is 1. The study and analysis of European territorial conquests. This element can be used to reflect how the apartheid period influenced cultural change among the South African society in the apartheid period. And to what extent the post-apartheid period has been able and succeeded to change culture in the South African society since the abolishing of the apartheid. A university landscape is a good example of a space where a cultural change might come. Such cultural changes are reflected by signs, metaphors and narratives (Schech & Haggis, 2000). Another element that can be used in this master thesis research is 2. The institutions of European colonialisms. Schech & Haggis (2000) argue that colonizers established many institutions in colonial territories to reflect structures of meaning. In the apartheid period in South Africa, institutions with apartheid powers were established, such as the higher education system, that was racially separated. In the post-apartheid period, these institutions were changed to reflect non-apartheid powers. It is the question to what extent the higher education institutions in post-apartheid South Africa have managed to transform from institutions with apartheid powers to institutions with non-apartheid powers.

2.1.2 Orientalism

Orientalism, by Edward Said is a postcolonial approach that can be used in this master thesis research. This approach assumes that ''*western conceptions of identity, culture, and civilization have historically been built on the projection of images of the non-West, and specifically of images of the so-called 'Orient'* '' (Aitken & Valentine, 2006, p. 149). Hereby, he used the term process of othering, which assumes that identity is socially constructed, whereby this construction takes place by looking to other identities. Hereby, certain groups look at each other and identify themselves with certain groups and differentiate themselves from certain other groups. This process of identity construction is closed, as a result it is therefore assumed that identities are presented as if they were natural. In contrary, the relational construction of identities, assumes that the identity of the self and/of the community, is confirmed by non-identities, which mean that elements considering the role of others, are excluded. This relational construction of identities ''*presents identity formation as a process of controlling boundaries and maintaining the territorial integrity of communities or selves*'' (Aitken & Valentine, 2006, p. 150). An advantage of Said's theory is the use of the concept of discourse, written by Michel Foucault. The concept of discourse can be used in explaining cultural power in colonies dominated by the West. Foucault thought ''*that ideas and images were not free-standing, but were part of whole systems of institutionalized knowledge production, through which people and organizations learnt to engage with the world around them*'' (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006, p. 150). In colonial areas this meant that several forms of institutions presented several forms on knowledge, which were responsible for the produced representation of the non-West. These were presented and constructed in colonial subjectivities in literature, theatre, science, maps, novels, poetry. According to Said, these were forms of imaginative geography, that often were

misrepresentations. By applying Orientalism and discourse analysis on the data find in this research, relations between (groups of) students and (non)-academic staff can be investigated, and it can be explained how legacies of apartheid are still present in the post-apartheid South African University landscape.

2.1.3 Postcolonial approaches on language: Frantz Fanon, Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

Frantz Fanon

A postcolonial approach that can be used in this master thesis is the approach on language presented by Frantz Fanon in his book Black Skins, White Masks. This book ''*is an analysis of the impact of racism on the subjective identities of both dominant and subordinated groups''* (Aitken & Valentine, 2006, p. 148). In the first chapter of his book, *The negro and language*, he tells about negro's in the Antilles that are confronted by using native language, French language, or pidgin language. Thereby, he assumes that some of the experiences are also applicable to other regions in the world. In the chapter, he described that black people will be proportionally whiter if their mastery of the language that white people use become better. He said that ''*mastery of language affords remarkable power''* (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 9). Hereby it is assumed that mastering the language of the (former colonial) dominations, the civilizing nation, can open previously closed doors to success. Therefore it sometimes happened that black people who mastered the language were feared. When looking at such language problems, Fanon referred to Professor D. Westerman who claimed that ''*the Negroes' inferiority complex is particularly intensified among the most educated, who must struggle with it unceasingly''* (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 14). They constantly have to behave and go with the culture of the whites. Hereby there can be thought of clothes that have to be worn, European furniture, using European language etcetera. These behaviors are used because the high educated blacks must feel equal with European people and their achievements. High educated blacks writing and talking in their dialect languages are a rarity. This also comes forward to black students from the Antilles who go to Paris to study. They have the choice of standing with the white world, and speak the French language, or to reject Europe, and writing and talking in dialect language among other black Antillean students. Students who choose the last often are accused of self-aggrandizement. It is interesting to investigate if this example is also present at South African universities, since students from the formerly inferior, oppressed groups of black people meet students from the formerly white, dominant groups of white people. In the first chapter, Fanon also described actions that made black people angry, such as white man considering blacks as other people, talking to them like talking to young children, whispering and smirking, considering black people as having no culture and civilization, and having the absence of a long historical past. It seems that fixed concepts of the Negro have been developed. As a result, black people just want to prove they are in possession of these. They also made black people angry by talking in pidgin-language to them, which makes black people feel classified, imprisoned, primitive and decivilized. Fanon compares this to the way how we talk down to old people in dementia, speaking simple and easy language, adjusting language on the capabilities of the people in dementia. Fanon states that black people can also feel this way when other talk pidgin-language to them. Another thing to which Fanon several times returned was the fact that a negro who went to France came back and spoke the French language very well, at the expense of his original language, the dialect, which he understands to a lesser extent. Above that, Fanon stated that such a returning person ''*adopts a critical attitude towards his compatriots''* (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 13). It then can be said that such a

returning person is dislocated and separated from his origins. Fanon understands this by arguing that such returning persons want to emphasize the occurred rupture. According to him, the so-called climbers did forgot who they were, in contrast to those who remembered their origins. Hereby, it can be said that *''to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture''*, that is the power of language (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 25). Using Frantz Fanon's work on language can help to investigate how students and (non-)academic staff experience language relations in higher education, and whether they feel advantaged or disadvantaged by (not) mastering a language of medium.

Chinua Achebe

Chinua Achebe (2006) writes about the use of the native and/or hegemonic colonizer languages in Africa. He argues that in many countries in Africa, and thus in South Africa, national literature is written in English because those nations were created when they were colonized by the British. Because African countries previously consisted of several tribes and populations, the colonizers' language was given whereby those tribes and populations became able to talk to each other in the same language, it brought them together. This is also confirmed by Braj B. Kachru, who argues that the colonial English was used as non-native language to connect different tribes and populations and to create administrative cohesiveness. Still, English in South Africa is a non-native language and worldwide English is the language for administrative cohesiveness. English as a language has what Kachru (2005, p. 273) calls a neutrality since it *''is not associated with any religious or ethnic faction''*. Worldwide English has gain new power since it is easy to transmute. Thereby English now has many cross-cultural contexts and languages. The Netherlands as the first colonial power and the British as the second colonial power respectively gave the from the Dutch emerged Afrikaans language and the English language to the tribes and populations in South Africa (Achebe, 2006). During the apartheid era the Afrikaans language was the dominant language. After apartheid, English became the dominant language. But the question is, can native Africans express themselves well enough in English? Achebe illustrates this discussion with a beautiful statement:

''my answer to the question *Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing?* is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask*: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker?* I should say, I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so. The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use'' (Achebe, 2006, p. 433).

The question is if African students and Afrikaans students can express themselves well in English and what determines whether they are able to express themselves well in English. Hereby, it is the question how they feel about their mastery of the English language, which effects does it has for South Africans on universities.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2006) is elaborating on this discussion by questioning whether African writers, and thus students, should write in their own native language or in the hegemonic language of the colonizers and/or the dominators. wa Thiong'o argues using the hegemonic language will take native populations further away from themselves and their worlds. Hereby he shows the dual character of language as being *''both means of communication and a carrier of* culture'' (wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 439). Hereby, culture and language can be seen as almost indistinguishable from each other, since

culture reflects communication between people. The mental universe of people needed to be controlled during apartheid, hereby language was used. As a result, people were ''*exposed exclusively to a culture that was a product of a world external to*'' the self (wa Thiong'o, 2006. p. 443). Thereby they saw the world through the culture of the hegemonic language. Everything was seen and mirrored from Europe as the centre. Hereby, native languages were identified as being of low status. Then, '' *the negative image becomes internalised and it affects their cultural and even political choices in ordinary living*'' (wa Thiong'o, 2006p. 444).

But the native languages managed to live on. wa Thiong'o (2006, p. 447) argues that the languages ''*were kept alive by the peasantry. The peasantry saw no contradiction between speaking their own mother-tongues and belonging to a larger national or continental geography. (…) No, the peasantry had no complexes about their languages and the cultures they carried!*''. wa Thiong'o hereby mentions Obi Wali, who argues that English as the medium for educated African writers is wrong, and that Africans should write their literature in native African languages to let live on African literature and culture. wa Thiong'o also mentions David Diop, who sees English during hegemonic periods as ''*a matter of temporary historical necessity*'' (wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 449)

As a result, wa Thiong'o decided to write again in his own native language. He wanted children to be educated with awareness for their local native languages and cultures. He wanted them to transcend colonial alienation. This ''*starts with a deliberate disassociation of the language of conceptualisation, of thinking, of formal education, of mental development, from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community*'' (wa Thiong'o, 2006, p.451)

In this research, it is the question to what extent wa Thiongo's experiences of alienating from and eventually retrieving native languages is the case in the South African higher education system. During apartheid Afrikaans was the dominant language, also in higher education. But after abolishing of the apartheid, the English language returned as almost mainly being the dominant language in higher education. Thus, the higher education system until now witnessed several dominations whereby there were two different dominant languages in higher education: Afrikaans and English.

2.1.4 Frantz Fanon's work on interracial relationships
In the second chapter of the book, *The woman of color and the white man,* Fanon describes relations between colored women and white men. Colored women often see white men as lords, superior, rich, powerful. Therefore many colored women are dreaming of marrying a white man. Some of these women are bleaching themselves, they want to turn white, and do not want to marry a colored man. There is an image of white men that colored man cannot meet, colored man have been made inferior. They are not recognized and their potentials are not seen. Colored men therefore often are alienated. This results in the fact that colored men often are trying to discard their own individualities. Fanon (1952, 1986, p. 42) also states that ''*the negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation*''. In chapter 3, *The man of color and the white woman,* Fanon argues that colored man often did not have the dream of marrying a white woman. This was rarely the case, only when there was true love. It is interesting to investigate how students in the Gauteng province thinks about such interracial relationships.

The work of Frantz Fanon can be used in this master thesis research to investigate and explain impacts of racism, and interpersonal relations between people from formerly, during the apartheid separated, societies

2.1.5 Postcolonial feminism

Another postcolonial approach that can be used in analyzing data in this master thesis research is postcolonial feminism. Postcolonial feminists argue that there is a dominant Western feminist discourse which ignores class and race in the discourse view on the woman. Postcolonial feminism can be used in understanding the struggles of woman in postcolonial societies. Examples of such struggles are struggles for freedom, for the same civic rights as men, and struggles for dignity (Nanda, 2006). In Schech & Haggis (2000) the work of Mohanty (1991) is mentioned, which argues that in the western feminist discourse *''the educated, modern, liberated individual who has escaped the bonds of tradition''* (Schech & Haggis, 2000, p. 102) is too much emphasized in postcolonial feminists views. Too little emphasis is on the influence of class and race on the woman. According to Sa'ar (2005, p. 683) postcolonial feminism is ''*making feminism relevant to women of marginalized, colonized, and otherwise oppressed categories''.* Making relevance between Postcolonialism and feminism, and thus postcolonial feminism, can be useful used in understanding local discourses. Hereby, a post-apartheid university landscape is an example of a local discourse. Narayan (1998) claims that woman are generalized in culture-specific essentialist ways, which results in the fact that culture is often blamed for problems within societies. For example, woman in the Islam, under Taliban regime in Afghanistan, wearing a veil are seen as oppressed, under control and submissive because the Taliban uses it as control of women, while in other Islam countries there are many woman who voluntary choose to wear a veil. By using theories of postcolonial feminism, experiences woman at the disadvantage of discrimination and gender, can be declared. In this research, postcolonial feminism can be used to investigate perceived gender relations.

2.1.6 Crossley & Tikly (2004)

Crossley & Tikly (2004) give critique on using orientalism and discourse analyses. They say that when discourse analysis is not critically applied, it will result in a homogenization of analysis results. This leads in an image of ''*discourse as simply a question of language and interpretation and allow little scope for the emergence of alternative perspectives and of resistance to dominant narratives''* (Crossly & Tikly, 2004, p. 152). They argue for other postcolonial approaches on education. According to them, recently, postcolonialism can be used in reconsidering the present context of globalization. Hereby, postcolonialism draws on thoughts of poststructuralism and postmodernism. Topics arising from this that can be used in this master thesis research are impacts of race, culture, class, gender, language, and struggles for acknowledging of people's rights. For example, they refer to the English , global, European language that now is the most often conducted language in higher education systems worldwide. They argue that the globally spread western form of education and it's hegemony is a result of the successful colonial education that had its origins in the colonial era. It is an interesting issue to investigate whether the South African higher education system is dominated by the western form education and the use of the English language. Crossly & Tikly also argue that many education systems based on the western values remain elitist, hardly pay attention to local realities, and are in contradiction with local values and beliefs. As a result, people still are divided according to their ethnicity, gender and class. Hereby, Crossley & Tikly pay attention to the worldwide spreading of western consumer cultures. In this master thesis, it is the question to what

extent western, colonial forms of education are present in the higher education system, and how this has been perceived and experienced. Besides, it is also interesting to investigate to what extent postcolonial approaches on education are present in the system. Postcolonial approaches focus more on former under-researched areas, they give critique on theoretical frameworks and perspectives, they use discourse analyses to investigate how racialized and stereotyped identities were constructed. Crossly & Tikly (2004, p. 151) explain that

 ''a consistent theme of the postcolonial literature on education has been to work towards a 'critical multiculturalism' that aims to represent the diversity of postcolonial societies (both in Europe and the former colonized countries) whilst simultaneously challenging a fixed and essentialized view of culture and of cultural identities that characterized the colonial mindset''

Hereby, postcolonial theories on education argue for the disappearing of racial inferiorities, biological racism and cultural racism, and new research methodologies emerged whereby native cultures and previously marginalized individuals, societies and their experiences can be investigated. A difficult contradiction that emerged in postcolonial theories on education is whether global and/or local languages should be used.

2.1.7 Liberation Pedagogy

In Lavia & Mahlomaholo (2012) the concept of Liberation Pedagogy is used. This concept refers to education as a practice of democracy and freedom. It can be used as ''*a critical analysis of practice and an understanding of dominant hegemonic ways of educating''* (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012, p. 49). The approach is also seen as way of emancipating for the powerless an marginalized. Hereby it can be investigated to what extent some groups are still discriminated in the South African higher education system. This can be done by investigating hegemonic thinking, post-colonial lenses in higher education systems. Lavia & Mahlomaholo (2012, p. 50) attach importance ''t*o the Freirean concept of teachers as cultural workers, agreeing that practice is implicated historically, socially, and culturally, and that such implications are constructed through intensions, interpretations, and relationships''*. As a result, in the apartheid period education was constituted according the domination of Western knowledge. After the apartheid was abolished, the higher education system changed, but still there are tendencies which form the higher education system at the disadvantage of the emancipation process. Therefore, it is important that dominant practices and persistence of hegemonic rules in the higher education system need to be reinvestigated. When using liberation pedagogy, it is important to understand education as a transformative institution. Therefore it is important to investigate to what extent imperialist values and historical conditions are still present in the system, and what the role of lecturers is in higher education since they play an important role in higher education as they are assumed to be cultural workers. Lavia & Mahlomaholo argue that liberation pedagogy is enclosed by discourses of postcolonial theory, and that ''*it is a way of thinking about, negotiating, and transforming teaching and learning, the production of knowledge, the social and material relations, and the social standing of the wider community, society, and nation''* (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012, p. 51). Lavia & Mahlomaholo also refer to the work of Bell Hooks, in which it is argued that knowledge production mainly is executed by white and middle class, which results in the fact that conditions of poor and underprivileged groups are not been taken into account. During the apartheid, traditional values were banished from the higher education system. Nowadays, returning these values in the system is an important challenge. People engaged in the higher education system

such as students, lecturers, researchers, other staff etcetera are important in knowledge production and social change. The concept of liberation pedagogy thus can be used in investigating teaching, learning, knowledge production, relations and attentions to society related issues in the post-apartheid higher education system, and what the role of (non)-academic staff is in the system.

2.2 Discrimination criterion and dimensions of research

In this research, postcolonial theories, Orientalism, postcolonial approaches on language, the work of Frantz Fanon on interracial relationships, postcolonial feminism, the work of Crossley & Tikly and Liberation pedagogy will be used to explain legacies of apartheid in the post-apartheid South Africa Higher Education system. To further explain those legacies, Discrimination Criterion and 8 Dimensions of research will be used. They will serve as an analytical framework. In 2.2.1, Discrimination Criteria will be outlined. The eight Dimensions of research will be outlined in 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Discrimination criterion

Discrimination is a term that is worldwide known and used, but in many different ways. One definition of discrimination is ''*the practice of ideas and beliefs that had the effect of sustaining unearned privilege and disadvantage, and of impeding groups or individuals from performing to their full potential*'' (Soudien e.a., 2008, p. 24). According to this definition, individuals or groups can be disadvantaged, whereby they are not able to perform their potentials. They can also suffer from physical and mental damage. Physical damage for example occurs when minority groups have less access to health care, and the health care they receive is of low quality. Mental damage occurs when discrimination leads to unhappiness, depressions, threat to personal identity, low self-esteem, stress, psychological symptoms and not being satisfied with your life. Besides, experiencing discrimination is also of influence on performance evaluations, thereby it can cause cultural mistrust and avoidance, which can cause disturbed interpersonal interactions. In addition, it can be said that experiencing discrimination and feelings of being a victim can increase individuals to identification with certain groups. As a result, people who experience higher group identity are less impacted by discrimination (Nelson, 2009)

Experiencing discrimination does have several characteristics. The first of them is that experiencing discrimination is subjective, and therefore sometimes difficult to establish with certainty. The factors which make individuals feeling as victims of discrimination are difficult to identify. Therefore, it is important to understand perceptions, attributions and responses of people feeling victims of discrimination. Perceptions of discrimination refer to the level and frequency of discrimination. Attributions to discrimination are about explaining of discrimination. Besides, attributions do exist of ''*(a) a judgment that treatment was based on social identity or group membership, and (b) a judgment that treatment was unjust or undeserved*'' (Nelson, 2009, p. 90). Responses of discrimination refer to the way in which victims respond to discrimination events and what the consequences are in their behavior. For example many individuals do not report discrimination because they have the feeling of being viewed as troublemakers of whiners and of presenting a wrong impression on others.

Another characteristic of discrimination is that a distinction has to be made between fair discrimination and unfair discrimination. The difference between is two is to what extent they are reasonable and justified. For example positive discrimination is justified when it is aimed at redress. An example of negative discrimination is the abovementioned example of blacks who did not have access to some universities because of their ethnicity, skin color and social origin. The apartheid mainly was characterized by racial discrimination, whereby race was the separation framework, an ideological analytical category for social, economic and political relation (Soudien e.a., 2008).

In addition, several forms of discrimination can be distinguished. In the HESA's Section Position Paper on the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, the following forms of discrimination were assumed: ''*discrimination on grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy status, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth*'' (Higher Education South Africa, 2010, p. 9). These forms of discrimination are commonly known because they are prototype forms of discrimination, and therefore some discrimination events are easy recognized and labeled, because they fit in with the prototypes. Hereby comes the fact that prototypes of discrimination often present discrimination as an intergroup phenomenon, which therefore also creates prototype targets of discrimination. In addition, when discrimination in a certain event or situation are known, it is likely that more people experience negative outcomes of discrimination. Hereby, victims tend to compare their experiences of discrimination to other's or group's experiences of discrimination. This is also called social comparison information (Nelson, 2009). In this master thesis research, it is interesting to investigate which of the abovementioned forms of discrimination turn out to be remarkably and which other unknown forms come to the fore.

Hereby, group identification is also important in investigating experiences of discrimination. If someone identifies itself highly with some group, it is more likely that negative group-related experiences are considered as self-relevant. Besides, group identification can serve as a resource (Nelson, 2009).

Racial discrimination
South Africa is famous for its racial segregation during the apartheid period. Nowadays, racial segregation is official no longer an issue, bit is still experienced. Nelson (2009) uses the term of race-based rejection sensitivity. This term refers to the way in which some people fearful have a clue, easy observe and deeply respond to a rejection that maybe is made on the basis of race. It is important to take the race-based rejection sensitivity into account cause it can explain and declare some experiences of discrimination, since racial discrimination has been the most important issue in the South African history during and after the apartheid. Another fact which critically have to be considered in investigating discrimination is the fact that some individuals are overestimating discrimination they experience. As a result, they see prejudice as inevitable. Besides, some individuals are overly alert on signs of discrimination to defend themselves (Nelson, 2009). If the conditions are not taken into account, research results can be interpreted unilaterally.

2.2.2 Dimensions of research
In the Sector Position Paper on the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in South Africa's Public Higher Education Institutions, written by Higher Education South Africa (HESA), it is mentioned that social cohesion and ''*a climate of inclusivity can only be built by paying attention on multiple fronts including research, teaching, student social life, community engagement, informal interactions, recreational, cultural and sporting facilities and settings, as well as the symbolic level of architecture, signs, flags, songs and traditions*'' (Higher Education South Africa, p. 11). Some of the abovementioned dimensions, in some cases combined, can serve as an analytical framework to investigate legacies of apartheid that students and staff experience. These dimensions can be further explained and their

importance can be claimed by using other literature and the above used literature on discrimination and Post colonialism. It needs to be said that the dimensions used in this research do not stand on their own and will have elements that are overlapping in other fronts of research. In this research, the following dimensions will be used:

1.Teaching and extra provisions

The first dimension is teaching and students provisions. This dimension contains issues on teaching on universities. Important elements in this dimensions are methods of teaching and curricula, and whether students and staff think that curricula are based upon Eurocentric or Afrocentric knowledge. Nowadays, education models are borrowed from Western democratic countries, but it is not considered whether these models are suitable for the current situation in South Africa (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012). It must be taken into account whether curricula are international and/or local orientated, to what extent South Africa's history and transition process is taken into account and in which way universities reflect social diversity in practice (Cross, 2004). Hereby, it is important to investigate whether community service projects are compulsory, and what their opinion on this is, since community service projects can give students a stronger feeling of social responsibility and civic engagement (Winter e.a., 2006). It has to be investigated how students, staff and experts think about the provided courses, level of education, assessment frameworks, the amount of individual and/or group work, and how groups are made. Also relations between students and staff need to be investigated. This contains to experiences of whether there is space for discussions, feedback, openness, view on issues, concepts, input, critique and if students are equally treated (Cross, 2004).

Another important aspect in teaching is language. In many higher education institutions in South Africa, English is the main language. Students who do not master the English language very well can be disadvantaged in doing a study, since mastering the main language gives some power (Fanon, 1952, 1986). As a result of language policies, language problems can occur. It is important to investigate how students and staff experience such language problems.

The role of lecturers is also an important aspect in teaching. It is important to investigate how students and lecturers think about relations between students and lecturers. Here, there can be thought of openness of both student and lecturer, communication between them, whether lecturers are radiating moral agencies, the way in which lectures draw attention to unjust practices, dialogue, reflection and whether they act as cultural workers (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012). Besides, it is important to investigate staff experiences of discrimination, since black lecturers often are discriminated by white students (Soudien e.a., 2008).

Also extra provisions form an interesting topic of research. It needs to investigated how students and staff experience student and staff provisions, personal attention to individuals, counselors and mentors.

2.Staffing

The second dimension of research, staffing, is concerned with staff on universities. This includes both academic and non-academic staff. The dimension is about experiences of staff concerning their role in the university landscape, their functioning, workload, division of labor, salaries, opportunities in higher level jobs and promotions. Hereby, it is important to investigate their interpersonal relations with other colleagues, feelings of belonging, inclusion/exclusion, (un)equal treatment between staff, bullying, language problems, racism and satisfaction with the working- and institutional environment (Soudien e.a., 2008). Besides, differences between male and female staff

members need to be taken into account, especially differences in salaries, bullying, and working opportunities, because of *"the impact of child-rearing in interrupting academic careers"* (Soudien e.a., 2008, p. 57). It is also interesting to investigate cultures of silence and fear of victimization, whether staff members dare to stand up for themselves when problems occur (Soudien e.a., 2008).

3.Research on universities

The third dimension of research is research on universities. It should be investigated how people think of the research on universities. Hereby, it should be investigated what experiences are on purposes and focus of research on universities in South Africa, how choices for certain research is made, to what extent there are partners research and collaboration projects, how research is linked to practice, business and industry, who are sponsoring research etcetera (Winter e.a., 2006).

4.Culture, social life and interactions

The fourth dimension front of research is Culture, social life and interactions. This includes experiences of discrimination, prejudices and stereotypes concerning the social life on the university. How people from different backgrounds, races and languages interact. Hereby, it should be investigated to what extent the social life on the university landscape is characterized by *"issues of tolerance, inclusion, access, and structural inequities"* and how this is perceived by students and staff in interactions (Cross, 2004, p. 391). Thereby, it is interesting to investigate how students experience different cultural practices, and how they make friends on university, where they identify themselves and others with, whether they feel they belong, and which language is used in interactions. Because universities have a great influence in the socialization of students, they can foster students in their moral and civic principles. Important hereby are people attitudes on bi-/homosexuality, sexual cultures, interracial relationships and disabled students. Besides, the role of religion needs to be investigated, since it is also known that sexual rights can compete with conceptions of religion, since sexual rights sometimes cause a backlash from religious leaders. This is also called faith-based conservatism (Robins, 2008). The research results need to be linked to a group or person's characteristics such as age, gender, race, culture, sexual orientation, disabilities, religion, socio-economic status, social and physical origins, political preference, etcetera (Cross, 2004).

5. Non-academic student participation

The fifth dimension is Non-academic student participation. Universities also provide institutions and activities. Students can be involved in students societies and organizations, student politics, and community engagement. Student organizations and societies and unions *" provide students with opportunities for political participation, as well as lobbying for and supporting equity measures on campuses, including healthcare, sports and recreation, and anti-discrimination policies"* (Winter e.a., 2006, p. 220). It should be asked whether and why students are (not) involved and how they experience such students societies. The (financial) accessibility of societies hereby is an interesting topic. Another interesting topic that needs to be investigated is the student politics. In some universities, student politics are strongly presented and thereby have an influence on students. Therefore it should be investigated which parties are provided and how they operate within university campuses. Besides, it is interesting to investigate whether and why students are (not) involved in university politics. Hereby, it needs to be investigated which capabilities, allowances and responsibilities political parties on universities have(Jansen, 2004).It is important to investigate to

what extent students are involved in community work projects, whether as a volunteer or as a compulsory part of the study program. Community service projects can give students a stronger feeling of social responsibility and civic engagement. Because Winter e.a., 2006, p. 223) argue that ''*Through strategies such as community partnerships, consultation, and facilitation,(…) , universities make tangible contributions to the communities around them, and thus to the public good*'' (Winter e.a., 2006, p. 223), it should be asked to what extent students think they contribute to the communities.

6. Sports, living on campus and nightlife

The sixth dimension of research is Sports, living on campus and nightlife. On university campuses, there is also some space for recreations. Students meet each other in study landscapes, parties, celebrations, cultural events, special lectures, canteens, study trips, debate clubs, writing clubs, theatre clubs, singing clubs, workshops etcetera (Cross, 2004). It needs to be investigated how students and staff experience interpersonal relations in such facilities. A first subject within this dimension is university sports. During the apartheid era, also sports were racially segregated. After abolishing the apartheid, it was mentioned that sports not needed to be racially segregated anymore. But still blacks didn't had the same opportunities as white people to participate in sports, due to a lack of money and a lack of facilities. Hereby, questions on instituting quota's emerged, since people experienced them as being unfair, they experienced preferences ''*exclusively on grounds of race with no consideration being given to 'merit ' ''* (Long & Spracklen, 2011, p. 61). Hereby, it need to be investigated to what extent these problems are existing in the university landscape, and how students and other persons involved in university sports experience this.
A second subject within this dimension is living on campus. This concerns issues on access to university residences, services, application processes, room allocations. It needs to be investigated how students experience living in residences, since some residences are characterized by strong historical traditions and some blind obedience from junior students to senior students. This includes encouraging, orientation and citizenship practices (Soudien e.a., 2008). A third subject within this dimension is how students experience the students nightlife. Which clubs, pubs and bars are provided and where do they go to? Which relations occur in such places? How do people treat each other in such places? To what extent are those places racially segregated?

7. Symbols and tradition

The seventh dimension is Symbols and traditions. According to Williams (1988). Traditions are expressed by practices, customs, opinions, beliefs in literature, in scholarly writings, political discourses, shared identities and cultural practices (Schech & Haggis, 2000). During the apartheid period, many traditions of the suppressed blacks, colored and Indians did not fit the emerging hegemonic in South Africa. According to Firth (1973) symbols can refer to objects, persons, actions and relationships. As a result, they are of influence in ordering and interpreting realities. Every university is characterized by a set of symbols and traditions. In the university landscape, products of symbols thus can be architectures, statues, artworks, flags, signs, emblems, stories, norms, values, music anthems, inspiring persons, holidays, celebrations, official matters, graduation ceremonies, guided behavior, etcetera. Symbols can be analyzed by looking at their (non)verbal aspects, by investigating whether they are standard or incidental, by investigating whether they are referred to certain groups, by looking at symbolic language and behavior, and by investigating their links to social forms and social values (Firth, 1973). It needs to be investigated how these symbols and

traditions have been changed over time, regarding South Africa's apartheid history. Then it needs to be investigated how students and staff interpret and experiences these symbols and traditions. Attention need to paid to symbols and traditions in campus residences, since some university residences are characterized by strong historical traditions (Soudien e.a., 2008).

8. University policy

Universities do have different policies for students, staff and facilities. Policies on race and gender equity are often characterized by quota (Soudien e.a., 2008). It should be investigated to what extent students and staff experience such policies and quota, and what their opinion on these policies are. Another important topic is the medium of language in the universities. Some universities have a multilingual medium of language, some other only have English as the medium of language. Experiences on language are very important since (not) mastering a certain language can affect students' achievements, interactions and can cause language problems (Soudien e.a.,2008; Fanon, 1952, 1986). It needs to be investigated how students and staff experience language policies on universities. Besides, it is known that in many universities there has been a shift from learning and personal development to a stronger focus on research (Winter e.a., 2006). It needs to be investigated how students and staff experience these focuses.

2.3 Relationships between concepts and theories

The concepts and theories explained in this research have certain relationships with each other. The postcolonial theories, with Orientalism, Postcolonial approaches on language, the work of Frantz Fanon, Postcolonial feminism, the work of Crossley & Tikly and Liberation Pedagogy, can explain legacies of apartheid in the university landscape.

Hereby, the concept of discrimination is an important criterion for assessing unjust social relations. The dimensions of research (Teaching and extra provisions; Staffing; Research on universities; Culture, social life and interactions; Non-academic student participation; Sports, living on campus and nightlife; Symbols and traditions; and University policy) are serving as a framework to order and better understand the data that will be generated. By using this framework it will become clear which of the dimensions of research are most characterized by legacies of apartheid and discrimination. This framework hereby can show which subtle, obvious forms of discrimination are still present in a post-apartheid South Africa university landscape. The combination of the abovementioned concepts and theories form a stable unit in this master thesis research.

2.4 Conceptual Model

The concepts and theories mentioned in Paragraph 2.1 and 2.2, and their assumed relationships, are shown in the following conceptual model:

Figure 2: Conceptual Model

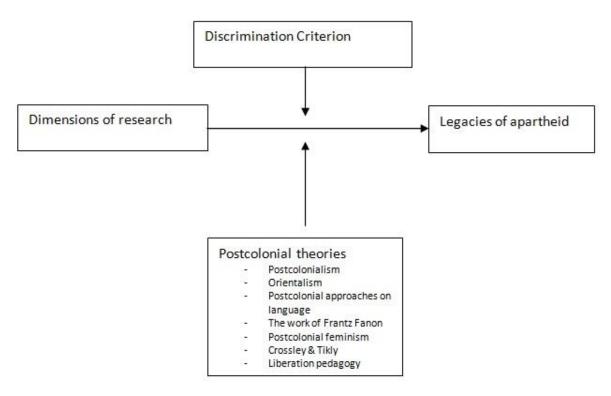In this conceptual model, it shown that findings of the research divided into the dimensions of research will show some legacies of apartheid. Hereby, it is assumed that experiences of discrimination will have a certain role in these legacies of apartheid in the post-apartheid university landscape in South Africa. The founded legacies of apartheid can be further explained by using the Postcolonial theories.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Research strategy

Methodology

In this master thesis research, it is expected to investigate legacies of apartheid that students and staff on universities experience. Therefore a research strategy has to be chosen. A research strategy can be seen as a chosen way in which the research will be conducted. At first, this research will be a profound research. A profound research is needed because hereby, legacies of apartheid and experiences of discrimination can be investigated in all their aspects. Details and complexity are reached, and a strong foundation can be realized. A width research is not suitable since it cannot be used to investigate why people have some experiences. As a result of choosing a profound research, a qualifying approach will be used. A qualifying approach is an interpreting, deductive and contemplative approach. By doing a qualitative research, perceptions of people can be closely investigated. A quantitative strategy is not suitable for this research since a quantitative strategy is more about counting an calculating. Choosing for a profound and qualitative approach leads into the choice for doing a practical research, whereby the data will be collected by doing work in the field. These self collected data then will be analyzed (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

Considering the choices for doing a profound, qualitative and practical research, doing a case study is the best strategy for this master thesis research. Creswell (2007, p. 73) defines case study as

''a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes''.

A case study thus is an empirical research, whereby in this master thesis research it is attempted to profoundly investigate some single research object, case. A case study is able to achieve a complete image of some object. One of the characteristics of a case study is that it contains of a small number of research units. These research units together form the case of the research (Creswell, 2007). Research data of the case will be compared to each other. Hereby, labor intensive generating of data is required to perform an in-depth research, and there will be a triangulation of methods (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

Yin (2009, p. 18) argues for a more comprehensive, twofold definition of case study, namely

'' 1. 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 (…) 2. The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis''

Yin (2003) thus also attaches importance to the real-life contest, less evident boundaries between phenomenon and context, and on benefiting of theoretical propositions. Yin also mentions that doing a case study is an appropriate way of doing research when a researcher does not has or has little control over the phenomenon, contemporary sets of events that are being investigated. In addition, Yin argues that doing a case study is suitable when the researchers wants to explain causal links.

In this master thesis research, it is chosen to do a single embedded case study. The case consists of students and (non)academic staff living in the Gauteng province. The sub units of the case are students and non-academic staff from the University of Pretoria, the University of Johannesburg and the University of Witwatersrand. Hereby these sub units are chosen as the case to illustrate the issue of legacies of apartheid in the higher education system in the Gauteng Province. The students and (non-)academic staff in the Gauteng region are appropriate to the research problem. The outcomes of this case study is assumed to be informative about other legacies of apartheid and experiences of discrimination in the higher education system in South Africa. A pitfall of doing a single embedded case study is that there will be too much focus on the sub units, and not on the case as a whole. Then research is not done at the level of the original case, what than happens ''*is that the original phenomenon of interest (..) has become the context and not the target of study''* (Yin, 2009, p. 52).

In doing a single embedded case study, multiple sources of information will be used. In this region, students from the three universities will be interviewed. Also some (non)-academic staff on universities and experts on the field of (discrimination in) higher education institutions will be interviewed, which can serve as explanatory background information (Yin, 2009). This means that there will be made use of open (face-to-face) semi-structured interviews with students, (non)-academic staff and experts, and duo interviews with students.

Figure 3: South Africa: Within the red circle, the Gauteng Province is illustrated. (*Source: Google Maps, 2015)*

The interviews will be done in informal places, like some study cafés, to create an informal setting to make respondents feel comfortable. In this research, the respondents of the open (face-to-face) semi-structured interviews and duo-interview will be strategically chosen, and by snowballing. The research question determines the selection of the respondents, because hereby most appropriate respondents can be selected to achieve most qualitative research results (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

Besides, some policy documents and some previous studies will be studied as they can function as some starting point. These policy documents describe different changes in the higher education system last years, and they describe specified future policy on the higher education system in South Africa. Examples of policy documents and previous studies are the Green Paper For Post-School Education and Training: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened (2012), the White Paper for Post-school Education and Training, Building an expanded, effective and integrated post-school system (2013), the Research Agenda 2014-2017: Draft for Discussion (2014) and Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and the Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008).

3.2 Research material

Objects of research

According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007), two forms of information can be distinguished. The first one is data sources, which refer to characteristics that the objects within this research do have. If persons are the objects of research, data sources contain emotions, traces, feelings, experiences, facts. Hereby it is important to take into account some background characteristics of the research objects, such as age, sex, education etcetera. The second form of information is knowledge sources, such as theories and profound insights. These knowledge sources which will be confronted to each other to generate similarities and differences between knowledge sources. Hereby conclusions are drawn (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

To generate data and knowledge in this research, the objects of research need to be determined. In this master thesis research, the objects of research will be people; persons; students and (non)-academic staff on the three universities in the Gauteng region, and experts on the field of higher education in South Africa. These students can provide attitudes, experiences, feelings, interests, perceptions of behavior and emotions. Also background information such as sex, race, age, social origins etcetera can have an important role in this research. These students serve as respondents. The (non)-academic staff and experts on the field can provide knowledge about processes, challenges and previous research on the higher education system. This also applies to policy makers, who can functions as giving knowledge on current, former and future policies on the higher education system. Examples are staff members of the Department of Higher Education and Training. Besides, researchers can function as giving knowledge from an earlier studies on the same subject. The students, staff and experts thus provide a variety of information. Besides, they are steerable in order to get the best possible answers to the research questions (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007), using persons as data resources can have some disadvantages. In this research, there are also some disadvantages of using persons as data resources. The first is that investigating legacies of apartheid can be very sensitive to some people, whereby they maybe do not like to talk about. A result can be that research questions will not fully be answered. Besides, the sensibility of the subject can also lead to receiving highly subjective colored answers. In contrast, another possibility can be that respondents are not really aware enough about discrimination in higher education.

Other objects of research in this master thesis research will be the study of documents, and in this case some policy documents and previous studies. Advantages of the study of documents is that there is a variety of documents, and that they are available in large amounts. Besides, they are durable, which means they can be used endlessly (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Examples are the in 3.1 mentioned Green Paper For Post-School Education and Training: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened (2012), the White Paper for Post-school Education and Training, Building an expanded, effective and integrated post-school system (2013), the Research Agenda 2014-2017: Draft for Discussion (2014) and Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and the Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008). These documents have served as knowledge sources, background information on several developments in the history of the higher education system in South Africa, and can be used as

some starting points for designing this research. Some documents are scientific papers, other are not.

Interrogation of persons

Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007) describe different variants of interrogations. The first one, surveys; written surveys and verbal surveys (face-to-face or by telephone) are not appropriated for this research because surveys are pre-structured, respondents are not able to give open answers in surveys. Since this research is about legacies of apartheid and experiences of discrimination, closed questions and answers, and thus surveys, are not suitable. The second one, interviews; phone interviews and face-to-face interviews (individual or in groups) are often only consisting of a list of topics, whereby interactions between the researcher and the respondent or expert are possible. Also body language can help in further develop the interview (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

In this research, semi-structured face-to-face interviews are most suitable. This is because individual respondents can tell more about their feelings and experiences, whereby their body language is an important source of investigating their feelings and interpreting respondents answers. Disadvantages of semi-structured face-to-face interviews are that the behavior of respondents is difficult, almost impossible to understand, the possibility of obtaining socially desirable answers and the limited view on respondents' physical and social environments (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). In this research, some interviews have been done by using the video application of Skype. This is chosen because of the big distance, it was not possible to meet all respondents in real life. Advantages of using Skype is that it has low costs, that it is easy to schedule a time for a Skype interview, that face-to-face interaction remained possible to a certain extent, and that it is easy to record a Skype interview (Hanna, 2012). Because not all respondents do have access to good internet connections, some interviews have been done by email. Advantages of doing email interviews is that the respondent is able to respond in his or her own time and setting, that it gives them a longer time to reflect on topics whereby the quality of the interview can be improved, and that doings interviews by email a sense of anonymity is created (Give, 2008). Disadvantages of doing email interviews is that there is no face-to-face contact, that there is no space for direct interaction between interviewer and respondent, and that anonymity can develop false representations (Give, 2008).

Another variant of the interview is doing group interviews. In this research, group interviews are of great value because group respondents can react to each other answers and stories, hereby new discussions and opinions arised, whereby respondents became able to see some legacies of apartheid from other points of view. Hereby, new relations and phenomena came to the fore. A disadvantage of doing a group interview can be that some dominant respondents in the group interview can create an uncritical group opinion (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). There have been done two group interviews amongst students.

In this master thesis research, 22 students, 8 (non-)academic staff people and 4 experts have been interviewed.

3.3 Analysis methods

The interviews have been recorded and have been written out, unless one respondent who didn't wanted the interview to be recorded. Notes have been made during that interview. The data results have been analyzed by subdividing the results in the already mentioned dimensions of research, namely

1. Teaching and extra provisions
2. Staffing
3. Research on universities
4. Culture, social life and interactions
5. Non-academic student participation
6. Sports, living on campus and nightlife
7. Symbols and traditions
8. University policy

The subdivision of data results is not hierarchically, some data results can be put in different dimensions, and data results in different dimensions can overlap with each other.

To analyze the data results, the computer program of Atlas.ti is used. This program is useful in analyzing the interviews that have been written out in text by the researchers. The text can be organized by using codes, memos and family codes in Atlas.ti. Also visual data files can be organized and analyzed by using codes and memos. Then these memos, codes and family codes can be compared to each other (Creswell, 2007). Because almost all interviews in this research have been written out, Atlas.ti is a useful program in organizing and analyzing data results.

A useful perspective used in analyzing the data is phenomenology. Phenomenology can be used to describe subjective meanings of some experiences of people on one or more certain phenomena: ''*a phenomenological study describes the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon''* (Cresswel, 2007, p. 57). Hereby, it is about common experiences of individuals. From these common experiences, a universal essence can be drawn: *''the basic purpose of phenomenology is to reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence''* (Creswell, 2007, p. 58). Phenomenology is a useful perspective in this master thesis research since legacies of apartheid can be investigated for both students and staff on a post-apartheid university landscape. It can be investigated to what extent the individual experiences correspond and differ from each other.

The findings of this research are subdivided in the above mentioned dimensions of research. Then, these subdivided findings have been compared to each other and analyzed by the concepts and theories drawn in Chapter 2. By using the analysis results there will be given an answer on the main question of this master thesis research.

Chapter 4 – Students' experiences on legacies of apartheid in the post-apartheid South African university landscape

In this chapter, students' experiences on legacies of apartheid will be explained. As explained in Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework, different dimensions of research will be used as a framework to clarify results in this thesis. For the research group of students, the dimensions that will be used are Teaching and extra provisions; Culture, Social life and interactions; Non-academic students participation; Sports, living on campus and recreation; Symbols and traditions; and University policy. At the end of this chapter, noteworthy significant findings will be outlined.

4.1 Teaching and extra provisions

Language
As already mentioned in this thesis, South Africa has eleven official languages. On the universities in the Gauteng region, the medium of language is English. In some institutions,, for some courses students have the choice between English or Afrikaans as the medium of language. Hereby, some classes are divided in English classes and Afrikaans classes, some classes are mixed. This language policy is causing some problems, discussions and a language barriers occurs. Because of the divide in English and Afrikaans classes, a gap between students is created. Some students think the medium of language choice is fair, others think it is unfair that not more languages are provided. On the contrary there are arguments that English should be the medium of language, since English is a world language, and that students hardly are disadvantaged by the use of the English language since almost all students had English as the first or second language when they were in high school. Thereby almost all students speak English.

In those separated language classes, problems occur when the wrong language is used in for example lecturing, group presentations, exam hall procedures, evaluation forms, bilingual test papers, when Afrikaans lecturers don't use the English language very well, and when students have to work in groups. The use of the wrong language can make students feel very disadvantaged. For example because some students feel that students who master both English and Afrikaans are advantaged because they better understand and interpret exam questions, whereby they are advantaged in answering exam questions. A student gives an interesting examples of such issues:

Annika (White, Afrikaans, Supply Management): [1]*In each module, they give out these forms and you evaluate the lecturer, like anonymously. And the lecturer accidentally gave, the class in English, pretty accidentally giving the Afrikaans ones, so then we just got one of the Afrikaans girls to translate it. But one of the English guys in our class, got so upset and he was arguing with the lecturer and saying, how can he give us the Afrikaans ones, we don't understand, it is not fair, and he was getting upset in front of everyone in class. Just because, even there was the girl translating it. So a lot of English people, are against Afrikaans, people in class.*

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[1] Because of the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents, all names in this master thesis have been replaced by fictitious names. Although all students speak English, it chosen to mention their background and their native language.

Above it is argued that Afrikaans students feel disadvantaged not all courses are offered in Afrikaans, because they struggle with English. Also some students with other African mother tongues or other languages feel disadvantaged because they are struggling with the English language. Because of the diversity of students in some classes, students have different accents and pronouncements. As a result, many of them don't feel comfortable in asking or answering questions and in participating in discussions. One student gives an example of her friends struggling with language:

Annika (White, Afrikaans, Supply Management): A lot of my friends that are Afrikaans, they struggle with English. So all the other subjects that they have in Afrikaans, they are fine with. But they struggle with the main subject because everything is in English, and a lot of the words, they might not now. Or if the lecturer asks them a question they don't have an answer to it. If they answer in Afrikaans, the rest of the class gets angry because they don't know what they are saying.

Another phenomenon deriving from the choice between English and Afrikaans is that it is creating a divide between students. It is argued that the Afrikaans classes are filled with only white students, while the English classes are filled by a mixed diversity of students from different races and backgrounds. This divide has several effects in the way students are behaving when going to classes. For example Afrikaans students who follow English classes on top of Afrikaans classes because in English classes there are more and diverse debates than in Afrikaans classes, and students who find themselves in the wrong classes:

Chryx (White, Mozambican, Finances): We all have a course, Accounting at 10.30, but Afrikaans classes at the one side of the quarter and English classes of the other side of the quarter. And sometimes you get confused with which one is which. This is what the funny part is. You know when you are in the wrong class if you walk in and all you see is white people.

Theories, models and teaching method
For each study degree it is different whether Eurocentric or Afrocentric models and theories are used. Beta degrees almost only make use of technical models and theories. Many students don't know where these models come from, some argue these are world models. In Alpha degrees students argue there is pretty much made use of Eurocentric theories, and not much Afrocentric theories. When South African theories and models are used, these are theories and models developed by lecturers, thereby the books from the lecturers are used. For example in some modules there is a half-half divide by using books from lecturers from the university and international recognized books from the USA or from the UK. When Eurocentric andWestern models and theories are used, mostly American and English study books are used. Students then have to South Africanize Eurocentric and Western models and theories by practicing and applying them on local examples, companies, problems in the South African society, and the South African economy. Examples of such practical assignments are starting your own company, visiting companies and governments, doing assignments for municipalities, real life projects and drawings In some courses. Some students have to apply Eurocentric and Western models and theories in the international context, for example by comparing countries.

Most students are satisfied with the way of teaching whereby Eurocentric and Western models and theories are used, and whereby they have to practice them on South African, local examples. Some

students argue they would like to have more practical assignments and examples. A couple of students are not satisfied with this way of teaching:

Lizzy (White, English, Sociology): I find we are more Eurocentric, which annoys me, from honest. Like lately we've been doing some Afrocentric stuff. Recently we were doing things on population,(…), Culture of Consumption. There were a few readings on Zambia and South Africa, and apartheid wise.
Brianna (White, English, Sociology): But all first of the readings are mostly American or European. I think mostly American, to be honest. So that's quite irritating. Because when you get Americans coming into third world countries and they write all this rubbish. I mean there is this one reading on the whole of Africa. (…). And they basically did this whole reading on the whole of the African continent. They just made assumptions. There is this environmental change that is happening ,and Egypt. And then they say this happens all over Africa, and we're sitting there like, this isn't happening in all of Africa, this never happens. That's quite irritating.
Lizzy: And for Sociology, we learn all the theorist, we learn Marx, doing common, which is all not African. I think that it would be really nice if we could learn more about South African people, African background. Politics as well, we do learn a lot of stuff like about what's happening in Africa, and whatever, but for me, I don't know.
Brianna: I think it's very Eurocentric and Westernized, I think on the things, especially in Philosophy, it is a lot of Westernization. (…)
Lizzy: Well, we often, at most of our assignments, are always to do with South Africa, so it is weird then. Because you have to relate all readings or whatever you've learnt, on something that is happening here. Which doesn't always work.
Brianna: But I think with basic theories, like a Karl Marx theory, you can sort of base that on anything, so with the basically theorists of Sociology, Philosophy or Politics, it makes sense. And I think it is quite, well I love making it relative to way we are and how it affects us more that, obviously that makes sense, because we see it every day.

Interesting is the argument that some students can refer used theories and models to their own experiences of the South African society. Thabo (Black, Zulu & Xhosa, International Relations) illustrates this:

This is this one made up village, called Libertaria, and everyone there was free. The book we were reading, by Steven Lukes, was referring to a whole city, state which functions on purely liberal ideas, and a liberal way of life where an emphasis was placed on individual human rights. It reminded me a lot of South Africa, in the sense that everyone is free but everyone had nothing, most of the people had nothing. A few people had a lot of things, most people had nothing, and everyone is losing their jobs because the inconvenient freedom, supposedly. This one lady in Libertaria was recording of how she was walking to the streets and it was dirty, I thought it sounds like home. But everyone is free, everyone had equal rights, but the people couldn't afford anything. I'm like, that was quite interesting

Lecturers
Most students experience just a normal teaching relationship with their lecturers, they are satisfied. They give the argument their lecturers are just open and professional, and do a good job, that all students are equally treated and that there is the tendency of you get what you put in. Besides, they

give arguments they only have more intensive relations with their tutors or their supervisors. Not many students have had bad relationships or experiences with their lecturers. On the contrary some students had bad experiences with their lecturers, or think they have a lack of passion for their job. Because of his visual impairment, for one student it is difficult to understand figures and images, and some books. He argues that some lecturers ignore him, then don't want to help him and do not try to do their best to understand him. Other lecturers are understandable, they did their research before and are improving adapting, for example they give him the slides of the lectures before the lecture. Another argument is that some students experience that lecturers don't help with problems in group work. Besides, negative experiences are that some lecturers have a personal preference of some students over other students, on the base of personalities. Hereby those lecturers have closer relationships with students they like more. Two female students illustrate this:

Kiara (Indian, English, Architecture): I think it has a lot to do with what type of personalities they like. I don't like that idea very much. Because I know, I had problem with one of my lecturers, because I don't think he liked me. So he wouldn't come and give me help when he gave everyone else. And I would notice it, but I think it just had to with the fact that he didn't liked my personality, or something. I don't think it had anything to do with anything else. Or I hope. And I think, because they all have strong personalities, that if they don't click with you, or some people, and that is not fair, but I mean, that is people.

Carly (White, Afrikaans, Social Work): There are cases obviously where certain people are single out and put down. But I think generally it is more the certain students that are the lecturers' pets, and who suck up to the lecturers and have those personal, where the lecturers sort of assumes that these are the favorites, these are the ones who are going to do well, if they complain about other people, then the lecturers become very hostile towards those people. Which I think is very unprofessional.

With regards to class discussions, it is very dependent on the lecturer whether there are much discussions in class. Some lecturers are not encouraging discussions and are avoiding sensitive issues, while others do encourage, they even give students marks for participating in discussions. Hereby, many students argue that lecturers need to be open and neutral in discussions, and that they have to be careful with what they say. Some lecturers are putting in own experiences and conventions to trigger discussions. They let discussions happen, but when there are first signs of arguing, many lecturers cut people of in discussions. Some students argue that hereby lecturers have never been discriminative or racist in discussions.

Language is also a factor that can play a role when students have bad experiences with lecturers. Even lecturers sometimes struggle with the language they are using. Mostly mentioned are Afrikaans lecturers who struggle with English, lecturers who are switching between English and Afrikaans, and lecturers in English classes that make jokes in Afrikaans, that are not understood by all students. On the contrary, interestingly Chryx (White, Mozambiquan, Portuguese), a Finance student, argues it is more important that lecturers can explain things well:

Because I'm not a English speaking person, I think it is completely acceptable if a lecturer walks in and he doesn't have a British accent, or he or she don't have the best English with them.(…) Obviously sometimes it will be more difficult, but I don't find myself in a position to judge. Because if people say

to lecturers if you are going to teach us, at least know how you need to speak. Which I don't agree with. I think, you need to be able to teach, and you need to be able to have the ability to explain properly. Whether with an accent or without an accent. And you need to have knowledge of the subject, and you need to like what you are doing.

Another student gave an example of an issue that emerged when students were making fun of a lecturer's pronouncements of some English words:

Nikhaile (Colored, English, Law): This year, there was a new lecturer. (...) She is a black lecturer, black lady. She has a black accent. What happened is, these two white girls were discussing the way she pronounces a particular word, I think the word is patent. She was pronouncing it in a way they found amusing, they were discussing it amongst themselves. I don't know what exactly was said, but one of the black girls that was sitting in front of them, turned back and said, we all understand what she is saying, there is no need to mark it, because she is well-educated, she is qualified for this and she knows what she is talking about. Then it was alleged that one of the girls said, you are necessary black bitch, then the girl heard this. Then she confronted them about it, and later on, after the lecture, it turned into a physical altercation. This is what was said and reported in our news paper. But one of my friends was in the lecture at the time. He knows and he heard there was something going on. But that was the only racially motivated incident that I have seen.

When lecturers assume students to be from a certain background, negative experiences emerge:

Annika (White, Afrikaans, Supply Management): I had a lecturer last year, and it was in the Afrikaans class. And there was an Indian girl sitting in our class, and the lecturer said to her: I think you're in the wrong class, but she was actually Afrikaans. Which was even though it is, and like, one of my friends is Asian, and she's Afrikaans, so she'll go to class and they'll say to her: sorry, I think you're in the wrong class. but she's actually in the right class.

Group work

Mostly, students are able to choose their own groups for group assignments. They mostly choose them on grounds of friendships, and to a lesser extent on language and race. From students' descriptions of their friendship groups, it can be assumed that to a certain extent students are friends with people that speak the same language and have kind of the same background. As a result, some groups are racially mixed and some groups are racially segregated:

Tumelo (Black, Tswana, International Relations): We usually, if it is like small things or whatever those, you choose your own groups. And you still find all the whites together or all the blacks together. That's just how it is still.

Nino (White, English, Accounting): Even though the language of the lectures are English, I think that students who speak English as a second language may form groups with each other because they will find it easier to communicate in a common primary language when performing the group tasks. Another observation that I have found is that the majority of groups which are formed by students are done so on the basis of race, with students of the same racial group generally working in groups. This is not always the case, as groups consisting of different races are also found. However I don't feel that this is completely due to racial segregation, but rather due to the fact that there is a greater

percentage of black students in the class, which results in a larger number of groups consisting mainly of black students. Conversely, I have also seen how students from smaller percentage racial groups work in their own groups.

An exchange student from the Netherlands experiences choosing groups as a strange process:

Julia (Exchange student from the Netherlands): We had to work in groups with that, and I was the only international student. A few girls sitting next to me asked if I wanted to join them, they were all black. And in the end of the class, a white girl came to me and keeping, also come in our group if you want, in the white group. For me it felt, a little bit if she told, let's go to her because she maybe doesn't want to be with those black people. I'm not sure, but that is how it felt.

In other cases, groups are already prescribed by lecturers. Many students prefer working with their own friends because it is easy, they feel comfortable, and they know they can rely on each other without any problems. They think that groups chosen by lecturers can be difficult and give problems, because not all students are trying to do their best in group work. They feel unhappy about being dependent on other students' effort. On the contrary, many of them think it is good to work with students they don't know that well, since they are forced to interact with different students. They get to know other people, it is broadening student's perceptions and it is a preparing exercise for their future careers. A student Information Design illustrates this with the following example:

Romuald (Black, Botswana, Information Design): Most of the groups are made by the lecturers. (...) I think they are good, because, obviously I will be in a group with someone I don't normally relate to very well. And that will help us get closer. Now we are forced to talk to each other. We need to get the most important things is to get work done. We have a goal. That is the reason of the group as well, and not any personal thing. If we are focused on the goal, we need to talk, and lately break some, but you know, get through, get together.

Most of the workgroups communicate in English or in another language the whole group shares. Only two students have had bad experiences in group work when a language is used that not all group members master that well:

Chin (Chinese, English, Architecture): My group was somehow very predominantly Afrikaans, so they feel more comfortable talking in Afrikaans, is have an idea and be all in Afrikaans, and I be like: I don't know what is happening, she talked way too fast for me to understand anything.

Bryan (Biracial, Portuguese roots, English, Information Sciences): Another issue was when the lecturer chose my groups when I was in first year. I would work with people who couldn't speak English very well. So that was hard for me as well, and it was also hard for them. Because there was this guy who only spoke Afrikaans, and it was very hard for him to communicate with me. And me to communicate with. And also another girl who only spoke, whose English wasn't really good, but I think she spoke Zulu. It was also hard for us, all of us where in the same group, she was very hard for all of us to communicate with each other. That is also a nice thing when I choose my own group, it is everyone who speaks, I can communicate with.

For one student, who has a visual impairment, group work sometimes can be difficult. In one module it was difficult for him to find a work group, since people think he cannot do anything. Other students left him out or excluded him.

Robert (Black, Sepedi, Public Management): In group works, normally, when I'm in a group, normally people seem to tell them I'm disabled, they normally think that I can't do anything. While I love not doing anything, but I feel guilty. I have to do something. I can't just get marks for free. Sometimes they leave me out, they don't consulted me, they just told me when they are done, with the assignment that they are done. (…)I was in a class this semester, where everybody knew everybody, and I was the only one who didn't know. (…) And I was excluded as well, but I made a lot of friends. But usually when it comes to group work, they used to be together. And they used to know who they were going to be within a group, than they used to not include me in their groups. .(…) But it is just that sometimes, some people ignore. That is a thing, because they want to be with their friends, no matter what you say. With people that do the same degree, I made a lot of friends, they do the same degree as me, and they are starting to understand me. When I'm looking for a group, it is easier to find. Just this semester only, just with that certain module. Where it is a bit difficult for group work.

Discussions

Although most discussions in class are open and all students are able to give critique, approximately half of the students does not like participating in class discussions. They feel insecure, intimidated, and are afraid to ask stupid questions, they think other students will laugh at them. Several students hereby argue that it is dependent on the confidence level of students whether they feel comfortable speaking in class. Also language can be of influence how comfortable students feel about discussing. Some are struggling with explaining their arguments because of their language, and they are afraid people will laugh at them because of accents and funny pronounces, they cannot express themselves well. As a result, it is argued that mostly the same students are participating in discussions. Some students are forced to participate in class discussions since it is influencing their marks. Several students argue they became more comfortable in participating in class during the second and third year of their studies because classes become smaller, they get to know the other students better than the years before. Only one student disagrees with argument that language is influencing the confidence level of students. She thinks the content of what a student wants to say is the most important:

Chryx (White, Mozambican, Finances): I think that in class discussion, has a lot to do with how comfortable you are in speaking in public. I think my English is not perfect, I too have my faults. But I'm not that outgoing, I can just raise my hand in class and speak over to 300 people. Because I'm self-conscious, not about the way I speak, I'm self-conscious about what I'm going to say. The reaction of the lecturer, reaction of the class, (…) I really do think that feedback in class discussion comes from, you just being confident with what you are going to say, not how you are going to say it. You hear everybody else asking questions. People without accents, people with good English or without a great accent. But as long as you're confident and what you are asking. I think that is the main thing

The content of discussions is logically dependent on the field of study. In Alpha degrees, some discussions are related to problems and issues in society. Students have very diverse opinions on and

experiences of such discussions. Some argue discussions are never discriminative or about persons, and are political correct. Students and lecturers need to be careful about what they say. Besides, some lecturers avoid sensitive topics and they cut off discussions that develop into arguments. Pedro (Black, Setswana), a Law student, illustrates this with the following statement:

I would rather say, if you see no evil, speak the evil. The one is like this, the other one is like that. If I put something away in the corner and I cover it, and I don't make conscious effort to uncover it, people will never speak about it then get out it and open. I think those kinds of things are topics that are avoided

On the contrary it is argued that there are some heated discussions sometimes. Lecturers on purpose let students have these heavy discussions. Students are acting on conviction and therefore have different views and contradictory arguments on issues. Many questions on race, ethics and gender emerge, debates thereby fall on racial lines. Some arguments that students give can be perceived as very offensive and ending up in big arguments. This is because not all students make an attempt to understand other students. This is illustrated by two students that have had an interesting discussion about race and gender discussions in class:

Brianna (White, English, Sociology): We were talking about domestic workers and something about women going back to work. And then there was whole gender relations thing about how women have to leave work to look after the sick child, but men never have to do that. And then domestic workers conversation was brought up. But I think it was something around the fact, that white people tend to have domestic workers, and black people don't. White people have domestic workers, black people don't and they were saying that, something about black people don't want to discriminate against their own race, and white people were saying, just because we have a domestic worker doesn't mean we discriminate against them. And at the end of the day, somebody has to do the job. and it just happens that the majority of domestic workers are black people. That was a lot of defense from the white people, which is often what happens, and black people saying, you don't really understand the role of the domestic worker.

Lizzy (White, English, Sociology): I wanted to say, that men of bring up gender, often comes up in South Africa, in politics. A lot of gender stuff. In politics the other day we were discussing something on the lines of the men, policies come and make policies for sexual harassment, and more for the women. And a lot of the guys in class were offended by that. And then I said, but the truth is that more women are getting, you know, abused, than men. And a lot of the time men can't understand that. I think South Africa, just like all over the world, the patriarchal system is relevant and happens.

Brianna: Actually now that I think about it, gender comes up way more than race. I think because gender is not such a sensitive issue. Some people are quite scare to bring up race in class, and then if you are in a class of 300 people and you're going to say something racist, or make a stereotypical remark, you sort of going to get bombed by people. So I think a lot of people are scared and they rather discuss it within their friends, like we do. but I think gender is a much more open thing. And especially in Sociology, we learn so much about gender. (...)

Lizzy: I think, the whole thing of race in South Africa is not necessarily everything we talk about,

people talk about race, but I find that everyone is constantly thinking of it. So everything you say, you have to be careful not to offend or whatever. It is not necessarily always the topic in every subject, but it is always.

Brianna: It is always related to any topic. And I think in generally, within a small group of friends, you think about it, and you talk about it. But if I thought of something that is rubbish towards another race or even religion, I wouldn't necessarily put up my hands and say it in class. I'd rather discuss it with our closest 5 friends or something like. But if I really thought that my point is strong, I might say it, but probably not actually.

On the other hand, it is argued that students need to approach discussions as academics, don't take arguments personally even if they experience some discussions and being offensive. They need to put effort in understanding other students' cultures, experiences and points of view. Hereby, wrong interpretations and fights forthcoming from discussions can be prevented. Approaching discussions as an academic is a good learning experience from students since it helps them becoming diplomatic and understanding different points of view of students from different backgrounds and nationalities.

Interactions in class

Many of the students argue there is pretty diverse mix of people in their classes. People from different backgrounds and races. Although, in those classes, students tend to stick together with students from the same race and background. Two students give wonderful examples of this:

Regan (Black, Angolan, Portuguese, International Relations): I remember in our first lecture of Sociology last year, the lecturer (…) told us to look around and see how many of the same people were sitting next to each other. And we did look around and it was white people and black people, and then I'm sort of caught in between, because I think if I speak the same language, someone who would have the same background as them and the same religious belief I'm going to go towards them or whatever. But in discussions, especially in Sociology, there are a lot of white people put up their hands and say something, and then that's just, it is so stereotypical for them to say that. And then a black person will say, well actually no, you don't watch it and talking about.

Chryx (White, Mozambiqan, Finances): For example when you walk into a class and you are a little bit late, and I have noticed that. It doesn't matter the fact that there is so much space. It doesn't matter the fact that so many people, but if you walk into a class you, I think it is an automatic thing, but people go and sit down nearer to people of their own race. And I am really sure, people don't do it on purpose, now it is just a subconscious thing. But I have done this so many times, because I walk into class and I don't find my friends and I go sit down, and I look around, and it is so weird, you will see a concentration of one color, and then there is another concentration with the other color. But obviously you see people they great each other and so on. But in a division.

Despite, not many have experiences of discrimination in class between students. Mostly all students treat each other with respect. Only sometimes they experience some gossiping and prejudicing on the ground of race, age, gender, language and field of study. For example that Math's and Engineering students don't dress well, and at pretty students Sports Sciences do dress sports

clothes. There are also prejudices about some BCom degrees far more easy than BA degrees. Other mentioned examples are that in Humanities there are far more black students, because it is easy to get in Humanities degrees. Below some quotes of students about prejudices are stated:

Bryan (Biracial, Portuguese roots, English, Information Sciences): Some prejudices, but very only are in university, because as you get higher in your years, the class gets smaller. So the people who are actually in class, you kind of get to know them. Before, some people have a lot of misconceptions about people in class. Because I've worked in so many groups, you just hear what other people say about other people. It is actually not like that. I think it is just actually a lot of gossip, people like to gossip about each other in class. (…) For me, I really, I like to keep my mouth closed. Because, coming from the family I come from, I don't believe in prejudices or preconceptions of people. Because already, I experienced that a lot in high school.

Kiara (Indian, English, Architecture): I think, gender is a bigger thing. Especially last year with Engineering, I had bad experiences a few times. I know that they don't really treat women very well. But not badly, but they don't think that they are as capable as men are. They would give you the easier work, or, you don't have to go on side, it's fine, you can stay and do your stuff and things. And I don't really like that, because I like to getting my hands dirty. I find that I wasn't very happy with that. I think with Architecture, it is not as bad, because it is a creative field. Men are as creative as women, or accept that. I don't think gender is that big of a problem. It is still very male, there are more male architects that have made it in the world, than females. (…) Gender, yes, the people in my class last year, they didn't really think I was smart, because I am a girl. and I think there was an incidence where we were choosing class representatives or something. And I was nominated, not because they thought I would be good, but because I was a girl, and there were so few girls they just wanted to nominate all the girls, but for some reason, I found that very irritating. I was very taken it back by that.

Some bad experiences emerge when lecturers make wrong statements about students' background or gender. These are interpreted as very uncomfortable. Two students illustrate such wrong statements:

Annika (White, Afrikaans, Supply Management): I had a lecturer last year, and it was in the Afrikaans class. And there was an Indian girl sitting in our class, and the lecturer said to her: I think you're in the wrong class, but she was actually Afrikaans. Which was even though it is. One of my friends is Asian, and she's Afrikaans, so she'll go to class and they'll say to her: sorry, I think you're in the wrong class. but she's actually in the right class,

Chryx (White, Mozambican, Finances): We had a subject where a lecturer said a comment about how women are less efficient in the workplace during a certain period of the month, which is when you have your period. And there were a whole bunch of us who were so hurt about that comment. Stuff like that, always gets back to the department. If you are going to say something like that, somebody is getting upset. There were a lot of us who were upset. And obviously he was a male, that comment didn't go very well with us.

Extra provisions by universities

Not many students are aware and don't have much knowledge of the extra provisions that their universities have. The only provisions that were mentioned by students are mental health services, counselors, psychologists, social workers, student advisors and disability units. These are confidential. Provisions of mental health services will be explained further in Chapter 5. Some students think that not many students make use of these provisions, because they are ashamed, too proud, don't want to tell anyone, and they don't like to ask for help. There is a stereotype of students with mental issues. Only a couple of students explain they or their friends have made use of extra provisions. For example when they visited a counselor when one of their friends died and they couldn't write their test, when students feel depressed, or when they need advice on switching degrees or modules. Students have had bad experiences when they and their friends wanted to make use of provisions for mental problems. They felt not taken seriously, students with mental problems are looked down on, and counselors sometimes are perceived as being rude. One student, who is having a visual impairment, makes use of the provisions of the disability unit:

Robert (Black, Sepedi, English, Public Management): When I came here, we didn't have so many computers. It was just limited, we had about 4, 5 computers. And how many disabled are we, a lot. It was kind of a problem. As time went by, I think in June, we got the new unit that you saw. That was this year in June. I'm a first year, I don't know how things were previously. But in the beginning, they were a bit bad. But now, everything is, access several all fantastic, it is awesome.

4.2 Culture, social life and interactions

Discrimination, prejudices and stereotypes.
Some students argue that most students are pretty tolerant and inclusive, others argue that not everyone is tolerant, and that not everyone is trying to do their best to understand people from other races, cultures and backgrounds. Thereby students are not including other races. Hereby, it is once said that campus interaction is color forced. The way people pronounce others and interact with others is based on people's color. Although people are equal in theory, they are not treating each other equally. This is because many students have a not-my-problem attitude, a backward attitude, they are used to separation from young age, they are steeped in their comfort zone, and are only minding their own business. They need to come out that comfort zone to experience more diversity and get more open-minded. But on the contrary, this can be seen as forced tolerance, and therefore would not work. Some other students argue that there is much focus on not being aware of race, that they become aware of race. In South Africa everyone's identity is revolved around race firstly, everything else afterwards. This is also experienced by an international student from Botswana:

Romuald (Black, Botswana, English, Information Design): I only realized I was black until I came here. It was and I come here, it is a big issue, I'm black now.

As a result, students don't have much experiences of discrimination, but they do have far more experiences of prejudices and stereotypes. It is several times argued that within friend groups, people talk subtle forms of discrimination on others. Many students argue other students assume them to be from a certain background, while some of them are not. And as a result, they get stereotyped or being assumed of being racist. Other examples of prejudices and stereotypes. mentioned are that black people are lazy and loud, that black people are using apartheid as an excuse against white people, that Afrikaans students never mix with other groups, that Afrikaans people look down on black people, that blond girls are stupid, that Indians are not open, that Indians stick together, and that female lecturers are not smart. Students feel really uncomfortable being stereotyped. Some argue they would come in action if they are stereotyped or discriminated. Some others don't because they find it sensitive, they don't want to spend time on it, or because they are used to it from a young age. Because of all those prejudices and stereotypes, some people don't try their best to communicate with others. Some students even become afraid of other people. Below, there are stated some experiences of students being stereotyped, how it makes them feel, and how they react to it:

Lizzy (White, English, Sociology): When Brianna and I were in our flat, and we were trying to study, and on the street, there's a lot of people getting drunk. There was some people making so much noise. (…) And then we went outside and were like, shuts! And it had nothing do with, and it was a group of black people and they started screaming at us and accusing of us being a racist and say, it's because we're black, and whatever. Brianna (White, English, Sociology): We want a rainbow nation and you white people are just being racist all the time. Lizzy: And that for us, is huge, because we hate that. Brianna: Because if anyone was outside we would tell them to be quiet. Lizzy: And we hate being assumed that because we are white we are racist. And like, don't like black people, while I actually prefer them.

Kiara (Indian, English, Architecture): People just think I'm studying accounting, just because I'm Indian. Because most Indians are studying Accounting. I think, on face value, people would make preconceived ideas about me. That will be challenged I start speaking, or once they find out more about me. Which, I mean, it happens, you can't stop people from thinking. (...) I don't like it. I think a big complex I have personally is I don't like being confused with anyone else. I like being an individual so much, so that I do things actively to break out of stereotypes. I don't like being confused with other people, at all. It irritates me sometimes when, someone assumes something. I don't have any instances, I just get irritated when I get confused for someone else.

Daniella (White, Portuguese, Marketing Management): I was busy talking to a group of people that I just met. And this guy asked me where am I from. And I said to them I'm Portuguese. So he says to me, oh no I don't like Portuguese people, and he just walked away. Little things like that. You don't want to remember it, but it plays on your mind. It's stupid and you think that it is just one gets of class gets discriminated against. But people forget that it is different. (...) I felt hurt, honestly speaking. But I didn't really react in any way. Because I'm not the type of person to react, I just keep quiet. But one of those things just stay with. I've told you now because I never forget it. But I didn't react in any specific way and nobody else heard it. But I did tell my friend who was with me, and she couldn't believe it. But it is the truth.

Julia (Exchange student from the Netherlands): For example with the festival in the beginning of the year. With all the artists, some artists, there were only black people in the audience, and some other artists, there were only white people and only Indians. And when we were, for example, we were in an international group, we went to all the artists because we didn't know them. And sometimes, for example when there were only black people. They were all watching at us like, what are you doing here? That is what I experienced. And also one time, I was asked to go theater. I was sitting in the cafe or something with some other group. And they asked us if we wanted to go to the theater performance. And they asked that in Afrikaans, and we didn't really hear what they were saying, like what? And they said like, oh your British, and we didn't say anything, but she said do you know where that is? And we said no, and then she said like, omg you're so British, and they she ran away. She just didn't wanted British white people to come to the theater.

Karabo (Black, Pedi, International Relations): I have a friend who is afraid to speak to white people. Because they are afraid of the reaction that they would get from the white person. Is he going to be mean to me? So she does not do it all. She tries not to engage. (...) Because it stops you to know, get with very awesome people. Like just discovering, and other cultures in the way of lives.
Interviewer: And does her fear does that also came from her parents?
Karabo: No I think more on her personal experience. Or maybe from hearing someone saying, some white person was so mean to be. She would rather not experience it, because of the fear of the unknown. (...) Fine enough, she says it: why are you talking to me? She says other words: can I help you with something. To her, she does not believe that a white person can just be nice. (...) She wants to speak and then get over and down with it.

Wartick (Chinese, English, Accounting): I have a small experience of prejudicing on campus like where some students would call me Jackie Chan, Bruce Lee and say ching-chong. I experienced it based on

race. No I haven't seen or experienced other students being discriminated. I would normally just greet them or just smile as I'm not too bothered with ignorant people and I'm also used to it as I have close friends which we joke around about this topic.

One biracial student has different experiences being stereotyped on colour:

Bryan (Biracial, Portuguese roots, English, Information Sciences): I like to keep my mouth closed. Because, coming from the family I come from, I don't believe in prejudices or preconceptions of people. Because already, I experienced that a lot in high school. (…) As soon as I got to school, people would look at me and think I'm colored. And a lot of colored people thought I was colored, but I'm not colored. Even they would be like, what is wrong with you, why don't you speak Afrikaans, why don't know this or know this, why don't you act like this. And the thing is, the way how I grew up in a very funny family, which is a white family, even it is very hard, but black people are judging, they normally just say like, ok that is Bryan, he is biracial. He's like, special. He didn't have to go to African traditions like us. (…) They classify me, categorize me (…) That is what they do to me. And I hate that, I really do. Because I'm more than just that. (…) they always want to classify, and I can't be classified, I'm a generation that is not furthest, actually for South Africa, I really fall out of the lines. (…) And the system isn't made for us. A lot of the times we just say, are you black? Yes I'm black, because I want to get the benefits black people get in terms of opportunities. Widely speak like a person, are you highly educated, I am really well educated. So that is really associated with the white thing. My skin color, and how I look, colored, A lot of it is just, people classify me a lot. Which, that is why I'm able, I'm not, I'm born in an age in South Africa that is not really to have me.

On the other hand, many prejudices are jokes an silly, they are not meant to hurt other people. Several students also argued that prejudicing and stereotyping is a human thing, and that not all people act on the base of prejudices. Nevertheless, students should treat each other equally and with respect, because being the born-free generation they don't have any excuses of practicing stuff like racism. Many students argue they hate, don't like it that race is so often noticed. Some of them even call themselves colorblind.

Cliques

Students mainly see all students sticking together in cliques. They see students sticking together on different grounds such as race, culture, religion, language, residence friends, study friends, faculty friends, or friends they already knew before they went to university. As a result, for example people have prejudices about the field of study. The mostly mentioned cliques are the Indian clique, white people sitting in the grass and closed religious groups. Some students argue that there hardly are diverse, mixed cliques, while other students argue that there are more cliques now that have a diversity in them, or that are overlapping with other cliques. Students tend to stick together in cliques because they feel comfortable with people from their own race and culture, that they consider as being the same as them. They think sticking together is a human thing. Cliques can be recognized by for example the same actions, and the same cultural clothing. But, it is argued that the cliques are not that hectic as they look. Different students give examples of cliques they see on their universities:

Pedro (Black, Setswana, Law): Some cliques will be, Afrikaans cliques, some cliques are just distinctly black.

Karabo (Black, Pedi, International Relations): I think because of the language thing, how people can choose Afrikaans and English, already creates a division. Because it means that the Afrikaans people are always going to sit with other Afrikaans people. And then the English people , the white speaking in these people are the only people that I am going into grade with other races, because in the classes there are other races. (...)I guess one thing I could say is, we, us we as Blacks, maybe like would stick together because we do things in a group and that's just how it is.

Madibuseng (Black, from Lesotho, Nigerian father, Accounting):Indian people seek to like to keep to themselves. If you look around campus you will see groups of friends of the same race; black, white. But the ''all blank'' groups are more frequent when it comes to the ''all Indian'' groups. This isn't because they are the majority, but just that it seems that they do not want to let other race into their friend groups or even deviate from their own. Now this is not to say that they are rude to people of other races, on the contrary they are always very friendly and are down for small talk. But the number of groups that consist of only one race are more within the Indian community. I have no idea why.

Bi/homosexuality

Many students argue that they can pretty much see bisexuality and homosexuality on campus. Experiences and prejudices that many students have is that gay people are very strong presented, they are very out and saying they are gay, and they wear specific clothes whereby students can see they are bisexual and homosexual. Some argue that those gay people act in this way on purpose. Thereby, some think that bisexual and homosexual students mostly stick to themselves, don't associate with straight students. On the contrary, this is not the case, many students argue they do have gay friends.

On campuses, bisexuality and homosexuality are reasonably accepted. Students don't mind, tolerate, are willing to understand, are not homophobic, have nothing against it and don't think it's wrong. About other students on campus, their experiences are pretty divided. Although many students do have nothing against bisexuality and homosexuality, they don't want them expose it that much in public spaces on campus, they argue it should be a private thing. Some students argue that all students sort of accept bisexuality and homosexuality, are open to it, but that guys have a little difficulty with that. Some other students argue that much people don't accept, don't condone, don't understand. They think it is wrong and they judge, they can't stand bisexual or homosexual students.

An explanation for those negative attitudes is that some students argue that people, especially from small villages, are not that much exposed to bisexuality and homosexuality, and therefore have wrong prejudices. Hereby students have the continuous discussion whether bisexuality and homosexuality is a choice or not. Now people are more exposed to it, they can better understand, they still are getting used, feel more comfortable. Although bisexuality and homosexuality is politically not an issue, the practice thus is different. This can also be explained by the influence of religion. Many students argue that Christians and Catholics are much more conservative towards

homosexuality and bisexuality, some are much more homophobic, since their faith is against homosexuality, they don't have the same thoughts, and in some religions homosexuality is even seen as a sin. Hereby, it must be said that some students argue that their churches are pretty progressive in issues regarding bisexuality and homosexuality. One International Relations students explains how religion influences her opinion about bi/homosexuality:

Tumelo (Black, Tswana, International Relations): This is what I always say. I don't mind what you do in your own time, whatever you love the same gender. But I just don't condone it. I don't condone it because I don't believe in it. As a Christian, I don't believe in that.(…)As Christians, we believe that it is a man and a woman. As God said, he created a man and a woman. And a man is meant to find the wife. With that, I grew up with that, I'm just like, you going and liking or loving another, like the same genders, it is not how it is supposed to be. It is not how God brought us op. That is why I don't believe in it.

Religion and traditional cultures
For many students, religion is important in their (daily) life. Most students are Catholics or Christians. Religion gives them a direction, values, beliefs, a stronger hold, structures and purposes, for them it is a lifestyle and it revolves their identity. On campus, different religions are seen, in different churches, chapels and their services by religious societies. Hereby, mostly Christians, Muslims or Hindu's practice their religion on campus, mostly seen in student centers. Several students argue that religion is pushed by the university and therefore is a part of a student culture. Others argue that this is not true, that religion is not pushed and that people don't talk much about religion.

The way in which students practice their religion is pretty divided. Some students strongly practice their religion and pray every day, often go to church every Sunday, and are bible believers. Others practice it more in their own way, since they don't want religion to control their lives. They don't go to church that often, and they are not direct bible believers, but interpret the Bible in their own way. Some of them sometimes have difficulties in agreeing what the bible says, and what other institutions, such as science says. A student Public Management illustrates this:

Robert (Black, Sepedi, English, Public Management): And science defines religion in a different way. It is actually funny how they define god, in their way. It is actually funny, that is how I want to be, along some, if I belong somewhere, what I love, which is science, I love reading about science, so it is a bit difficult for me to, I'll get, I feel offended what science thinks of religion. And I don't want to think that. I just want to be, neutral.

The importance of religion is explained by the different races that are presented In South Africa. As already mentioned in the former section, religion can influence people's opinions and thought about others. In some cases, this is causing discrimination or prejudices. People are not much exposed to other things, they have a lack of knowledge. Examples of such stereotypes are that Muslims don't like Christians, that white Afrikaans students are more religious than white English students, that all black students are very religious and that all Muslims were long robes. But still, for many students their religion prescribes them no to judge, and to accept and respect everyone. A student Sociology explains the influence of religion:

Lizzy (White, English, Sociology): I find it a patriarchal system, it has taken a lot of specific things from the bible, and use that to, in whatever way they want to use it. To discriminate against anything below the white dominant men. I get very annoyed because in Christian, you find men thinking homosexuality is more of a sin then, and then, steeple, when actually, as soon as a sin, and I don't believe homosexuality is a sin. (…) I think a lot of the time religions use specific things to discriminate against other people. But also personally, I was brought up in a home where it was more about just accepting everyone. And loving every one. No matter what they do or how they are.

Lizzy (White, English, Sociology): I think, education plays a huge role, because you can be a certain religion and then, never be educated on anything else, and a lot of the time religion doesn't want that to happen. And so you just think this is the way it is. And I think that is where education is so huge, and humanities, that is why I always say humanities is just as important as these other things. Because once you're educated, you can still, for me, still firmly believe in god. (…) Education and religion, there is a huge role in discrimination.

Traditional cultures are not much seen on campus. Mostly seen are traditional choirs, drums, singings and dances, in students centers. Hereby, some students wear traditional cultural clothes. It is mostly argued that students treat each other's cultures with respect.

Interracial relationships

Not much interracial couples are seen on the universities. They are much less accepted, interracial dating is a sensitive topic. This can be explained by the fact that many student's families would not accept if they would be in an interracial relationship, it is not the norm and there is still some curiosity towards interracial couples. Because students are not much used to them, they are scared to go into one by themselves. Interracial friendship relations are far more seen, and more accepted.

Some students love interracial dating, but they argue everyone thinks that interracial dating is progressive, but people still don't go in interracial relationships. Not many of the interviewed students have been in an interracial relationship, but they know some friends in interracial relationships. Hereby, they argue only white students are against, because they have a close mindset, their cultural back in mind. Whites would not feel attracted to other races, only races from their own community. Interracial dating thereby sometimes is seen as an insult.

It is generally argued that other people stare to interracial couples, talk behind their back, both negative as positive. Remarkable is that although interracial dating is much less accepted, none of the interviewed students have any negative opinions on interracial dating. Several students illustrate their opinions and experiences on interracial relationships:

Zane (Black, family originally from Congo, French, English, Computer Engineering): I had a bit of difficulty when it came to dating someone of a different race. The problem wasn't with the person, but with their parents. Especially the parents of an Afrikaans girl. They would not accept me because I'm not of the same race and it makes it a little bit difficult to be with whoever you want to be in this country.

Kiara (Indian, English,Architecture): They look for long periods of time. I'm in one. My boyfriend he is Afrikaans. But he speaks English pretty well as well. But it is just, I think looks that you get. We don't haven't even spoken about and we have been together for a year and four months. We haven't spoken about it. The fact that you are different race. Well we obviously know, we don't say we're in an interracial relationship, I never said that. (…) I think people are very surprised when they have to see us together. And say, oh he's my boyfriend, and they're like, ooh ok. I think the people we are friends with, are ok with it, because we obviously made friends with people who are tolerant and cool. But in terms of walking on campus, around on campus, you do get people who look at you strangely. They won't say anything. I don't know anyone said anything bad to my face. I do feel a bit awkward sometimes. Because it is not the norm.

Carly (White, Afrikaans, Social Work): Some of us get really excited, like myself, we call them opening doors. Because they are opening doors from a future country. And we had all these little jokes about it, and then we get really excited about interracial relationships. Because I liked someone who was of a different race and my parents were like, it is never going to happen. (...) We have all been in the situations like that. (...) We get really excited when we see people standing up for stuff like that. Which is really nice. But then there are other people who are very, very against it. Who are not comfortable. And a lot of them, you'll ask why? And then they say, because that's how I was born up, which I think is an absolute rubbish excuse. Because no people are born up to be racist, and that doesn't make it okay.

Pedro (Black, Setswana, Law): People are not used to see a black person with a white person holding hands together and stuff like that. I remember when I dated this one girl, she was Afrikaans, and even on campus all the Black girls were be like: how could he! Are we not good enough? That kind of things. Seeing as an insult. And also you get the Afrikaans who come approach and be like: you can't do that, it is wrong. But again, it doesn't bother me. And of campus it was also the same thing, when for example, we were in a shop (…) the lady at the store was, are your parents happy about this? Are you sure you are not disgracing your family, whatever. It is past 1994, we have to grow up at some stage. And her family was also, they wanted her choose, him or us.(...) If you choose him, then we are cutting you out, and you can go stay with them. You can imagine. She took a bad leave. She said ok cool, let's be friends. (...) I think the more people that see it, the more they will get used to it. But I think some people are maybe attractive to that white girl, or that black guy, or Indian girl, but are just afraid what everyone else think. So they don't act on that impulse. I think the sooner people get over their fears, and what they think about what other think, than I think it will be better.

Gender

Most students are not aware of the gender relations on their universities, only of the amount of men and women in their study programs. In the Engineering side there are more men, in the Humanities side there are more women. Men and women are equally treated, there haven't been many problems or disrespectful situations. But still there are some differences between men and women. Some male students stand up for female students if they are disrespectfully treated or in some cases being abused. One student argues that according to the black Africans, men should always be dominant. A student Information Design, originally from Botswana, is not used to the gender relations in South Africa. Since in his country, there are traditional gender relations whereby men do have the power and authority, for him it was weird that women were doing things for him. Thus, on

the different universities, gender relations seem to be very equal, since not many students are aware of it, and only a few students did had bad experiences.

Disabled students

Different disabled students such as blind students and students in wheelchairs are seen on the universities. These disabled students are treated normally, fairly and with respect. All students accept and understand them. They are often helped by other students, they hardly see them on campus on their own. But some students admit they look at and gossip around disabled students, but not judgmental. It is thought that most disabled students do fine and feel adapted and comfortable on campus. This is also because the universities make an effort to accommodate disabled students. The universities are pretty disabled friendly, disabled students are helped in several ways, such as higher treatment, extra arrangements and extra time for tests. But still, the physical access at universities always can be improved. Remarkably, there are hardly seen disabled students who are friends with not-disabled students. One student with a visual impairment experiences the above mentioned arguments:

Robert (Black, Sepedi, Public Management): I just hate people when they stare, I just said. So that is the reason why I feel uncomfortable. I've been, I just feel uncomfortable (…) And I hate to be judged, because when people stare at me, the first thing that comes to mind, because I can see them, they think I can't see them, I can see a little, the first thing that comes to mind in this person, is judging me. And I really don't appreciate that.
Interviewer: Yes, I understand. Because in the document you send me, you said it was also difficult to keep friends with people who are not disabled. Can you tell me more about that? Or about your friends?
Robert: University, it is easier. I don't know, it just became, it is maybe because I've grown up. (…) On campus, it is a different thing. It seems like, I can meet anyone and we could chat about anything. It is like, they don't, they are so nice, everybody is so friendly on campus. That is so weird. I think maybe, because I met a lot in first year, it is a new school for some of them, so they just chose to be nice. I don't know, it is just people are too nice. I met so much nice people around here.

On the contrary, mentally disabled students and provisions are not well known. Some students only know about the mental health services such as counselors, psychologists and social workers. Hereby some students are too proud to use mental health services and don't make use. Recently, at one of the universities, there have been two suicide incidents. Thereby, students became more aware of the mental health services.

4.3 Non-academic student participation

Student societies and organizations

The participation of students in student organizations and societies is pretty divided. About one third is not participating in such societies, because of the focus on academics, laziness, or because there is not much offered related to their studies, since some faculties do have faculty societies and faculty houses, that are only accessible from students who are from that certain faculty. Some even don't want to be involved in societies, they don't care about it and see it as not important. Other negative attitudes on societies are consisting of arguments that societies are not ran properly, are not well advertised, don't get enough funding, or don't do enough fundraising. Thereby, some societies have a bad, silly image. Some societies have too many and too strict rules. The ideas that they have are great, but because a lack of well running and money those ideas are not (well) practiced. As a result, some students quit being part of a society. Some societies even demand students to pay a certain fee to become a member of that particular society. Therefore societies are not affordable for all students. A positive development in the group of students that do not participate is that they are willing to participate in a society next year.

Some students are an official member of a society, but are not actively participating and they don't often take part in activities. Students who are actively participating have better attitudes on societies. They argue that many students are involved in societies, that most societies are voluntary, they have a free access to everyone. Participating in societies give students instructive networking opportunities and responsibilities. Different activities such as host parties, social groups, discussion nights, marches on campus, Israel Apartheid weeks, and superhero days are organized. Hereby, posters and graffiti are designed. Some societies are cultural and race related, some others are mixed. Hereby, there is a stereotype that mostly black students and humanities students are actively participating in societies.

Examples of student societies and organization that were mentioned are United Nations South Africa (UNASA), Camerates University Choir that sings in multi-languages, AUSA (African Union Students Aligns), discussion societies, a Chinese society, A Mozambican society, a Zimbabwean society, an Anime club, a RAG Committee, a society for enabled students, Students newspaper societies , AISEC, religious societies, charity societies, Social Workers Associations, CSA (Centre for the study of AIDS), LGBTIA societies, a feminist society, a wine-tasting society, a women society and politics societies.

Also within societies, language problems can occur. A student involved in UNASA explains this:

Brianna (White, English, Sociology): The other day, within in UNASA we had two foreigners organizational and try to get funding from them. And our Secretary General, she's actually half colored, but she speaks English and Afrikaans. She was speaking to this guy who was, I think he spoke Tswana, I think, and she was trying to get through to him, communicate with him, and it wasn't really working. And another one of our Executive Committee members spoke that language, our chairperson said that he should go and he should speak to him because there won't be this language barrier and you'll feel more comfortable, and he'll relate to him better, and things like that. But that really irritates me. I mean I understand there is a barrier that causes conflicts. But I don't think you should act a certain way, because someone doesn't speak the same language as you.

Community Service work

As mentioned in the last section, some student societies provide community services projects. For some students community service work is a compulsory part of their study program or their faculty. Community work makes students more aware of the need to help underprivileged societies. Thereby more students need to be involved, they should be more willing to help communities.

On the other hand, compulsory community work is seen as not necessary, since for some degrees they are not suiting the content of their degrees. Therefore it is argued community work should only be compulsory for degrees related to society. Besides, many community projects are on the short-term and therefore not beneficial on the long term, they are failing or don't make a big difference for societies. Even if some students are willing, it is difficult to find community service programs on the long-term. Other priorities, academics, and the so-called not-my-problem attitude are reasons why not many students are involved. Some students think they are contributing with actions such as RAG activities, the ice bucket challenge, and the no-make-up selfie, but they are not. They get confirmation without doing anything. Because of the perceived difficulties of doing community service work with university, many students choose to do projects with their church or high schools they come from, and where they have done long term community projects before.

But still, there are some great examples of long-term community work programs:

Regan (Black, Angolan, Portuguese, International Relations): we adopted a school that we are working with. And we are going to try to uplift them, and work with the school. And that is what the university tries to help us with that, you mustn't always look at yourself, I'm in university, I'm done. We need to go out and reach out to other communities, reach out to other high schools, that the kids don't know anything. For example they don't know how to apply for universities. They don't know what they need to focus on their subjects and stuff like that. That is what we will be working.

The day after the interview, I went with them to the school. It was really interesting to see what an underprivileged school looks like. Old unsafe buildings, no electricity, no internet, no computers and bad sanitary where the things I saw. After a guided tour in the school we started talking with the head of the school about the ideas the students had. Now, five months later, there have been tutorial classes and a presentation about the university requirements.

Student politics

On the universities in the Gauteng region, most students do have negative attitudes and experiences on student politics. They don't know much about student politics, are not interested, purposely don't want to be involved and therefore don't vote. The students politics is very underhanded and complicated, more about benefiting than helping people. Thereby students politics don't have much influence. This can also be linked to the fact that student political parties are perceived as being related t national parties, they are youth divisions, which gives them a bad feeling. Parties that were mentioned are the EFF, DA, DASO, SASQO, Afriforum, ANC. According to many students, these parties are funded by the national parties. This is something they don't like, don't enjoy, they don't feel comfortable about it. Hereby, the university politics is suspected to be for national politics. They argue that these parties are race driven and segregated. One student even

compared the Afriforum to the Nazi's. These parties don't tolerate each other that much, and mostly it is a battle between English parties and Afrikaans parties. Besides, white parties seem to be pro residence traditions.

During election times political parties seem to be more important, they offer a place to belong for students. Election times even are called a hype. Although parties are having more and more restrictions, elections still are seen as being distractive. Hereby, it is argued that on one of the campuses, white parties always win the Student Representative Council (SRC) elections, which is seen as unfair since the majority of the students do not win.

Only a small part of the students seem to be satisfied with the student politics. They argue that the influence of the universities is depending on the person itself, and that many students are involved in parties. Some argue that the parties are not really segregated, and that there are also parties who are not related to national parties, just university parties.

What almost all students have in common is that they think that more students need to vote, and need to get more involved in student politics on universities. This can be realized if the university politics will change, because they think now it has nothing to do with university students. When new parties come that are only related to university issues, this will probably work.

4.4 Sports, living on campus and nightlife

Sports

In some universities, sports play a big role. In the Gauteng region, most of the interviewed students are not that much involved in sports. They are not involved because they have other priorities such as academics, because university sports are taking too much time and are unorganized, or because they are not good enough for university sports. Instead, many students go to the regular gym in their own time. Sports in which they are involved are netball, soccer, volleyball, climbing rugby, basketball, swimming and ballet. Also for students with disabilities, there are possibilities of playing sports on university. A student with a visual impairment tells he is playing Netball, a sports that is mostly played by people with disabilities. They even started their own team last year. Mostly university sports are played in teams for residences or with friends from school. Only two of the interviewed students are involved in university sports on a higher professional level. They have an active dedication for their sports. One student who plays hockey explains this by the fact that she is on a special sports scholarship for hockey players.

University sports are experienced as pretty segregated. Hockey, rugby and climbing are the white sports, soccer and athletics are the black sports, and only residence soccer and volleyball are experienced as being racially mixed sports. In the higher varsity leagues and national sport leagues, there are some quotas for the teams. One black student that made it to the provincial rugby team, when he was in high school, gained bad comments. He was called having a million dollar skin because he as a black guy made it to the provincial side. People were jealous on him. The hockey student and her team members also experience the quota in their team as very unfair, they try to talk much about the quotas. But although their effort to talk, within the team some cliques based on race and background can be seen. The racial segregation in sports is partly caused by the fact that people already choose sports in primary school, since the privileged primary and high schools in South Africa are very focused on sports. The hockey student explains her experiences on segregation and quotas in her hockey team:

Annika (White, Afrikaans, Supply Management): I play hockey, there has to be a certain amount of black people in the team, which is unfair, because there might be a better player, but because of the quota. And again, the blacks in the team, like our goal keeper she's black. And she's an amazing keeper, but a lot of the time the people will think, oh because she is black, that is the only reason she's there. (...) the people I play hockey with are my best friends. But is very, because my English is quite good, I am friends with the Afrikaans and English people. But the Afrikaans people have their group, the English people have their group, and maybe the black girls have their group. It is usually quite separated, but we are still a team when we play hockey. But off the field, or when you warm up and you have your partner, it is always that sticking together.

Watching Varsity cups and games have been quite popular on the universities. Because universities apply new rules on watching sports, such as entrance fees, the prohibition of bringing your own drinks to games, and the banishing of alcohol, watching university sports becomes less popular.

Student accommodation and residences

There can be made a distinction between student housing provided by the university, the so called residences, and private student housing, such as flats and apartments.

Students choose for residence because it is relatively cheap, everything (including food) is covered, residences are safe and residences have an easy access to campuses. Besides, some students prefer the residence atmosphere over living alone in a private accommodation. If family members also have been too residences, students are automatically accepted into residences. Hereby, residences open doors in future careers.

There are different opinions whether residences are racially segregated or diverse. Anyway, there is mostly a divide between male and female residences. Some argue that residences also have a racial quota, a certain percentage of students in residence have to be black, white, colored or Indian. Even in the election process of the House Committee (HK), there is a quota. By these quotas, universities try to make residences more diverse. Within residences, for students it is easy to make friends. Language, culture and the field of study are of influence on who students become friends with. But to a certain extent, there can be seen a divide, a sticking together of students from the same background. Because of the diversity between students, some discriminatory issues and incidences, language barriers and cultural barriers arise.

Two students give examples of discriminatory issues and incidences:

Daniella (White, Portuguese, Marketing Management): I remember there was once an issue that they brought up at the house meeting. They want to make a rule that everyone who is in the lift, must speak in English. Because some girls felt other girls where gossiping about them. And they didn't know what they were saying because they didn't understand. Other girls were saying, how can you tell us that we are not allowed to speak in our own language, we now have got to speak in English, because you've now made this rule. People felt, like both ways, it wasn't right. In the end they left it again, they took away the rule.

Tumelo (Black, Tswana, International Relations): There was the black face incident. But this happened in residences, and what they did, they had a party and the theme was: You will never see me in this, or I never want to be like this. And the white girls painted their faces black. There was a huge thing, it came out in the news. They dressed like black maids. Which is discriminating, because they are not only discriminating against blacks, but against black females. You know, they make a joke out of blacks, which is unfair, because you look at this and you think, this is my mother. How do you do this stuff? So they got expelled and they had hearing, but I just feel like, they got here in, so be it. But what they did, it still stucks with people here. So that was the major incidence the university had. And they try so much to suppress that, people don't know, but people know now. I think that that was the main issue that I heard of

The black face incidence turned out to be a heavy discussion amongst students, presented in different social media.

On the other hand, it is argued that this diversity forces students to unite and get to know each other, from which they can learn. Mostly the rules and traditions of residences are bringing the

students together. They have some strong traditions, bonds rules and activities. Students need to get good marks and be actively involved to stay in residences next year. Besides, there are some traditions like initiation/ontheffing, huppeling, serenades, dancing's, jumping in the pool, wearing residence uniforms, helping the house committees, socials, bloodination drives, participating in RAG with other partner residences, making alcohol punches, spring bashes, residence sport competitions, time schedules, residence mascots, having funny prejudices and nicknames about other residences, fun sabotages, participating in different committees. If you as a student break those rules and not show your loyalty, you would get in trouble and being excluded. Those were designed to bond residences, for teambuilding, to let students make friends quickly, and to socialize and discipline students.

But there have been some comments on the hierarchies that were deriving from these rules and traditions. Especially the hierarchies between first year students and the members of the House Committee (HK's) are mentioned as being unfair. First years need to address HK's by special names and they have to follow the HK's instructions. Some first years thereby feel unequally treated. Some universities feel those rules and traditions are not necessary, unfair, were creating hierarchies between students, some residences steeped in their old cultures.

It is argued that these rules and traditions are unfairly linked to race:

Annika (White, Afrikaans, Supply Management): The thing with the first years and seniors, and a lot of people feel like they have been discriminated against because they may be black. But that is because everyone then is a first year. In residence, a lot of the black girls don't like the traditions because they feel they are discriminated against, when actually it is all the first years have to do something. Not because you are black, but because you're a first year you have to wear specific clothes, have to be back in res at specific times. You can't go to all the places. And they feel they are been discriminated against when actually it is just because you are a first year, and that is just the way that residence works, and they are very against that. Whether a lot of the white girls, they know it is like a respect thing, and you only do it for the first year, and then you are allowed to do what you want.

Some residence traditions were distracting, and took away the focus on academics. Also the hierarchies between students who are in residence and who are not, needed to disappear on some universities. As a result, many residence rules and traditions are disappearing now. Thereby hierarchies between students are taken away. Also the use of alcohol in residences is defended now. Many of the residence students think it is sad that those traditions are disappearing, because they brought students together. Some of them can understand, some not. They argue that if you apply for residence, you know you will have those rules and traditions. Although students argue that there are still some residence traditions and that residence are able to keep some identity, they think the university should better substitute traditions. This does not apply for international residences. They do not have such rules and traditions, since mostly exchange students, Master's students or PhD students are living in international residences.

Reasons why students choose for private accommodation, and not for residence, are that there is not enough place at the residences for everybody or because they don't want to share their

bedroom with another students. The mostly mentioned reason is that students think they wouldn't enjoy residences because of all the rules and traditions, they would not fit within the residence system. Many students who live near their university, decided to keep living at their parents since that is much cheaper. They travel to the university every day.

Nightlife

There is a big variety of student nightlife facilities in the Gauteng region. At one of the universities, the clubs, pubs and bars are racially segregated. There are mostly white or black ones, and only a few mixed ones where mostly only international students come. Some students explain this by saying that the segregation of clubs, pubs and bars is on the base of music preference. Whether the segregation is on basis of race of music, most students argue that they don't like the segregation, they feel uncomfortable and think it's wrong. Thereby they don't enjoy going out. It is causing problems when they want to go out with a racially diverse group, since you as a group can't go everywhere. Other people are not very inclusive, students experience many cliquing in bars. When you as a black person are in a white club, or vice versa, people look weird at you, and as a result some fights emerge. There were also some incidences because of gender and sexual orientation. Several students have had bad experiences when going out:

Chin (Chinese, English, Architecture): I think I got traumatized that night, I was no ways, never again. I was the only Asian there, literally in the whole of there, and then they'd literally call out to me, just because I'm Asian. So it was really bad, and I felt like, come on, so I am Asian, that means I can't really like, be at pleased here because I don't fit in to some of them.

Lizzy (White, English, Sociology): I find there is a lot of homophobia in Pretoria, especially out. Like my friend was in the bathroom and he almost got attacked, and then I lost my shirts.(…) We were dancing one time and this guy wanted to fight with him and I just would like, deal with that, I'll get into a men's face and be like, you've got to back off right now. But I think a lot gay guys are discriminated against.

Brianna (White, English, Sociology): And I also find, gender roles as well, there have been times where I'm drinking a beer when we're out, and just, why are you drinking beer? Like girls don't drink beer. I think a lot of objectifications by guys when we're out.(…) So whatever you do, if I drink a black label, it's like, why as a white girl are you first drinking beer, and why do you choose to drink black label and not Flying Fish, or Castle Light, even Castle Light got for black.

Only a few students don't mind and they don't care about the segregation in the nightlife, they adapt themselves to the different music styles. They argue that when everybody is drunk, the racial segregation disappears. Hereby, there is a huge drinking culture in students clubs, pubs and bars. People are always drunk, some students enjoy such a nightlife. On the contrary, some students are against this drinking culture since people become rigid, gross, people saying stupid comments and scream and punch on each other. On the influence of alcohol, people have stereotypes on each other whereby conflicts and race based fights arises. A student Social Work gives an example of such a stereotype:

Carly (White, Afrikaans, Social Work): because I am white, people assume, they talk to me in Afrikaans automatically, which is weird. Because lots of my friends are white too and other people always assume I'm Afrikaans because I'm white. And Afrikaans people also assume that they all are the same. Because they sorts get of their culture dying. Like I was sitting down, it was 1 o'clock in the morning, I was chilling with two of my friends, and he came to me like he was like this place becomes black, hey. And I was like, what are you talking about? And he was like, no it becomes so black. I was like, hello, this place is for everyone, anyone who wants to be there can go. And he was like, oh no I thought you'd feel the same as me. I was like, no sorry dude, I don't think certain races should be applied to certain places. And then he was like, sorry, enjoy your evening. And I think you always get those certain people who assume than certain races are assumed certain races, but I don't care. All have the right to be there, we are all drunk. If we're not drunk and someone's hitting on you, you probably did that last week, so it's fine, haha.

Now in one of the cities in the Gauteng regions, the students pubs, clubs and bars are closing down, they are bought by businesses, since the university is against drinking and has start to restrict drinking, which will be further explained in Front 8: University policy. Some students think this is an overstated discussion, since they argue that drinking is a student thing. Also some students argue that the nightlife changed since clubs, pubs and bars are changing in the fact that now mostly only black people are going into the nightlife. Besides, they feel not safe there anymore. Although many students have lovely memories on the nightlife, because of the bad experiences they had, they don't go to such places anymore.

4.5 Symbols and traditions

Among students there is not much awareness of symbols and traditions on campus. These don't play a big role, students don't feel affected by and don't identify themselves with these symbols and traditions. There are some buildings on universities that are characterized by old emblems, historical purposes and inscriptions, such as libraries and. Besides, there still are some statues with the name of the persons reflected, but the real meaning of statues is mostly unknown. But those architecture and buildings cannot be changed. Furthermore, students experience traditions such as graduation ceremonies, anthems, orientation week (O-week) traditions, Department and Faculty color and symbols, flags of the own university, flags of the other universities and the RAG week (Reach out And Give week). One student even mentions the Jacaranda's, a tree which is characterized by purple flowers from September to November, as a symbol of her university.

Residence traditions

As already mentioned in Dimension 6: Sports, living on campus and nightlife, the university residences are characterized by many symbols and traditions such as strong bonds, odd thoughts, ontheffing/initiating by HK's (members of the House Committees), huppeling, jumping in the pool, singing, skipping, greeting in a certain way, mascots and stealing other residences' mascots, the wearing of certain uniforms, and hierarchies between first years and second years. Thereby, each residences has its own symbols and traditions, activities, sport activities, sport competitions. These residence traditions and competitions between residences bring people together. Hereby, residence students are more aware of university symbols and traditions than students who do not live in residences.

Because those residences are steeped in their old culture, they are seen as a distraction form academics. As a result, universities are now taking away residence symbols and traditions. Also traditions of the RAG-week have changed. For example, girls residences did have a male residence partner, with whom they made money by different activities, such as the building of trucks, big floats and fundraising. Besides, first years were not allowed visiting the big RAG-party, which many students from other cities used to visit. These are now disappeared, which most students think is sad. They understand why their university tries to change, but they think traditions should be substituted and that new traditions should be made. One student, living in residence, illustrates those residence changes:

Chryx (White, Mozambican, Portuguese, Finances): all the residences, they get together and they make money, they built this truck with all these papers, and then they would make it something and then they go around the streets and you watch it, and each residence has a different paying. And you do make money, because we had these metallic boxes and people but their money in. And that was very properly because afterwards, there was big party on square. And I remember when we were in first year we weren't allowed to go, but it was huge, it was really really really big. There was a lot of alcohol, of this, but the thing is that people from other cities used to come here for that. And I do understand that a lot of people said that this is not what RAG is about, RAG is about making, a lot of money was made on the basis of alcohol, and a lot of money was spend because of this alcohol. And at the end of the day, it was more of a party than it was to get back to the community. So the

university sort of took that away. And I feel like, each university sort of has its own things, not they are known for, but the students of the other universities, because of this RAG, this huge party in the beginning of the year. And that was sort of taken away. (…) Although I understand why they took it out (…), but this was a big tradition that now stopped. But I thought the beginning, people felt really not connected, just because our university, people from other cities used to come, for this things. (…) But that was the one thing they sort of want to go, and it was part of the identity. It is for the right reasons, but then substitute it by something else. Don't just leave it there

Some of the universities are getting away from symbols and traditions. In some historical symbols and traditions, apartheid legacies are still practiced. But the universities are strict on unfair traditions, they have adapted old traditions to be inclusive. They keep symbols and traditions as simple as possible, to not have culture specific symbols.

4.6 University policy

Quotas

Policies that are causing many questions and debates are quota policies on access to universities, quota policies on access to residences and quota in sports. The exact quota numbers are mostly unknown, but students have mostly ideas about 50% white and 50% black students or 40% white and 60% black students. Although universities develop such policies to equalize students, they are seen as unfair, leading to inequality. Quality is seen anymore as the most important aspect. Quotas thereby are seen as a reversed form of discrimination. For example some students who got high marks on high school are not accepted in universities. Because of the debates, quotas are a big thing at the moment. Many students argue that quotas should disappear or should be adapted, there should be looked more on quality and merits instead of race.

Also the B-BBEE quota are seen as unfair, but students can understand why these quotas are set up by the government. As a result of the B-BBEE and the high amount of unemployment, some students have some concerns about their future, especially students who are not able to do honors or masters. Some of the students are planning on studying or working overseas, since they think they have better employment opportunities there.

Language

Also policies on language are causing many debates an discussions on some universities. Especially on the institutions where not only English, but also other languages are offered as a medium of language. On some institutions, modules are offered both in English and Afrikaans. This is experienced as being very unfair. Because not more languages are provided, not all races feel included. Students who are not mastering the English of Afrikaans language that well are disadvantaging. But also some Afrikaans students feel unfair because not all provisions are offered in Afrikaans. Besides, because some classes are divided both in English and Afrikaans, students feel they are putting apart, a divide is created. Furthermore, in some classes, half of the period a white lecturer is teaching, and the other half a black lecturer is teaching. One student illustrates the debate on language with the following example:

Karabo (Black, Pedi, International Relations): the university has 3 official languages. English, Afrikaans and Pedi. But it is just there on the logo, it is not, it does not feature anyway, (...)it is not used at all. Like it doesn't feature (...) It is being used as a token, it is like: look we.. , it is like a decorative thing, it is like a flower, it is just here to make it look pretty from the outside. There is no purpose.

Despite these negative opinions and experiences, some students think it is fair that in this institution, both English and Afrikaans a provided. Besides, English is seen as the most important language since it is a world language, students need to speak English in their future careers. It is mainly argued it would be more fair if more languages are provided, but there is awareness of the fact that this is almost impossible, since South Africa has eleven official languages. A positive development hereby is that the Department of Higher Education is now reviewing language policies. They are trying to steer universities to open up for different languages, especially African languages,

to see if they can be developed for future use as languages of learning and teaching. But it is a very slow process[23].

Focus on academics

It is mainly experienced that universities are focusing more and more on academics, research, and the extra provisions for students. Here future visions, for example a 2025 visions, are developed. The focus on academics is seen as good because transforming is an opportunity for political parties on campus. The focus on academics is seen as not that good because to a lesser extent there is focus on education, while the standard of education should be improved.

Universities also try to encourage socialization, and get students out of their comfort zone, out of their circles. Policies are performed to remove the hierarchies between students living on campus and the so called daily-students. Students think their universities only take money and aren't helping in the socialization. Universities are too focused on controlling students, being too strict. This comes to the fore by the fact that many traditions in residences are changing and taken away, and students experience that they are not included in making decisions for their residences. Besides, the use of alcohol is banished from campus, residences, and varsity cups. Hereby alcohol abuse and violence needs to be decreased. The banishing of alcohol is also reflected in one of the universities, where the nightlife square where bars, pubs and clubs are situated, are closing now. Most students think it is sad and silly that events and traditions are changed in that way, and that there is so much emphasis on banishing alcohol, since some argue that alcohol just is a student thing. They think the excuses of their universities to change these traditions are not funded.

[2] Staff member Department of Higher Education and Training – Policy and Research Unit – Personal Communication, 12 December, 2014
[3] Staff member Department of Higher Education and Training – University Policy and Development Support – Personal Communication, 21 November, 2014

4.7 Noteworthy significant findings

The research results, ordered by the eight Dimensions of research, have shown some significant findings. It was shown that there is a social divide between students from English classes and students from Afrikaans classes. This can be seen as a legacy of apartheid, because a divide is created. Some Afrikaans students feel disadvantaged not everything is provided in Afrikaans. Also some students feel insecure and not comfortable in discussions because they don't master the English language that well. Some heated discussions emerge when students have different points of view on the subjects, and they have a lack of understanding other students' points of view.

Besides it is shown that there is mostly made use of Western and Eurocentric models and theories, but students mostly have to apply them on local South African examples. Most students have a normal teaching relationship with their lecturers. Lecturers, to a certain extent, developed into being cultural workers, by encouraging discussions and paying attention to sensitive societal issues. But some legacies of apartheid is that some lecturers still have wrong assumptions about students' background because of their color and race.

Another legacy of apartheid is that students tend to stick together in cliques with students from the same background, race, language, religion, residence friends. This is reflected in friendship groups, in group work choice, in class compositions, and some friendship within university residences. Because of the sticking together in cliques, students have many prejudices and stereotypes on other students and cliques, but they don't have much experiences of discrimination. Now, cliques are becoming more diverse and overlapping. Also, some students are not very tolerant towards others because they are steeped in their background ideals, in their comfort zone. For example. Interracial dating relationships still are not the norm. Some people behave according to this. Thereby, race still comes as first. There is not much resistance to those processes and such issues. Most students are not aware of gender relations, only some female students have struggle for dignity in their study degrees. Disabled students are treated normally and with respect, but they are judged on their capabilities. Mentally disabled students are mostly unknown, but recently at one university there have been two suicide incidents. For many students, religion is important in their daily life, it is part of the student culture on campus. Besides, religion can influence students´ ideological beliefs on for example bi- and homosexuality.

Although there is a variety of student societies, not many students are involved. Also not much students are involved in voluntary community services projects. Mostly students are only involved if it is a compulsory part of their study degree, but those projects are experienced as not being beneficial on the long term. Also not many students are involved in university politics. They have bad attitudes on university politics because the parties are youth divisions of national political parties, they are seen as race driven.

Another legacy of apartheid is the fact that university sports are still racially segregated. Although there are some quotas to promote diversity in sports, they are still mainly segregated. The quotas are seen as a reverse form of discrimination because they give some students unearned privilege over other students. There are also such quotas in university residences. But within residence, there is still a bit sticking together of students from the same language and race. Hereby, there still occur

some discriminatory incidences on race and language in university residences. But there are some rules and traditions for the integration, bonding, disciplining of residence students, to learn them loyalty. Those were creating some hierarchies and seen as unfair, thereby many of those rules and traditions are now disappearing. That those rules and traditions have persisted so long can be seen as a legacy from apartheid. Besides residences traditions, students only recognize some old statues, buildings, and special Orientation- and RAG-weeks as symbols and traditions. At one of the universities, nightlife facilities are segregated because of music and race, which feels students uncomfortable since some issues and incidents occur because of the segregation. This can be seen as a legacy of apartheid since people are divided according to their color and race. Because of the drinking culture, sometimes racial ideologies are strengthened, sometimes they disappear on the influence of alcohol.

Besides residence and sports quota, also the quotas on access and the B-BBEE quotas are causing some debates since they are seen as a reversed form of discrimination. This can be seen as a legacy because still some person get unearned privilege over other students because of race. But this can be referred to what Soudien e.a. (2008) call positive discrimination.
Also languages policies are causing debates. The dual language policy in some institutions is causing discussions because students have different views on whether the dual medium of language is (dis)advantaging English or Afrikaans students. Hereby, it is argued it would be more fair if more South African languages would be provided on institutions. Besides, the universities focus more on academics, research and the international rankings. As a result, rules become strict, alcohol is banished. Students experience the university as becoming too much strict and controlling.

Chapter 5 - Staff members' experiences on legacies of apartheid and discrimination in the post-apartheid South African university landscape

In this chapter, staff member's experiences on legacies of apartheid will be explained. As explained in Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework, different dimensions of research will be used as a framework to clarify results in this thesis. For the research group of staff members, the dimensions that will be used are Teaching and extra provisions; Staffing; Research on universities; Culture, Social life and interactions; Non-academic participation; Symbols and traditions; and University policy. At the end of this chapter, noteworthy significant findings will be outlined

5.1 Teaching and extra provisions

Teaching

The interviewed lecturers mostly make use of Eurocentric and Western models and theories, but they believe in using African ones and using indigenous contexts, they need to be aware of the fact that they are mostly using Eurocentric ones. For example the model of globalization is used to emphasize on issues of social justice, oppression and issues related to the South African society. Hereby, lecturers try to let students practice those theories on local examples, for example the issue of HIV in South Africa. In teaching post-graduate and masters students, society issues automatically become relevant. Lecturers try to promote presentations and interactions in class, and let students try to make those theories and issues relevant to their own living experiences. Hereby, most lecturers do not often use their own research in modules, since they are not sure whether using too much of your own research is a good practice. One lecturer often changes her study guide to keep modules being relevant. A lecturer explains how he uses the model of globalization:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level)[4]: The model I teach at undergraduate level is a model about globalization of how the global village is taking over the world actually, and we can communicate constantly with one another. And I do things like, all of you have friends on Facebook who are not in South Africa, put your hands up. And how often do you communicate with them, in what language do you communicate with them, what have you found about the different. Just times and differences, how does that impact your communication. And then take it through it, now you are standing in the south African classroom, we are the rainbow nation. We have kids in our class who are South Africans, but they have completely different cultures, completely different languages, completely different religions. And I try to relate their friendship with someone in Holland, through the relations of that they gain they have to establish for someone in their classroom is completely different. And to take that life experience of having travelled, having friends overseas, different cultures.

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[4] Because of the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents, all names in this master thesis research have been replaced by fictitious names. Although all staff members speak English, it is chosen to mention their background and their native language.

The importance of Indigenous models is shown by Dr. Shirley Lloyd[5], Director of the National Qualifications Framework of the Department of Higher Education and Training. In her opinion, universities don't take efficient cognizance and don't recognize enough the wealth of indigenous knowledge. She uses the example that universities use many expensive international, management and leadership books wherein it is argued to let everybody have a voice. But in the South African traditions, they have been doing it for centuries by using the philosophy of Ubuntu, having a hard life, everybody around a table.

Which students are mostly participating in discussions, is depending on in which classes students are. It is argued that in Afrikaans classes there is less discussion because students are less forthcoming, they are used to a culture of sitting and listening. On the contrary, in English classes there are more interactions, they are used to a culture more of willing to express their opinion. This can also be explained by the fact that Afrikaans classes are more homogeneous groups. Besides, it is argued that which students are participating, is also dependent on their interest for the subject of discussions. Also the phase of study is mentioned as a factor whether students are participating, master's students are mostly participating. Although participating in discussions seems to be influenced by mastering a certain language, not all lecturers do agree with this.

The abovementioned language divide can also be seen when students have to choose groups for assignments. Because of time pressure, students choose to work with their friends or students that speak the same language. Students also choose their groups on the same interests and top line of inquiry. To promote integration of diverse students in workgroups, sometimes groups are prescribed by lecturers. But then within diverse workgroup, problems can arise whereby white students tend to do all the work instead of African students because they don't have much confidence in the African students, who thereby feel very disrespected and disadvantaged. One lecturer sometimes gives introvert students the opportunity of doing group assignments on their own if they want to, to not force them into a group.

Other language problems for example occur when humour and jokes are experienced as being disrespectful:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level): I am a coordinator for a foreign module that is taught in English and Afrikaans at the same time. And that is extremely difficult because every time you teach in Afrikaans the English students are excluded, and every time you teach in English the Afrikaans students to a large extent are excluded. We have a situation where most English speakers struggle with Afrikaans, but very few Afrikaans people struggle with English. So Afrikaans people generally can speak English, bad English, but they can speak it and can understand it. Whereas the English students don't always, are not able to do that. And I often have the situation where a student will come to me say I am an English student, the teachers language is Afrikaans, I am never sure whether he repeated it or did it in Afrikaans or English. So sometimes I feel like I am missing out of stuff. And you will make a joke in Afrikaans and all the Afrikaans tends to

[5] Dr. Shirley Lloyd – Director: National Qualifications Framework – Department of Higher Education and Training – Personal Communication, 7 November, 2014

laugh and don't know what it is about. And that speaks to sense of belonging. I think if you teach in English and Afrikaans it is huge important to make sure that every feels that they belong in that group. Because it is very easy to exclude someone on language and with language. And if your presenter is Afrikaans, cannot speak English, as not as comfortable in English as he is in Afrikaans, if he thinks of something and he is going to say something funny it will be in Afrikaans. And then the whole group will be excluded. And that is the sense of belonging. I don't belong in that class because he talks to them more, or I am not sure that he gives everything that he gives them he gives to me

Opinions on the role of the lecturers are pretty divided. Some argue that there only has to be a lecturer-students relation and they don't like friendship situation with students, while other lecturers argue they need to be a mentor and a role model.

Although most lecturers haven't experienced any issues of discrimination in class, there is some intolerance between students. These intolerance is mostly caused by the financial apartheid and the fact that not all students are aware of that. Intolerance arises when people are not understanding that not everyone has the same personal circumstances and possessions as they have. One lecturer illustrates this with the following example:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level): I often see students coming late, (...) and they come into run upon the stairs and they sweat and they sit down. And I know there are students who look down at those students, like what is wrong with them, why can't they be on time. And it is not because they want to be late, but they don't have a car that can travel to campus in and can get on time and they are all nice, these students get out at 4.00 in the morning and catch a train and a bus and a taxi and they walk the last. So it is often difficult for them to come here on time. There is intolerance in that record sometimes. I have noticed that kind of intolerance. Intolerance of things like people who don't have the writing incorporated: why didn't you check your email? And they never complete it, why don't you have a computer? Well, my parent works as a gardener for the municipality, he doesn't have the money. We have a choice, our family eats or I have a computer. That is kind of intolerance and misunderstanding. And assumptions sometimes that everyone is like, I have a laptop, I have an IPad, a cell phone with data connectivity, I have a car. So everyone is more likely and around the corner, so why are you late, why didn't you download your emails, why didn't you type your assignment. That kind of intolerance and the assumption that everyone has everything that. And that is not true, that is just not true.

Extra provisions
Since universities have to cater for both students and employees, they have many extra provisions for those who deal with some problems and issues. In contradiction to students, staff members have far more knowledge about the extra provisions, explained by the fact that some of them are working with such provisions. Extra provisions that are known by them are counsellors, psychologists, social workers, the Human Resource Department, different deans, student representative councils, the Disability Units and different external committees.

Students are referred by their lecturers to places for extra provisions, or they apply by themselves. At the Disability Unit (DU) at one of the universities, students first have to be assessed individually, externally and independently, whereby diagnoses and information will be kept confidential.

Thereafter, the DU will find solutions for the problems or challenges disabled students are facing with. Hereby the communication from students is the most important aspect in these processes, the DU follows an open door policy. Another Project Coordinator of a Faculty argues that people can come to her with problems, and that she will find solutions by bringing students in contact with different employees in different steps. But, if students don't want to go the whole process they also can directly contact the dean, her faculty does have a very open policy on that. In findings solutions, the different departments of extra provisions in some cases work together. By consulting problems and ideas with colleagues from different departments, new solutions can be created. The DU even makes use of a national platform for all universities in South Africa, where Disability Units can exchange ideas and advices. This disability unit is funded by the government, sponsors and other co-operations.

During doing my fieldwork, I spoke to the technical officer at the DU at one of the universities. At the DU, he is in contact with students that have different disabilities such as visual disabilities, hearing disabilities, physical disabilities, students in wheelchairs, students with cognitive disabilities, students with learning disabilities, ADHD and Dyslexia. When students are assessed, the DU tries to find solutions, for example providing technical provisions such as special computers, assigning letters to lecturers who don't understand students' disabilities, give students extra arrangements in writing exams and tests, innovate old buildings to make them disabled-friendly, providing mobility trainings on campus and helping the placement of disabled students in residences that are adapted for disabled students. Hereby, the DU follows a policy of integration, without segregation. They try to remove impairment and equalize the functioning of students. This means that students will be placed in residences and classes with other students that don't have disabilities. For finding solutions, it is very important that lecturers are open to communicate with the DU. The technical officer of the DU gives two examples to illustrate this:

Nick (White, English, Technical officer at a disability unit): I selected complaints that some academic stuff don't understand, the needs of these students. And that boardens on discrimination, that is basically because of the ignorance on that persons. It is not that they are actively try to discriminate these students. And I've had cases, for example where the lecturers don't understand the concessions for extra time. (…) Especially new people who just start lecturing. There is usually a lot of putting this to accommodate a student. They just don't know how to do that, the best way possible. So they will call me, or come and see me and just starts to get more information on teaching techniques, things they can do in the lecturers, that provides the most assistance possible to that student. (…) I think I had only one case where the lecturer was being very abstinence, not wanting to assist, and complaining, how would the student go in the field if he can't cope as a student.

Because of the increasing (technical) provisions, that DU is constantly growing and in an ongoing process of change and improvements. As a result, more employers are contracted, resulting in the decreasing amount of volunteers. The South African government also offers special bursaries for students with disabilities because they have more work and costs than students without disabilities.

5.2 Staffing

The interviewed staff members do have different functions. A divide can be made between academics and non-academics. Interviewed academics in this research are lecturers, PhD candidates, project coordinator of the faculty, and a head of a department. Non-academics are a technical officer at the Disability Unit, administrator, IT team leader, psychologist and baristas at the campus coffee corner. Mostly the non-academics experience a divide between academics and non-academics. Some of them have bad experiences from the divide because they seem to have not that much in common. They feel boxed and looked down by academics, since academics feel superior over them. It is argued that academics assume non-academics not being on the same level of comprehension. These experiences can be explained by the fact that academics have more benefits, privileges than non-academics. An administrative worker illustrates unequal treatments on base of intelligence:

Lerato (Black, Sotho, Administrative worker): There is, I would speak to you and understand that you level of intelligence, does not want for me to repeat the same sentence ten times. You got the point, get on with that. But there would be the other person that looks at you and thinks, you're an administrator, whereas they normally think, and that is just the difference, people think, just because you're an administrator, you're not quietly have always, you're just the insecure, you just sit then out of funds, that's what we do. And they will address you in a very mediocre kind of way, they little you, that you wouldn't understand something academic. But on the other hand, it is just very clear. Or they also just take it in such a sense that you are possibly not from the suburbs or something, you're from a location, you wouldn't know a particular something. And that is also not the case, and when you are very much socialized, very much go out, do stuff, you know, that everybody else does

One barista argues that non-academics look down on other non-academics:

Khathutshelo (Black, Sepedi ,Barista): Most of the people who are working in the admin, they tend to be like, at the end of the day, they are the ones undermining us as compared to people with academic backgrounds. Because they look at us as, low-class, somehow somewhere I don't know how, but they look at us as low-class people. But at the end of the day, those were the ones who were supposed to be like, in our economy, those were the ones that were supposed to communicate with a lot of compared to professors and doctors and the lecturers here.

The working environment
Staff members mostly experience a nice working environment, they are satisfied about their departments. Compared to the private sector, the university is experienced as being a more relaxed working environment because there is not much stress and staff don't have to work overtime to late hours.

Staff members that have been working at their university for a long time, have seen their departments changing, management functions have changed and new staff members from different backgrounds and races were employed. They now see a much more diverse group of colleagues. But

still, some departments are very European, within these departments not all staff members are equally treated. One staff member gives an example of this:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and post-graduate level): I can't speak about other departments. I have heard of people saying there get disadvantaged this group of people get money to travel overseas but I have to pay for myself.

One of the non-academics mentions the university culture, as a mind-set that is difficult to jump in:

Lerato (Black, Sotho, Administrative worker): I don't know about belonging or, but the culture here is different. You know, the university culture. And it is quite a difficult one to jump into. You go work you things, work your time to understand what the culture is, would you fit in, with who do you fit in, but it is just about mindset. (…) I think it is just the attitudes that drop off, the cultures that drop off on the individual.

Two baristas really like their working environment because they love talking to customers and because they experience nice timetables, they don't have to work in the weekends. The relations they have with their customers will be further explained in Dimension 4: Culture, Social life and interactions.

(Un)equal treatments

Most staff members experience everyone in their department being equally treated, there is great tolerance and people understand each other's differences such as language and culture. Staff members have good relations with their colleagues, they can collaborate well and communicate well with colleagues when there are issues or things go wrong. Most staff members have good working relationships with their colleagues, some staff members even became friends. The two barista's are the only staff members who experienced a bad relation with a former colleague. One of them illustrates this by the following statement:

Khathutshelo (Black, Sepedi, barista): it was one who was working here. He was a white guy. He used to be so bullying because he thought maybe of the color of his skin, and I'm a black person, he'd tell me jump and jump, I am not that kind of a person. (…) Because he felt, him as a white guy, and we are blacks, to me he didn't work out late. And at the end, we were constantly fighting me and him because of that. And at the end of the day he felt like I'm verbaliar abusing him, because when it comes to expressing myself, I wouldn't keep quiet. If you hit me, I'll tell you. I won 't keep quiet, I'll tell you and if I tell you, and I tell until it's done, I'm done with you. (…) he was this kind of a person that if he doesn't like you, he doesn't hate you, to show, and with most of the things that he report to the bosses. Me and you can be sitting now, chatting like this, being colleagues, but by the time he goes to the boss he bullied me and you sitting, one person was sitting, one person was doing that. (…) Those were the kinds of things that he used to make me angry, was the way he used to convent this do the bosses in terms of us. I didn't like it, because at the end of the day, you go to the bosses and tell the bosses some of the things we didn't even do. He ended up creating and he used things, if you sneeze, it's wrong, if you laugh with customers, it's wrong, if you go out, it is wrong, if you sleep it's wrong.

Although most staff members feel equally treated and have good relations with colleagues, not all of them feel that other colleagues give much appreciations. It seems that the type of appreciations is also dependent on what your function is. When employees have to do much stuff for others that they can't do by themselves, they are likely to receive more appreciations. Three staff members give examples of appreciations they receive:

Frank (White, Afrikaans, IT team leader): Sometimes, when someone thought his data was lost and I get that back for him. The other day somebody handed in their doctored and there was said they couldn't get something right with the document and I fixed it for him. Things like that, you can really see that it helps someone, and they really appreciate it. (...) it is nice to see that especially when somebody appreciated you well. You get a lot of older people that show appreciations, it feels good. At the end of the day, once you got a skill that not everybody has.

Khathutshelo (Black, Sepedi, Barista): I am one friendly person, most of the people they appreciate me. You won't believe if I tell you that in a year, it's all right for me not to go home without a present from a customer. Just for thanks, for my friendliness. And that my friend, that guy, Mohlomi. Most of them, the costumers, come and give us gifts. And some of them, we don't giving ask for them. They just come and give us, for the sake of being friendly.

Lerato (Black, Sotho, Administrative worker): the biggest ones were from the dean for I worked, last month, for the newcomer of the year. So far, that has been my greatest, yes. But besides that, our head of the department, he is not the type of person that would be, do your job and let's get over sand over it. Yes, you do your job, he's got a sense of appreciation, you hardly find people who would say to you: thank you very much for what you have done, or job well done.

Although most staff members experience a nice working environment, many of them have experiences bad issues, varying from discrimination on grounds of race, language, gender and level of function. Because of race, staff members experienced a lack of trust, looking down on them and racial incorrect issues. A couple of staff members illustrate experiences of racial issues by the following examples:

Bheka (Black, Head of a department): They were dealing with the issues of trust, like it is if as a black person you have to prove yourself 4, 5 times more than is the case with white people. (…) As head of department, I just feel that I'm discriminated against because I'm black, and I would speak out. Some people will bypass you, instead of coming to you, as the manager, they go, always back they got the dean who is white.

Mohlomi (Black, Zimbabwean, Barista): most of all the customers are white people. But most of them are friendly. But there are some individuals, maybe they look down on black persons, something like that. (…) The way you can see with the way a person is approaching you, or a person can once approach you and you can shault it to. (…) You see, you must respect one another despite of our races, despite of our status, despite of anything. We must just respect the one another. But there are some people, unfortunately, who think they are above others. Or who think they are smarter as others. So they tend to do such air, discrimination act upon others. Of which is not good.

Lerato (Administrative worker): this person is rather acting racially incorrect to the next person. But it is not loud, it is not always in your face. But there is people that you come across and you notice that their attitude is rather offensive towards the opposite race. (…) Tone of voice. And addressing people.

All staff members argue that the English language is mostly used, buy that sometimes colleagues mutually speak in their own languages, such as Afrikaans and Sotho. When a colleagues that doesn't speak that languages comes in, and the other ones switch to English, there is no problem. But when colleague don't switch, don't adapt to English, issues emerge. Some staff members are excluded and feel disadvantaged, discriminated. Several staff members give examples of such language issues:

Mohlomi (Black, Zimbabwean, Barista): I simply tell them that, please, I am not an Afrikaans speaking person, so I'm kindly asking you to communicate in English with me. (…) Some, they don't have a problem with that, they just switch one to English. But there are some customers, especially those ones that I was telling that they like discriminate the ones who persist in speaking their own language. Of which they are forgetting that the person is still in that.

Frank (White, Afrikaans, IT team leader): Some at the meetings. People still respond in Afrikaans, and there is obviously other colleagues that couldn't understand Afrikaans or don't understand it that well. When we are among each other, we also speak Afrikaans. Some of them understand, some don't. (...) It is that people don't make an issue of that. That is why it is becoming an issue.

Khathutshelo (Black,Sepedi, Barista): this kids who are coming to buy here, they just took it as black upon. A black person who always remain a black person. You will always be there, dominated, no matter what. That will never change. But at the end of the day, some of them, due to the effect that they are not mixing with different cultures, different countries, they are coming, some of them, we talk to them. For instance, I'm not an Afrikaans people. If you come and talk to me in Afrikaans, I say to them, you also don't want me to talk to you in my language? Because to me, it doesn't make sense. When you two come and talk to me in Afrikaans, knowing that some of the things that you are saying in Afrikaans I don't understand. Because if I talk in my language, you won't understand. So to me that one is discrimination. Because some of them, they literally make you feel that black person will always be a black person, no matter what, whether you are educated or what. A black person will always we black person.

For some staff members it is difficult to react on issues such as discrimination and language problems. They can complain at their bosses, head of the department, or superior and even to a certain board. But some of them feel uncomfortable and don't dare to complain and stand up for themselves. They don't feel comfortable because they don't feel they belong in their department, or because they don't feel safe with the structures that are in place for them to report to. As a result, in some cases a fear, culture of silence emerges. Several staff members give examples of this fear and bad experiences when complaining:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level): I think it depends on the individual. I think the ladies are less likely stand up for themselves the men are. Again in my situations where it is a white men bullying a black man and the black man might feel not appropriate to stand up for himself, that would be the other way around where you have a black manager who is

bullying a white worker and the white females who might not have, feel not be appropriate to stand up for herself. But I think depends to a large extent on the individual.

Jennifer (White, English, Lecturer and project coordinator of her faculty): I think people are very careful, they won't always express how they feel. Because they will try and keep the whole situation as neutral as possible. Which means there is a lot of underlying things happening, which probably doesn't come to the fore front. It just may be good.

Khathutshelo (Black, Sepedi, Barista): you can see that this person is just pretending. (…) when it comes to my bosses. I know they are just pretending for the sake of, I'm making money for them, that's it.
Interviewer: And if you have problems, can you tell him that? Or isn't he doing anything with problems?
I ended up developing that attitude, even if I got a problem, I don't think I'll go to them and talk to them. I'd rather, especially if it doesn't contend you, if it's my personal problem, let me do it, it is my problem. But if it consults their job, If I tell you once, I am not coming back to you and saying, I told you this, why didn't you take action. I tell you once, I'm done with, you. If you don't react to that, then it's none of my business. I am not the one who is going to suffer. (…) If I say, there is not enough water, can you please buy up water, today, when you say ok I buy, and tomorrow you expect me to go back again and asking that remaining I said you must buy water for us, and you don't buy anything, I am not going to ask you again. Because at the end of the day, it is not of my business. But me at the end of the day, you pay me, you must pay me. It is in my contract, you must pay me. Whether there's black or white, it's not of my business.

Salaries and working opportunities

Most interviewed staff members are satisfied with their salaries, although they argue it can always be higher, compared to other colleagues. Only the two baristas argue their salaries are far too low, they only work for the sake of being working. Although salaries can be higher, employees get other benefits such as studying at their university for free. Worrisome is that one administrative worker argues that the amount of salaries is linked to race. Hereby she argues that other administrator's start salaries were higher than hers, which felt as very disadvantaging She illustrates these unequal salaries by the following statement:

Lerato (Black, Sotho, Administrator): I feel the university can do better. It is also, there is people that do the same kind of work that you do, but they are actually getting a little bit more than you. You know you working the same hours, you do the same kind of work, if not more. But they tend to get a little bit more. And when you look at the pertinence why, it is kind of still very much a racial thing somewhere. (…) With other administrators that are off white origin, tend to get a higher salary than the ones of black origins. So when I look at that, it looks like this, that kind of mentality or speculation, that the other race needs more money because of the areas that they live in, and the rest of the black people live in occasions whereas that is not the case. We all live in the same kind of areas now, you know. We all pay the same things, that's just my own perception from the little research that I kind of do under handed.

Experiences on working opportunities are pretty divided. Especially non-academic staff experience not having much job opportunities on higher level jobs. Only non-academic staff that are part time studying feel they have better working opportunities when finishing their study degrees. Also because of the B-BBEE, not all staff members do have the same working opportunities. Three staff members illustrate their view on working opportunities:

Lerato (Black, Sotho, Administrator): as an administrator, I don't think there is an opportunity to have a higher position. But possibly just move a salary grading higher. Than is the only privileges that you can get. (…) With academics, you move up the pyramid. But with non-academics, you move wider.

Frank (White, Afrikaans, IT team leader): I mean, because of the BBE now, we don't. Because some has been advertised for instance, in IT now, have to be a black person. (..) Yes, they don't look at the merit. (...) Apart from my skin colour, because you work in an academic environment, it is important to qualify yourself further. Do honours or masters that affect that I do, probably one getting further.(...) We all experience in terms of certain posts, if you want to apply for higher posts, they tell you first, it must be filled by a less privileged person, or how you want to call it. I think we all did experienced it, but not directly, as racial clashes or anything like that. It is still how the system works.

Bheka (Black, English, Head of a department): The fact that sometimes when you have got to appoint a black qualified candidate you've got to motivate more 4, 5 times, than when a white person has to be appointed. That is always this myth, of anything white is good, is excellent and quality and so on. But that is not the case. And anything black, should be treated in suspicion. If it all lets found to be good, you must find a way it which we punch wholes. So that we do not think that they are as good as they think they are.

Gender relations
Some gender inequalities emerge when women are not advancing their academic careers. The position of a women will change if she gets a child, women are on the foreground in raising children. One lecturer illustrates this with the following statement:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level): women were not giving permanent posts, there were given temporary posts. Because the assumption was that they were going to become pregnant, and get married or pregnant. And they were going to have teaching for a period of time. And if they were temporary appointed, you didn't have to give them maturity benefits. Often like all of them was set to change, we have an equal dispensation for men and women. Yes I think it has an impact. I think it has an impact they are other responsibilities for a women once she has children. And those are a lot of always taken into consideration because to a large extent people are saying, we are all equal here. It doesn't matter to me what is going on at home. It is here at work. Your child is sick, I am sorry to hear. If you want to go home, take a day's leave. Whereas when a man is saying I am staying home at my child. And I think women find it difficult to once they have children, and they have those additional responsibilities, there are extra challenges. And I think it is unique for South Africa I think we are the most progressive societies where in Europe that is not a problem. They go off the world, women who have children, women generally take more strings as far as, they have to walk the extra mile to be in the same level as a men. I think a child definitely can make a difference.

Other staff members argue that this is not the case, that men and women are treated equally and that their universities have crossed that barrier.

5.3 Research on universities

It is argued that every department determines its own research, but that within departments, academics are able to choose their research subject by their own, as long as it fits with the research subjects of the department. It is argued by most academics that most research is funded by government, companies, sponsors, the so-called third stream of income. Besides, international research collaborations are generating more income for universities. Thereby, as will be further explained in the Dimension University policy, universities are putting more focus on research.

As a result, there is more pressure on publishing articles. Because of this pressure, there are worries that there will be less focus on lecturing and that academics maybe go struggling with their research. There are rumours that academics' status will be downgraded, that they will earn less money and bonus if they have not met their research targets. Besides, not all lecturers know whether it is good to use own research reports in teaching. Hereby, some issues emerge whether good researchers are also good lecturers and vice versa.

5.4 Culture, social life and interactions

Working cultures

Staff members who are working at their university for a long period of time, argue the culture between colleagues has improved very good. Now, they argue that staff from different races work together in collaborations. The quality of research outputs hereby is increased and processes now are more open. Besides, some staff members enjoy travelling with colleagues to conference. There has been a change in people's mind-sets, staff members now have more respect for each other and do effort to understand each other's cultures. A lecturer illustrates this with a beautiful example:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer at undergraduate and postgraduate level): we have a meeting other than ours, and there is food off to eat. It is a very South African thing. And I have seen in my department how the persons who ordered the food was an European. And the food that they ordered was European. Even if the department is not largely Europe. And at one point she said to me: do you think our colleagues enjoy the foods? That is, so she started, ordered more Afrocentric menu and immediately people said: Wow, that was so nice. And that, is something we weren't thinking about, we always ordered lasagna, we have always ordered European cheese. Now we are ordering pap and worst and we order stuff that is more African. And the differences we make and the recognition that gets is amazing. Where they didn't want to say anything because they are not being, they don't want to be incorrect, and we just assumed this is what we eat, so everyone must eat this. That is a small sort of little transformations that are playing in your mind, you cannot believe that for four years we had ordering stuff that they don't eat, but it is not their preference. And off course, you order food to people that you like. And that is just those small things you might, and be not aware of that.

But, some other staff members still think much need to be changed, that there still is some corruption in the government and officials, which are causing problems. One of the staff members argues she thinks now in some cases there is some discrimination from blacks against whites, but that it won't be discussed.

Inclusion on campus

Most staff members think there is much inclusion on campus, the relations between students are good. They see a group culture of accepting each other and learning the needs of others, for example disabled students, and transsexual students. But still, some improvements can be made.

On the other hand, staff members experience that students sometimes aren't aware of the fact that there is such a diversity between students. They think everyone is and has the same as they do, they take their own assumptions for granted. But for example not everyone has a computer, a car, some students sleep in the libraries during exam times, because they have no possibilities of travelling home at night. As a result of those own assumptions, students tend to stick together in groups. Fortunately, there are some individual students who are willing to cross that divide.

Some staff members have good interactions with students, they have daily contact with them because of their function.

Baristas: interaction with customers

For the two baristas, interaction with their customers is the most important aspect of their function. They have very strong relations with some of their customers, they even come with problems to them. They give examples of such relationships:

Khathutshelo (Black, Sepedi, Barista): Most of my customers, especially, because most of the kids who are here, they are like my babies, some of them they come with their problems to me. I'll sit with them down, they'll explain to me, I've got this and that and that and that and that. And then I'll tell them, give them that motherly love, and tell them what to do. For instance, there is this two boys who like to come here. One of them likes calling me, telling me. The other one likes calling me and tells nothing.

Mohlomi (Black, Zimbabwean, Barista): One of my customers, this lady that you have seen. She is one of the best customers that I ever had here. She comes, normally these days, things with family issues, she told me about her children and husband, and I always will tell about my wife and my son, we just talk family stories. I was a family, and we started discussing family issues. She's one of my favorite customers. (…) The other one is the professor who comes here, he likes talking, he likes creating jokes, we started laughing and that. And we just discuss things about other things in life. Yes, that's nice.

The baristas are mostly treated well by customers. But there have been some incidents on language, when customers talk to the baristas in languages they cannot understand, and customers then refuse to switch to other languages. There have also been issues when they are looked down own, for example by academics or because of their race. Those issues are experienced as being very painful.

5.5 Non-academic participation

Not much staff people take part in non-academic activities. Some do participate in community services projects, on a voluntary basis (for example by their church), or as a part of their work or research program. Not for all academics it is a compulsory task do to community services projects. Not all staff members are obliged to take part in community service projects. Most employees think it should be depending on the degree whether community projects are compulsory, because such projects are not relevant for each degree. Some lecturers think that the university should organize more activities to involve students in community projects Even one lecturer's research shows there should be more study related activities. A Head of Department illustrates the importance of community service work:

Bheka (Black, English, Head of Department): It is important, because universities will lose their relevance if they ignore communities around them. But if it is not communities around them, the far, in areas that are far, they would. Universities have quite to be responsive and find ways of interacting those communities with the view of do a lot in them. We come, the students come from those communities, any education of, of sault, it is next to find to ways in which, whatever we do here, is brought back into the community.

Although employees are not that much involved in non-academic participation, they argue for students, there are many committees and societies they can joy, and that those societies are free and open to students. Given examples are discussion groups on gender, race and a LGBT society. The technical officer mentions the so called The Enabling Society, set up by and for students with disabilities, to lobby communication with top management and to get NGO's involved.

Because most staff people are not involved in non-academic participation, they have not much knowledge on student politics. Only two staff members have knowledge on student politics.

They argue that the students politics system on their campus has changed, to become more political correct. When voting for SRC members, candidates now don't have to be part of a student political party anymore, which is seen as more fair. But student politics still is a very sensitive matter, on their campus mostly white students win elections. They see university politics as a reflection of the national politics, with the goal of also recruiting and attracting students for national politics. They think the university politics academically don't make a lot of sense. One of the staff members hereby argues that he would like university politics focusing only on the SRC and campus matters, and not on the (national) politics. In his opinion, politics should be left out of students bodies completely.

5.6 Symbols and traditions

Compared to students, staff members also do not have many knowledge on the symbols and traditions on their university. They argue symbols and traditions don't have much influence, only the university flag is seen by them as an influencing factor. Symbols and traditions are a mismatch of things that come together. Some staff members see an Eurocentric influence in artworks, statues and celebrations, they are argued as being not traditional, and being made by white Afrikaans people. Besides, one lecturer links celebrations to religious traditions. Hereby, it is argued that academics know more about symbols and traditions than non-academics.

Some staff have seen symbols and traditions changing in their departments over last years. They have seen an institutional culture change, whereby for example new traditions emerge, and whereby a university logo changes. The impact of such an institutional culture change is dependent on the phase of the university and the specific department, since some institutional cultures are difficult to change. In some departments, anti-transformation settlements are experienced. A small part of the staff members think it is sad that unique traditions are disappearing now. One lecturer gives an example of an institutional culture change:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level): In the African culture the men is a dominant and the female is observant. So you will see precedents of that. An example, my head of department came in the other day to our meal room after a meeting for the meal, and he stood around, he didn't served himself. And when someone said what you have going to eat something Prof, he said in my culture men don't open plates. He is waiting for someone to serve him. So one of the other ladies of the staff had to go and get a plate for him. And that is very much the male-female divide, along ethnic lines rather than professional, and the professional lines. And it is very much the same in the Afrikaans cultures where in all the Afrikaans cultures the men stand aside and the women serve, you know, and the men gets his plate.

5.7 University policy

Universities do have different policies. A policy field that raises many questions and discussions is the language policy. On some of the universities there are dual language policies. As already argued, this is creating a (language) divide between students. Some staff members agree with the dual language policy because for students it is fair to choose a medium of language in which they can express themselves the best. But it is sad that not more languages are provided. Counterarguments are that a dual language policy can counteract the fastment of the internationalization of the universities. Some are proponent for only English as the medium of language, since English is the world language. Hereby, the institutional culture is perceived as being changing, slowly evolving to English, which is seen in emails, notes and boards. In one of the dual medium universities, there are a lot of transformation sentiments.

Bheka (Black, English, Head of a Department): the fact that some of this young people and study in Afrikaans, is part of the entrenchment of the old institutional culture. It is a battle about this is, how our university at the outside is. But we say, no this is a public institution, it belongs to all South Africans, and so on. Institutional culture is sort of reflected in the ways people go about doing their work on the daily basis. (…) And so we've got some, a lot of anti-transformation sentiments, at this institution. They are not only sentimental, there are also practices.

Another policy field that often raises questions is that of policies on quotas and the B-BBEE. In some cases, quotas are necessary because otherwise there won't be enough black staff members at universities. Because of the B-BBEE, there have been more black employees on universities. Because of the B-BBEE, universities now have transformation policies, whereby great efforts have been made. For example new residence policies to promote integration in residences, and the framework of universities are changed in a more political correct way. On the contrary, it is argued that the higher positions are still occupied with white employers, at the less specialized functions more black people are employed.

Other staff members think quotas are not completely controllable, they are hooking up the histories of some universities. The idea of the B-BBEE and the quotas is good, but they are implemented in the wrong way. They are seen as unfair and as a reversed form of discrimination, very much the same previous imbalance inequalities are created. Besides, some staff members argue that because of the quotas the quality of employees is going backwards. When applying for jobs, there is looked at race, colour, instead of qualities and merits. People are now employed on skin or when they are very good in what they are doing. It is also argued that promotion within universities become more difficult because of the quota. On the contrary, some staff members argue that the perceptions of quotas instead quality is wrong, and that people need to look behind race quotas. A lecturer illustrates how staff people think on quotas:

Jacob (White, Afrikaans, Lecturer undergraduate and postgraduate level): for example the possibilities for my progress in academic. I have been very blessed and I have been at the right place at the right time. But it is often said to me laughing here that you probably will be the last white, we talk about pale males, pale male, you are probably the last white Afrikaans person to be appointed in

the permanent position at this university. (…) We have to be, and the university has to represent to a large extent the demographics of the country. I understand that, I support that. But is does sometimes causes me a heart attack

But there are still some difficulties. There are some anti-transformation settlements and only new lecturers will bring change in the curricula. Besides, in one of the universities, alumni still are very powerful, they are strongly attached to the university, and their influence is still big because they make financial contributions to the university[6].

Another policy field that is often mentioned is that the universities are focusing more on internationalization and research. This focus is also driven by the Internationalization policy of Department of Higher Education and Training. This policy is partly funded by the European Union. Thereby, the task teams also consist of local expats from the European Union[7]. As a result, universities want to stay in the top 500 in the world universities ranking, or they want to achieve a higher position. Another argument for the internationalization and research intensification is that universities hereby can recruit talents globally, and make collaborations to make more (international) publications. These focuses are for example expressed by future visions for a certain period of time that some universities have. One staff member argues that research now is the golden standard. They try to make new research collaborations with other international universities. By becoming more international and research intensive, universities can improve and their money income will increase. As a result of the focus on research internationalization, for example curricula's have to change every five years, and at one of the universities the time period for Master's and PhD's has to be reduced very much. One staff member argues he is worried that the increasing focus on research intensification will lead to a lesser focus on teaching.

In addition, a staff member form the Department of Higher Education and Training argues that the department also promotes South to South collaborations. Hereby, they share and lend best practices from Western countries. They have outreach based programs in Africa, just for supporting other African governments[8].

Some of the universities try to have a very open door policy. For example by placing all policies on the internet website of the universities.

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[6] Professor Chika Sehoole – Head of the Department of Education Management at a Gauteng University – Personal Communication, 1 December, 2014.
[7] Staff member Department of Higher Education and Training – University Policy and Development Support – Personal Communication, 21 November, 2014
[8] Staff member Department of Higher Education and Training – Policy and Research Unit – Personal Communication, 12 December 2014

5.8 Noteworthy significant findings

The research results, ordered by the eight Dimensions of research, have shown some significant findings. Also lecturers argue mostly Western and Eurocentric models and theories are used, and that students have to apply them on local South African examples. Lecturers can see a legacy of apartheid in that in Afrikaans classes there are less discussions because students are less forthcoming, in English classes students are used to a culture of willing to express their opinions. Another legacy of apartheid they can see in teaching is that in some workgroups there is not much confidences in African students. Lecturers also see some intolerance between students because of the haves and the haves-not.

Mostly supporting staff members experience a difference between academic and non-academic staff, they argue academics feel superior over non-academics. But most staff members experience a nice working environment, that has been changing towards being more diverse. There has been a changing in staff members mind-sets, the working culture became more diverse and respectful. They also experience much equal treatments, and mainly equal salaries. But, not all staff members receive much appreciations for their work. Still, there have been some discriminatory issues on race and language, there are some anti-transformation settlements. Thereby some staff members feel not comfortable in complaining about those issues and they don't dare to stand up. Besides, especially non-academic staff experience not having much job opportunities, partly because of the B-BBEE policy. Those can be seen as legacies of apartheid since not all staff members feel equal.

Not much staff members take part in non-academic activities. Only a couple take part in voluntary or compulsory community service projects. Besides, some staff member think the university politics systems should change, and that it needs to focus more on campus matters instead of national politics. Language policies are causing some discussions because not all languages are and can be included. On one university, the dual language policy is seen as counteracting the internationalization of that university. Some institutional working environments are slowly evolving to English. Also the B-BBEE policy raises much discussions, for example whether the quality of employees is going backwards because of the B-BBEE quota. Besides, in one of the universities, alumni still are very powerful because of their financial contributions. Because of the focus on internationalization, curricula have to change every five years and there is more pressure on publishing articles. Hereby there are discussions whether this pressure is disadvantaging teaching.

Chapter 6 – A postcolonial view on the research results

In this chapter, the in Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework outlined theories and concepts will be applied to the founded research results from Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. The theories and concepts that will be used are Postcolonial theories, Orientalism, Postcolonial approaches on language, Frantz Fanon's work on interracial relationships, Postcolonial feminism, the work of Crossley & Tikly, and Liberation pedagogy.

6.1 Postcolonial theories

As outlined in Chapter 2 – Theoretical Framework, postcolonial theories emphasize on complexities of identity, difference and representation. During the apartheid era in South Africa, the cultures traditions of the populations of the blacks, coloreds and Indians were denigrated, the culture of the whites was presented as superior. It is argued that the end of colonialism does not necessarily mean that political and economic dominations and other colonial forms of cultural power from the colonizer will disappear (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006; Crossley & Tikly, 2004). This also applies to the post-apartheid South African higher education system, since higher education institutions still are characterized by replications of divisions of the past. Some of the universities are characterized by a strong Afrikaans background, cultures and institutions (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013). Schech & Haggis (2000, p. 67-70) have set up five elements whereby post-colonialism can be interpreted. From the element of the ''*1. Study and analysis of European territorial conquests*'', cultural changes after apartheid can be reflected. After apartheid, universities have had a big cultural change. From the element of ''2. The institutions of European colonialisms'', it can be interpreted how apartheid powers on universities transformed to non-apartheid powers, such as equality, freedom, democracy, non-racist, non-sexist, civil rights freedom and (social) inclusion . During apartheid, universities were reflecting apartheid powers, for example the fact that because of the Bantu Education Act, higher education was racially segregated. Now, some of these have been transforming into non-apartheid, post-apartheid powers.

Still existing apartheid powers
Although universities already have made a great effort, still in some universities there can be seen some apartheid powers. Some of the investigated universities in the Gauteng region are still characterized by their Afrikaans background. This comes most forward to the fact that they offer some study degrees both in English and Afrikaans as the medium of language. Also in the working environment and working culture, there is still some influence from the Afrikaans language and some ideological resistance against the use of English. Hereby, the dual language policy is creating a divide between students, this can be seen as an apartheid power of segregation and divide. On the other hand, the dual language policy can be seen as a non-apartheid power of including as much languages as possible. The impact of this language policy will be further explained later on in this chapter, in the section Postcolonial approaches on language.

Another form of apartheid power that can be seen is the contemporary system of student politics. Because most political parties are youth divisions of national parties, they are seen as are race driven, and because they have ideological constructions on other parties, populations and they fight

for language, they can be seen as a counteraction to integration of students and as working against transformations within the student culture. Student parties only focusing on university matters and interests will take away that counteraction. In one university, candidates for SRC now are not required anymore to be a part of a political party. Hereby, the power of the student political parties is decreased

Also within university sports apartheid powers can still be seen. This can be seen in the fact that there are stereotypes that some sports still are mostly only played by students from a certain race. Although in higher leagues quotas have to make teams more racially diverse, sports seem to be racially segregated. Those quotas are here to transform team compositions into diverse teams. But still sports remain segregated. This can be seen as a cultural power since there still is the steeped culture of sports being racially segregated.

The changing nature of apartheid powers transformed to non-apartheid powers
Universities have made a great effort by transforming some apartheid powers to non-apartheid powers. A good transformation has been made in the method of teaching. The teaching has become more inclusive, diverse and integrative. Now students have to work together with students from different races and backgrounds. Some lecturers prescribe workgroups to promote integration between different students. As a result, many classes now are characterized by a diversity of students and to a certain extent, integration. But still, some students tend to stick together to students from the same background, race and language. This is also outside class, on campus. Students became more tolerant and open-minded, some still have a closed mindset. Students mix more, there is more diversity, but still that cliquing together. Another good transformation is the increasing attention for local realities and previously marginalized societies in teaching subjects.

Also within the working culture, there have been some good transformations. Also here, there is a higher diversity of staff members from different races and backgrounds. Also their relations have been changing. Mutually staff members have more respect and attention for each other's cultures. In one of the universities, the changing working culture is characterized by the increasing use of English. Before, emails, letters and phone calls were mainly executed in Afrikaans. Now there is a shift towards using English in those matters. But staff members who mutual speak the same language, continue speaking in that languages if no other language speaking staff members are involved.

Besides, the nightlife cultures have been changing. Now there are diverse pubs and bars, there is a greater diversity of students in the nightlife, a cultural mix. The diversity and mix in the nightlife is a reflection of the non-apartheid powers of equality, diversity and integration. At one university, pubs and bars were segregated on race and music. Now some bars are closing down, the diverse supply of bars and music styles are disappearing. Hereby, not all cultures are represented anymore in the nightlife facilities. Thereby, the nightlife culture changed because not all diverse students are going to pubs, clubs and bars anymore. It is argued that mostly only black students still take part in the nightlife there now. Since at this university, facilities are experienced as being racially segregated, they are still reflecting the apartheid power of racial segregation.

Because some symbols and traditions based on apartheid values have been removed, they don't have much power anymore. There are still some statues and buildings that reflect apartheid powers, but these are not influencing students. On the contrary, the movement of Rhodes Must Fall does show that at other institutions those statues still are influencing students, since some students feel those statues are a form of institutional racism. They plead for a decolonization of higher education in South Africa (''Rhodes Must Fall'', n.d.)

Changing powers
It can be said that some of these powers and dominations are now changing, since universities have many policies to remove hierarchies between students and make them equal. Those policies reflect non-apartheid powers. A power that is transforming is the power of rules and traditions in some university residences. After abolishing the apartheid, for a long time the university residences have continued with their rules and traditions. In universities with an Afrikaans background, the cultures of the whites in residences have been the domination for a long period of time. The rules and traditions from residences were creating hierarchies between students and they were seen as distracting. They were a power to control and dominate, those were inculcated. These powers now are finally changing, they were outdated. Hereby, now these cultures, rules and traditions are changing to equalize students and to remove hierarchies. Maybe the group culture will become less intense because of the changes. Those rules and traditions were making a group culture, bring students more together. It is the question to what extent new or reformed rules and traditions are still able to bring residence students together in the same way, since residence students are not forced that much by dominant residence powers anymore. Because some students didn't liked the traditions, maybe they are enjoining residences more. Will this also mean that students will grow to each other, or is a greater divide developing?

Other transforming powers are quotas for access to universities, for sports and for residences. They can be seen as hidden forms of power within the university discourse. Those quotas serve as an instrument to improve equality, diversity and integration. They are an instrument of positive discrimination. But the implementation of quotas are not very positively experienced by students and staff. They are seen as a reversed form of discrimination, as another form of apartheid because they give some students and staff unearned privilege because of their color. Quotas are instruments resulting from an ideological construction to improve integration, equality and diversity, but they are not seen as a good working instrument.
Other recent transformations are the focus on academics and the banishing of alcohol. Those transformations have to bring back the focus on studying for students, since the use of alcohol is seen as distracting. It is a question to what extent these transformations are fair, and don't go too far. Students experience their universities being too strict and too much controlling. This does not fit with post-apartheid powers of democracy and freedom.

It can thus be said that university landscapes changed in the sense that there are less enforced powers in institutions. But the new enforced powers such as quotas and the residence changes are not per sé seen as improving integration, inclusion and diversity. The increasing attention for local realities and previously marginalized societies are influencing students' mindsets on integration, inclusion and diversity. Students become more aware of societal issues.

Decolonization of the mind
The abovementioned transformations from apartheid powers to non-apartheid powers can be explained by the concept of decolonizing of the mind. In changes after the end of colonialism, there are still some political and economical dominations. Aitkin & Valentine (2006, p. 147) call a decolonization of the mind, which means ''*the mind is concerned with working through the embedded modes of reasoning, thinking, and evaluating that secrete assumptions about privilege, normality and superiority*''. Thus, people need to break with the embedded modes of how they reason, think and evaluate. As a result, people can be liberated from those dominant assumptions, and develop different, new assumptions about privilege, normality and superiority.

It can be sad that not all students in the Gauteng Province have had such a decolonization of the mind. There are students who are liberated from the imposed apartheid inequalities. The apartheid framework of four different population groups is not in their mind anymore. They are open-minded persons with a positive look on the future. For them, it is normal to mix up with other students. Hereby there is also the influence of language. For students who speak different languages, it is easier to adapt themselves into different workgroups. Having a decolonizing of the mind also helps with instructive networking opportunities and responsibilities.

But, it needs to be said that a complete decolonization of the mind is almost not possible, since students are partly grown up with norms, values and ideas from their parents. Although they are open-minded, they still have some prejudices and stereotypes about different South African populations. Because of that nurture influence, there are also students who hardly have had a decolonization of the mind. They are still steeped in the ideological influences and beliefs their parents gave them from the apartheid era. This is illustrated by several processes on campus.

Because of the dual language policy on some universities, a social divide between only Afrikaans speaking and English speaking students is created. Since they are not in the same class, they don't socialize that much with each other. Because of their strong background, some white Afrikaans students are not open-minded and don't go around with non-Afrikaans students. Within class discussions, problems can occur because people's minds are still linked through embedded modes of reasoning, about what they think is normal. Students' arguments are not seen as normal by other students, they don't take effort to understand other points of view, they have a not-my-problem attitude. These students haven't had a decolonizing of the mind, they easily defend themselves because they think other's stuck to ideological constructions about them, which is actually not. Hereby some topics of discussions are interpreted as being discrimination, because it is matching with prototypes of intergroup discrimination. Thus, in discussions, sometimes there is what Nelson (2009) calls comparison information. Students compare those discussions to other discriminatory issues which are intergroup prototypes of discrimination. These prototypes then are compared to issues in class discussions. Thereby, some students often feel discriminated while this is not the purpose of discussions. This is also caused by the fact that some students identify themselves strongly with previously disadvantaged groups. Hereby, they experience issues in discussions, that are linked to previously disadvantaged groups, as self-relevant. This is because they have a lack of understanding and a lack of empathizing to other students' points of view in discussions. The example of black female domestic workers is a good example of a discussion that is interpreted in different ways.

When looking at group work choice, some students still work with students from the same race, background and language, they haven't had a decolonization of the mind and therefore do not have the desire of working together with students from other races and backgrounds. They like to work with a group that they consider as the same, speaking the same language, because it is the most easy for them. These choices can be explained by the fact that students still are in their metaphoric comfort zone, wherein they feel safe, secure and relaxed. Those comfort zones are socially constructed. Students have developed different views on other students by processes of othering. They have beliefs and ideals that they have learnt from their parents and form their backgrounds. As a result, other students don't fit in their comfort zone. Lecturers who assign work groups, hereby are trying to get those students out of their comfort zone, and to learn them to communicate and work together with students from other languages, races and backgrounds. When students get used to working with these groups, their comfort zone can be enlarged, whereby they feel safe, secure and relaxed working with different students (Brown, 2008). This is more and more the case in honors and master's phases, when students have to work more with students from different languages, races and backgrounds.

When the concept of decolonizing of the mind is taken very literally, it can be said that there are some processes on campus that can counteract a decolonizing of the mind. Some processes, maybe subconsciously, are carrying out some ideological beliefs that do not fit with the current societal situation of South Africa. This is mostly reflected by some former residence rules and traditions, whereby hierarchies between students, especially first years and senior years, were created. Also some lecturers that on purpose are avoiding sensitive issues, can be seen as counteracting a decolonization of the mind. Because some students have strong close minded backgrounds, class discussions can be a useful tool whereby they learn to understand other students' perspectives and points of view. Those class discussions can contribute to their own decolonizing of the mind. When sensitive issues in discussions purposely are avoided by the lecturer, he or she is indirect counteracting some people's decolonization of the mind.

6.2 Orientalism

Edward Said's Orientalism can be used in explaining diverse student's representations on each other's identities. Said argues that ''*western conceptions of identity, culture and civilization have historically been built on the projection of images of the non-West, and specifically of images of the so-called 'Orient'* '' (Aitken & Valentine, 2006, p. 149). Hereby, he used the concept of processes of othering which assumes that identity is socially constructed, whereby this construction takes place by looking to other identities. Hereby, certain groups look at each other and identify themselves with certain groups and differentiate themselves from certain other groups. Hereby, Foucault's concept of discourse can be used. Foucault thought ''*that ideas and images were not free-standing, but were part of whole systems of institutionalized knowledge production, through which people and organizations learnt to engage with the world around them*'' (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006, p, 150). Institutions present knowledge, responsible for produced representations of others. Said argues that these are forms of imaginative geography, and often misrepresentations.

South Africa has a diverse population, with people from different backgrounds and races. During the apartheid, the population was divided in whites, blacks, coloreds and Indians. During apartheid, the whites were seen as superior and hegemonic over the other ones. When the apartheid was abolished, those population divisions officially disappeared but they are still practiced, because they remain dominant in some people's minds. Hereby, some students still seem to be in those former discourses, whereby on purpose a divide was made between people, and representations of people and their identities. Especially during apartheid, the white creation of such representations about blacks, coloreds and Indians was on purpose. There were made misrepresentations about those three groups. Because of being misrepresented, those three groups also developed their representations about the whites and other groups, whereby also misrepresentations emerged. Because of the impact of those (mis)representations of different population groups, in some students' and their parent's mind, those (mis)representations are still strongly situated. Some parents subconsciously bring their apartheid (mis)representations over to their children. Hereby, some students remain in such discourses, their mind is still working by the embedded patterns of reasoning and thinking from the apartheid perspective. People stay in their territorial integrity, they have strong opinions on other population groups. Still race is the first thing, people have the former used population groups in mind. As a result, some students have strong prejudices and stereotypes about others, and some of them behave according to those (mis)representations.

Phenomena of Orientalism and Othering
On campus, many students revolve their identity by looking at other students. This can be seen in several phenomena on campus. The main phenomenon is the sticking together of students in cliques. Students tend to stick together to students from the same race, students that speak the same language, or students they know from high school. Mostly they don't do it on purpose, it is a subconscious mindset. Hereby, students differentiate themselves from other cliques. Many of the interviewed students argue they are in a mixed group and don't stick together to students from the same race. But they all differentiate them from other groups, such as white groups, black groups, colored groups, Indian groups, Chinese groups. Hereby, all students differentiate themselves the most from the Indian clique. On dual language universities, the sticking together is influenced by the

divide in English and Afrikaans classes. There is a constant process of othering between those two classes, they compare themselves to each other and have some prejudices on each other. English classes see themselves as open-minded and the Afrikaans classes as closed-minded, since some Afrikaans students also visit English classes for discussions . Those English classes are seen as very diverse, while Afrikaans classes are consisting of only Afrikaans students. Afrikaans students feel themselves disadvantaged because not everything is provided in Afrikaans, they see English classes as advantaged. On the contrary, English class students see Afrikaans students as more advantaged because in test papers exam questions are provided both in English and Afrikaans. The social construction of identities and othering thus is also influenced by language. Of course, for everyone it is the easiest to communicate in your own language, thereby it can be seen as a logic effect that students stick together to others who speak the same language. Language seems to influence the (mis)representation that people have about others. Students also have representations of how the other class compositions will look. In the Afrikaans classes, that are far more homogenous than the English classes, there is the danger that (mis)representations in mind are being strengthened since there are not much people that will counter those (mis)representations. Therefore it is difficult for them to break through those structures of representations.

An example of the way in which students differentiate themselves from other groups is the fact that in class, people will sit with their groups. Misrepresentations are also causing problems in discussions when students interpret arguments in totally different ways, they feel discriminated while this is not the purpose. They are strongly steeped in their ideas and representations. There is a lack of understanding arguments from other students' points of view and they feel very offended when discussion subjects are differently underpinned by other students. A good example is the discussion on the black female domestic worker.

On campus there are students who have wrong stereotypes and prejudices that are still based on (mis)representations from the apartheid era. For example black students have stereotypes that white students are not open-minded, that white students see themselves as privileged and superior, that blacks are lazy. Because white students assume black students to be lazy, they assume themselves as hard working. They socially construct themselves by looking at (mis)representations about black students. Besides, also stereotypes and prejudices emerge because of appearance, color. Students are sometimes wrongly assumed being from a certain background because of their color. These wrong assumptions come mostly to the fore when students approach other students in a certain language and they are not able to respond in that language, because they don't speak that language. Wrong assumptions also come to the fore when there is some intolerance when students are not understanding that not everyone have the same personal circumstances and possessions as they have by themselves. This is mostly the case in issues in group work, when not all members can do their work because they don't have a computer or internet at home and they cannot stay longer at universities because of the travelling possibilities to their homes.

Processes of othering can also be seen in issues on interracial relationships. Some white parents see mostly black, colored and Indian men as inferior to white men. Parents want their daughters to be with the superior white men. Those parents still transfer their thoughts to their children. This phenomenon can be seen as a process of othering, as constructing ''the own'' white people as superior in contradiction to black, colored or Indian males as inferior. To a certain extent, some

students behave to their parents ideas and representations. Othering can also be seen when students are staring to disabled students. They identify themselves and disabled students by judging on the base of someone's capabilities.

Othering can also be seen in the university residences. The university residences do have their own identities and traditions. They are socially constructed and they also look at other residences, they are funny rivalries and do funny things to bully each other in funny ways. Now some rules and traditions are disappearing, the process of othering is likely to decrease because residences have less characteristics on which they can differentiate themselves from other residences. Another example of othering in residences is the black face incidence, whereby the theme of the party was ''You will never see me as..''. This is literally differentiating yourself from others, by wearing how you would not want to be seen. In the university where the nightlife is segregated, students differentiate themselves from others by looking from the different pubs, clubs and bars, they have representations about the other ones. Hereby, some incidences occurred when people were in the ''wrong'' places. Interesting hereby is the role of alcohol. On the influence of alcohol, or when people are drunk, othering and identity feelings can be strengthened, whereby they have more stronger thoughts on other students, hereby bad experiences emerge. On the other hand, in some case on the influence of alcohol those representations disappear. Then people become more open towards each other. It seems that on the influence of alcohol, the boundaries of representations of other students are shifting.

Othering is also reflected by student political parties being rivals and distancing themselves from other parties. Parties represent their own party identity by comparing themselves to other parties. Sadly because of those identities and action items, some misrepresentations about parties emerge. A good example is a student who compared the Afriforum party to the Nazi's.

Also between staff members, there can be seen some processes of othering and constructing identities. This is mostly between academic and non-academic staff members. Because academics are having some advantages, non-academics see them as superior and see themselves as inferior. But some non-academics also have some other advantages, such as studying for free in their university.

In formal matters students seem to be more open-minded than in informal matters. This is because they are aware of the fact that in formal matters they need to be neutral and open. This could be seen in the interviews where most students argue they are open-minded, and have a diverse friendship group. But still they have many prejudices and stereotypes on other students who are not open-minded and who stick to students from the same race, background and language.

6.3 Postcolonial approaches on language: Frantz Fanon, Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

Frantz Fanon

In his book Black Skins, White Masks, Franz Fanon argues that ''*mastery of language affords remarkable power*'' (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 9). He assumes that mastering the language of the (former colonial) dominations, the civilizing nation, can open previously doors to success. In South Africa, this would mean that black, colored and Indian people that would master the white Afrikaans language would have more power. This does not correspond with the findings in this research. In the Gauteng universities, the English language gives students the most power. Since English as a global language is mostly present in study programs, it has a remarkable power. English is not the native language, mother tongue of the white Afrikaans, the black people, colored people or Indian people. Only the for the small group of English whites, English is their native language. Before the apartheid era, the English language was given by the English colonizers to connect different tribes and populations and to create administrative cohesiveness (Ashcroft e.a., 2005). Nowadays, English is the most used language in South African higher education institutions.

In some universities, students can choose between English or Afrikaans as the medium of language. As a result, some module lectures are given both in English and Afrikaans. Thereby a divide between students is created. Almost only Afrikaans speaking students are following classes in English. In the English classes, there is a diverse mix of students from different races and backgrounds. The Afrikaans class students therefore are less likely to interact with students from other races and backgrounds. Also in relationships between students on campus and in residences, language problems occur since there is a diversity of backgrounds in residences. Because of language, students tend to stick together in cliques that speak the same language. Although Fanon argues that because of language mostly groups of black people and white people contradict, in South Africa also population groups from the same color can contradict, for example white Afrikaans versus white English.

Besides, Afrikaans students feel disadvantaged because it seems the Afrikaans language is less important and used than English. Therefore it seems the Afrikaans language has less power now, than in the apartheid era when Afrikaans was the official language of the government. Although many of the other students also have another (African) mother tongue, not much of them feel disadvantaged by English. Struggles with language can also be seen in group work. Students who speak different languages, including English, can easy adapt themselves into different work groups. Also within discussions, language problems occur. Students who are mastering the English language well and thereby feel comfortable and confident, will more often take part in discussions. Students who don't master English that well, feel less comfortable and less confident in discussing. As a result mostly the same students take part in discussions. This can make students who do not participate feel more insecure and less confident, because they think they ask stupid questions and think that people who often participate are more smarter, because they know how to express themselves well in discussions. They stand out more, are more easily seen by lecturers. Therefore maybe get better marks.

In teaching, mastering a language corresponds with Frantz Fanon's statement that language affords power. But although Frantz Fanon argues that mostly ''negros'' are disadvantaged by language, it seems that on some universities just the white Afrikaans students mostly feel disadvantaging because of language. Fanon referred to Professor D. Westerman who claimed that ''*the Negroes' inferiority complex is particularly intensified amongst the most educated, who must struggle with it unceasingly*'' (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 14). This does correspond a little bit with the findings in this research. Such inferiority complexes are shown by trust issues of some blacks staff members, and they are shown by the fact that in some cases there is not much confidence in black African students. Besides those issues, such a negroes inferiority complex is not much visible among black students. What does correspond with Fanon's thoughts is that high educated blacks, but also students from other backgrounds, hardly write and talk in their native dialect languages. Also with their families, students tend to speak English instead of their native languages. Franz Fanon's described actions on languages that would make blacks feel angry, also do not correspond with the founded results. White Afrikaans students seem to be only students who feel disadvantaged by language. Fanon also argues that by speaking a language, people will take on a culture. Maybe the Afrikaans students feel disadvantaged and scared because maybe are afraid of losing their own culture when they have to adapt to English.

Chinua Achebe

Chinua Achebe (2006) argues that it is not necessary that students speak English as if it is their native language. Because English is a world language, it is not necessarily wrong that it is used in many different ways. Since the students in the Gauteng region are from different races, backgrounds, and thus have different languages, student's have different English accents and pronouncements. From postcolonial approaches, students shouldn't be worrying too much about their mastery of English. Thereby, other students who do speak English very well, need to understand the role of the English language, at that it thereby has different variances and dialects. It seems that much students are not aware of this. This already is causing some language problems in classes, group work and discussions.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2006) argues that using the hegemonic language will take native populations further away from themselves and their worlds. As a result, when languages are less used and disappearing, also culture will change, which is causing negative images on native languages and cultures. Therefore he is supporting African writers writing in their native African languages (wa Thiong'o, 2006). It seems that some students and staff, to a certain extent, subconsciously agree with that and behave according to that. This can be seen by the fact that both students and staff, will speak in their mutual languages if no other-speaking persons are involved. When another language speaking person comes in, mostly people will switch to the English language, what almost all students and staff understand. Some white students and staff on purpose address non-whites in Afrikaans, and they will continue responding in Afrikaans, to make non-whites feel discriminated and inferior. This is not a good practice of how Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o' wants people to remain using native languages. Also within the institutional working environment, it seems that there is some resistance against the general use of English. In some universities emails, letters and phone calls now need to be executed in English, but still some staff members continue executing those in Afrikaans. Those staff members have difficulties with the changing institutional culture. They are maybe

subconsciously afraid that by disappearing Afrikaans as an institutional language, their Afrikaans culture also will disappear. As a result, the hegemonic dominant Afrikaans institutional culture is not easy to transform. This is counteracting the institutional transformation of some departments. Thiong'o mentions Obi Wali, who argues that English as the medium for educated African writers is wrong, and that Africans should write their literature in native African languages to let live on African literature and culture (wa Thiong'o, 2006). This correspond with the fact that the universities are paying more and more attention to local native languages. Already some of the eleven native languages are provided, and more will be provided in the future. This is also confirmed by a staff member on University policy, working at the Department of Higher Education and training[9]. But the problem is that it is not possible for universities to offer all eleven official South African languages. Almost all students and staff members felt sad about the fact that not all languages can be provided.

But how would it be if more languages were provided? Would there also be a visible divide between those groups? Now in the language divide the most emphasis is on Afrikaans language, also because of the apartheid history. Because they are one homogeneous groups, prejudices and stereotypes about them are strengthened and exaggerated. But would other groups behave the same as Afrikaans languages if also their language would be provided? Would more divides been created is more languages are provided?

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[9] Staff member Department of Higher Education and Training – Policy and Research Unit – Personal communication, 12 December, 2014.

6.4 Frantz Fanon's work on interracial relationships

In his second chapter, *The woman of color and the white man*, Fanon writes about interracial relationships. He argues that colored women are dreaming of marrying white men because they see white men as superior, colored men are made inferior. Hereby, women are willing to change.
In his third chapter, *The man of color and the white woman*, Fanon argues that colored men do not have that dream of marrying a white woman.

The findings of this research show that students almost don't speak out the abovementioned desires marrying someone from another race. Although many students argue they love interracial dating and they see it as opening doors for the future, they are not in interracial relationships by themselves. Students are not that much used to interracial couples. It seems that only a small part of white students is against interracial dating because of their strong background, closed mindset. The research results show that mostly interracial relationships between black or colored men and white women are causing some problems. Interracial relationships are not the norm, especially students' parents do have difficulties with it. They do not tolerate it and ask their daughters to choose between their boyfriends or their families. Mostly white girls one the influence of their parents, tend to choose for their families. This does correspond with Fanon's thoughts that colored an black men are made inferior to white men, they are not accepted. Those rejected colored and black males feel powerless. This corresponds with Fanon's statement of ''*the negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation*'' (Fanon, 1952, 1986, p. 42). Black or colored males who are not accepted by white girls' parents, indeed feel inferior. Fanon's statement also applies to black girls who are jealous when black men are dating white girls. They feel they are not good enough for black guys as white girls are for black guys. Thus, it can be said that the findings in this research do correspond with Fanon's statements about how people feel when rejected in interracial relationships, but the conditions are different from what Fanon supposes. Not all students on the forehand have the desire of marrying someone from a certain race. Inferior feelings mostly emerge when students are rejected in interracial relationships.

Although in his book, Frantz Fanon does not write about bi- and homosexual relationships, it seems that the basis of treating such relationships does correspond with those of interracial relationships. Many interviewed students argue they have no problems with bi- and homosexuality by themselves, they argue that other students do have problems with it. Although bi- and homosexuality are officially legalized by law, it is not the norm. This is also on the influence of parents thoughts or by what religion prescribes students. From their religion, some students don't accept and don't condone bi- and homosexual relationships.

6.5 Postcolonial feminism

Postcolonial feminism argues that in understanding struggles of women in postcolonial societies, more attention needs to be paid to the influence of discourses of class and race in those struggles (Schech & Haggis, 2000; Mohanty, 1991; Sa'ar, 2005). Female students don't struggle much on universities, they are mostly equally treated as and by men. They only have struggles for dignity, since in male-dominated degrees, some men don't think women are as smart as them and can achieve the same as men do. Those kind of struggles cannot really be linked to class and race. On the other hand, the black face incident has caused many discussions about racism and the role of female black cleaners. The incidence turned out to be a heavy issue which many students could relate themselves to, since their mothers or other family members are or have been domestic workers for long periods of time. This incident cannot be explained without using discourses of class and race. Narayan (1998) argues that woman are generalized in culture-specific essentialist ways, which results in the fact that culture is often blamed for problems within societies. In the discussion on domestic workers, it is argued that almost all domestic workers are black females, and almost no white females. This assumption can be seen as a culture-specific generalization. Thereby, many black students see it as discrimination that almost all domestic workers are black females, while white students argue that it just happens that most domestic workers are black females.

Another development that can be linked to race are the changing visitors of the nightlife in one of the cities. Since the nightlife environment is changing, the most visiting group is the black students. Some white female students argue they feel not safe anymore in the nightlife environment because there are more black students.

6.6 The work of Crossley & Tikly

Crossley & Tikly (2004) give critique on Orientalism and discourse analysis, because if those are not critically applied, analysis results will be homogenized. As a result, then there is little attention for alternative perspectives. This is also applicable to this research, because besides language and discourse, also the former practiced ideological constructions of apartheid play a big role. Here, language seems to reinforce those ideas on the former practiced ideological constructions of apartheid.

Crossley & Tikly (2004) use postcolonialism to reconsider the present context of globalization. They argue that the global English language now is mostly used in higher education worldwide. This is also the case in South Africa. Besides the fact that English is the bridging and institutional language in South Africa, it is a bonus that it is the mostly used language in higher education worldwide.

From the research results it is found that in alpha studies, there is mostly made use of Eurocentric and western models and theories, South African or indigenous theories and concepts are not much used. But students have to apply western models on local cases and examples. Crossley & Tikly (2004) argue that western systems hardly pay attention to local realities, and that they are in contradiction with local values and beliefs. The findings in this research do not correspond, this is countered by the fact that many alpha students argue that there is a focus on South African, local examples such as former under-researched areas, native cultures and previously marginalized individuals. In some degrees students even are required to participate in community service projects, to help and upgrade local communities. It seems that the education models, in post-apartheid higher education, have made a development in becoming more aware of and pay more attention to the South African society. This is illustrated by the practical assignments, compulsory community services projects, but also by community projects from student societies. The increasing attention for local realities seems to fit in the increasing attention for glocalization. Brooks & Normore (2010, p. 52) define glocalization as followed: ''*a meaningful integration of local and global forces, can help educational leaders inform and enhance their pedagogy and practice*''.

Thus, it can be argued that to a certain extent, postcolonial approaches are used within higher education. There Is more focus on former-under-researched areas. Although students have to apply theoretical frameworks on local examples, they don't often have to give critique on these theoretical frameworks. Through the assignments, they learn to incorporate social and economic circumstances, thereby it can be argued that to a small extent, they use discourse analysis. There is an attempt to a critical multiculturalism, to represent as much as diverse societies in high education. This is shown by the attention to local societies, native cultures, former disadvantaged individuals, and different areas within South Africa.

Historicism
The fact that mostly Eurocentric and Western models and theories are used, can be linked to the concept of historicism, the view that areas have to develop, modernize in the same single way as Europe, the 'core' region of the world, did (Aitkin & Valentine, 2006). Postcolonial thinkers mainly are engaged with making doubts about the legacies of this historicism. Students and staff experience

their universities as trying to develop themselves further as international research universities, to get a higher rank, make more international research and collaborations. Hereby, in many study degrees, Eurocentric and Western models and theories are used. It can be concluded that the way they want to develop can be seen as a legacy of historicism, they try to develop their universities the same as the Western universities, seen as superior and a good example of how to develop. But, the Gauteng universities are experienced as paying attention to local communities, local problems and the continent of Africa. It can be said that although they focus on developing such as other Western universities, they still try to have a distinctive focus on their own local, national and continental level.

6.7 Liberation pedagogy

The concept of liberation pedagogy sees education as a practice of democracy and freedom, as a way of emancipating for the powerless and marginalized. If universities have the desire of moving towards liberation pedagogy, there need to be some transformative institutions (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012).

There have been some transformations to remove hegemonic dominant tendencies. A good transformation has been that lecturers now to a certain extent have been transformed into being cultural workers. Lavia & Mahlomaholo (2012, p. 50) attach importance ''*to the Freirean concept of teachers as cultural workers, agreeing that practice is implicated historically, socially, and culturally, and that such implications are constructed through intensions, interpretations, and relationships''*. From this Freirean concept in can be explained that some lecturers indeed act as cultural workers, since they put their own experiences, research and opinions in their lecturing programs. Besides, they try to have good relationships with students since some pay much attention to students. Some pay this attention in a wrong way, whereby other students feel excluded and disadvantaged. Some lecturers have the intensions of 'the more you put in, the more you get', but they do not take care of the fact that not all students are able to put in as much as other students. It seems that universities want lecturers to teach in this way, to be inclusive for all students, but still, some students feel excluded. But it has been a good transformation.

Another good transformation is the merge of a diverse amount of students societies. These societies are based on different interests and cultures, there is something for everyone. Societies can be seen as a practice of democracy and freedom, since students are free to participate in whatever society they want. If societies are free and open, students have the possibilities of networking and gaining new contacts that they wouldn't have get without the societies. Some societies are also related to community service projects. Since societies are voluntary, students don't see them as compulsory and thereby for some it is easier to do some work and make some effort. Hereby, more energy will be put in underprivileged societies. Community service projects can bring back traditional values on also helping poor and underprivileged groups in society. As a result, those projects work as a way of emancipating for the powerless. For example when poor children at schools are being advised on applications for universities and applications for bursaries.

In some universities, there are still some hegemonic dominant tendencies presented. For example some strong institutional cultures, that are difficult to change, such as the use of Afrikaans language between colleagues in one of the universities. The fact that in that university there still is the choice of Afrikaans as medium of language can be seen as a hegemonic dominant tendency. It is still creating a divide, which is counteracting the integration of students from different backgrounds. Some staff members find it difficult that the institutional culture needs to change into being less Afrikaans. Although they want the institutional culture to remain Afrikaans, they are not imposing negative images of staff members and students from other racial backgrounds. Besides, there is still some influence from alumni, which counteracts transformation. It is difficult to decrease the influence from alumni since they bring in high amounts of funding.

Also some marginalized students still are discriminated, because not all students understand their disadvantages and they don't understand other students have not the same economical and social circumstances as they do. Especially issues on travelling everyday and computer facility issues

are difficult issues. Also not all students are on bursaries. Although there are bursaries available, many students do not know about them or the application process takes too long for them.

The use of Eurocentric and Western concepts and theories can also be seen as hegemonic concepts in education. But a good transformation is that there is more attention to local realities. From an international perspective, it needs to be said that universities need to make use of Western models because otherwise they cannot compete internationally enough well. The focus on research hereby is a Western hegemonic domination that is adopted from other Western universities.

Bell Hooks

Bell Hooks argues that knowledge production is mainly executed by white and middle class, which results in the fact that conditions of poor and underprivileged groups are not take into account (Lavia & Mahlomaholo, 2012). The research results show this is not the case, knowledge production is executed now by a variety of academics from different backgrounds. This can be explained by the B-BBEE policies that require universities and departments to have certain amounts of staff members from different races. The fact that knowledge producers now are racially and culturally mixed, results in the fact that mostly in humanities studies, there is enough attention to poor and underprivileged groups, by the focus on local practical assignments. Also the fact that in some degrees community service work is compulsory, shows there is attention to poor and underprivileged groups. There is also paid more attention to poor and underprivileged groups by activities from some students societies or activities from some university residences.

Chapter 7: Conclusion, theoretical debate, recommendations and critical reflection

7.1 Conclusion

The purpose of this master thesis research was to critically engage with legacies of apartheid that still live on in the university landscape in South Africa, in order to make recommendations to solve the current problems in the post-apartheid higher education system in South Africa, by investigating students' and staff's experiences on legacies of apartheid and how these legacies are contested. In order to achieve this purpose, the following research question was drawn:

How do legacies of apartheid still live on in the post-apartheid university landscape in South Africa, and how are these legacies contested by students and faculties?

To answer these questions, students and staff members on three universities in the Gauteng region were interviewed. Besides, 4 experts have been interviewed for additional background information.

The research on students proved that students mostly experience legacies of apartheid in relation to language. In some dual medium universities, there is a divide visible between students from English classes and students from Afrikaans classes. At those institutions, there are different views on whether the dual language policy is (dis)advantaging English or Afrikaans students. Also on other institutions language policies are causing debates since not all eleven South African languages are involved, particularly African languages seem to be excluded. Language is also causing some insecure feelings in class discussions. Besides, heated discussions emerge when students have different points of view on subjects, and a lack of understanding other student's arguments. Besides, it was shown that there is mostly made use of Eurocentric and Western models and theories, but with a practical link to local South African examples. Thus, indigenous theories are excluded within the classroom. Students mostly have good teaching relations with lecturers, some lecturers developed into being cultural workers, and they pay more attention to sensitive societal issues. Some lecturers still have wrong assumptions because of students' color and race. Another legacy of apartheid is that students tend to stick together in cliques with students from the same background, race, language, religion and residences. This is reflected in friendship groups, in group work choice, in class compositions, and some friendships within university residences. Cliques are becoming more diverse and overlapping. As a result of cliques, stereotypes and prejudices emerge, but real manifestations of discrimination mostly remain absent. Students can only speak of rarely incidents or stories they have heard from others. There are some students who are not tolerant towards others because they are steep in their background ideals. Such tolerance is manifested in attitudes on for example interracial dating and bi-/homosexuality. Some people behave according to those mindsets. Thereby, race is still influential when engaging in relationship on campus. There is not much resistance to those processes and such issues. Religion is very important in most students' life, and can also influence ideological beliefs. Besides, not many students are involved in student societies, community services projects or students politics. Only for some students community projects are a compulsory part of their study degree. Most student political parties are related to national parties, and thereby seen as race driven. On universities, there are some quotas for access to universities, sports, university residences, and the B-BBEE quota. Those quotas are implemented to promote

diversity and integration. But they are seen as a reversed form of discrimination, since they give students unearned privilege on others. In spite of the quotas, university sports are still quite racially segregated. And within residences students still stick together to students from the same background, race and language. Hereby, within residences there are still some discriminatory incidences on those grounds. Residences have some rules and traditions for integration and bonding of university students, but those were seen as unfair and creating hierarchies between students. Thereby those rules and traditions are disappearing now. That those rules and traditions have persisted so long can be seen as a legacy from apartheid. Another apartheid legacy that can be seen is the racial segregation of the nightlife at one of the universities, and the resulting incidents. Besides, the universities are focusing more on research and the international rankings. Thereby rules become more strict and alcohol is banished on some universities. Because of this, students experience their universities as becoming too much strict and too much controlling.

The research on staff members, has shown that lecturers can see a legacy of apartheid in the sense that in Afrikaans students are less forthcoming in discussions then the English students, who are used to a culture of willing to express their opinions. Another visible legacy is that there is not much confidence in black Africans in group work. Staff members also see intolerance between students because of the haves and haves-not. Also a divide between academics and non-academics is experienced. But most staff members experience a well transformed diverse and respectful working environment, mind-sets have been changed. Still, there are some discriminatory issues on race and language and anti-transformation settlements. Hereby, some staff members fear complaining on issues and standing up for themselves. Those can be seen as legacies of apartheid since not all staff members feel equal. Only a couple of staff members take part in voluntary or compulsory community service projects. Besides, staff members have the same attitudes on the student politics system as students do. Because of the B-BBEE policy, especially non-academics experience less job opportunities. Besides, the B-BBEE raises questions about the quality of employees deteroriating because of the B-BBEE. Language policies are causing some discussions because not all languages are and can be included. On universities with a dual language policy, these policies are seen as counteracting the internationalization of universities. But some institutional working environments are slowly evolving to English. Besides, in one of the universities, alumni still are very powerful because of their financial contributions. Because of the focus on internationalization, curricula have to change every five years and there is more pressure on publishing articles. This raises the discussion whether this pressure is disadvantaging teaching.

Through the lenses of postcolonial approaches
Through the lenses of the different postcolonial approaches, several legacies of apartheid can be seen. What can be seen through the lens of postcolonial theories is a divide between people, in this case between Afrikaans speaking and English speaking students. Another legacy through postcolonial theory is the student politics that are related to national politics. Other legacies through postcolonial theories are that there is still a racial segregation in university sports and sometimes in the nightlife. Besides the mindsets that some people have, show they did not have a decolonization of the mind. They are still not liberated from old apartheid beliefs, which are influencing their behavior. New powers such as quotas are set up to promote integration but they are seen as a reversed form of discrimination, and therefore a reversed form of apartheid power.

Through the lens of Orientalism, and mainly the process of othering, different apartheid legacies can be seen. Many students still tend to differentiate themselves from other students and have misrepresentations, prejudices and stereotypes towards different racial groups on campus. They have wrong assumptions of other students on the base of their color. This is reflected in issues in relations in class, in residences and opinions on interracial relationships. These misrepresentations are caused by the fact that some students still are in the same discourses, based on apartheid values. They revolve their identity by sticking together with students that they assume are the same as them. Some students behave according to those misrepresentations.

A legacy of apartheid that can be seen through the lens of postcolonial approaches on language is that the divide in different language classes almost automatically creates a certain divide on race, especially because white Afrikaans students hereby are segregated from other students. It can be concluded that there are some contradictions between explanations of the language problems by different postcolonial approaches. Frantz Fanon's assumption of the power of language does correspond with the findings in this research, only the languages he assumed giving power hereby do not correspond completely. Following his assumptions, Afrikaans should give people power, but it is the English language that mostly gives power. The use of different languages is not per sé a form of discrimination, but students experience the use sometimes as very unfair. The real unfairness of using certain languages is difficult to decide, because all languages have their own advantages and disadvantages. The discontent about the language policies is also caused by the fact that not many students are aware of the role of different languages, for example how Achebe sees English as a world language, whereby different accents occur. This results in the resistance against institutional changes into using the English language. This can be seen as a form of carrying on culture, just as wa Thiong'o assumes. But it can be argued that not many staff members are aware of this relation between language and culture. Providing and using all languages would be most justified, this is also claimed by wa Thiong'o, but unfortunately providing all languages is not possible.

Through the lens of Frantz Fanon's assumptions on interracial relationships, legacies of apartheid that can be seen are the created ''inferiority of black people and white superiority feelings''. These are created by mostly white parents, by their opinions on interracial relationships. Thus, it can be said that the findings in this research do correspond with Fanon's statements about how people feel when rejected in interracial relationships, but the conditions are different from what Fanon supposes. Not all students have the desire of having a relation with someone from a certain race of color in advance. Inferior feelings mostly emerge when students are rejected in interracial relationships. This can also be applied to opinions on bi-/homosexual relations.

Through the lens of postcolonial feminism, legacies of apartheid that are still visible are female struggles for dignity, white females feeling unsafe in the nightlife and inferior (group) feelings of black females, with the black face incidence as a good example. These feelings are influenced by race and class, influences that postcolonial feminist thinkers argue for, in investigating female struggles in postcolonial societies.

Through the lens of Crossley & Tikly, not much legacies of apartheid can be seen. The results linked to Crossley & Tikly show that education models have to a great extent been liberated from apartheid ideologies and thus also legacies. This is shown by the fact that there is much attention now to local

realities, in community service projects and practical assignments. Hereby to a great extent the path of historicism can be seen, universities try to develop themselves according to other Western universities, by using mainly Eurocentric models and theories and by the use of the English language.

Also through the lens of liberation pedagogy, not much legacies can be seen. The results linked to liberation pedagogy have shown there have been some well transformations such as lecturers becoming cultural workers and the increasing attention to local realities. The research results have shown that now, there is a racial diverse group of knowledge producers, which does not correspond with Bell Hooks' assumptions of knowledge producers mainly being white middle class. But legacies that still can be seen are Afrikaans institutional cultures that are difficult to change, which are influenced by the remaining influence of alumni, and the fact that some marginalized students still are discriminated by other students.

The abovementioned legacies thus are mostly seen in spaces such as divided classrooms, institutional working environments, university residences and nightlife facilities. Thereby, the theories differ in the sense how and whereby legacies are reflected. Some legacies are reflected by persons, some legacies are reflected in institutions. Some legacies reflected by persons are further strengthened by circumstances in some institutions. For example the divide between English and Afrikaans classes which is further strengthening (mis)representations and relations between students from those classes.

It seems that institutions transform faster that people's mindsets. Some institutional structures and spaces reflect legacies of apartheid, which are further strengthened by some students' and staff members' mindsets on other people. Universities do their best in changing institutional structures to liberate students from those legacies, but changing institutional structures does not automatically changes people's mind-sets. Changing students' and staff's mindsets is a much slower process. Hereby, it needs to be said that it may be too simple assumed that the students, being in the born-free generation, would have a strong belief in democratic values, and thereby being liberated from old beliefs and being very tolerant towards other people. In addition, it needs to be said that transforming institutional structures is a difficult task for universities, since different students and different staff members have different interests when institutions change. The dual language policies are a good example of those struggles. Transforming language policies will have different effects. For some students and staff those transformations would be an advantage, for others it will be a disadvantage. Also in the residences spaces, transforming rules and traditions have different interests for different students. Hereby, legacies of apartheid and direct issues of discrimination are not much directly contested by students and staff because they don't want to pay attention to issues or because some have a fear of complaining and standing up for themselves.

7.2 Theoretical Debate

The postcolonial approaches have been a useful tool in explaining apartheid legacies that still live on in university landscapes. The postcolonial approaches used in this research give different assumptions to explain the founded research results in different ways.

Orientalism and othering mostly focus on the dominations of powers that are still visible in different institutions, and which relations take place in these institutions. Orientalism and othering explain how these relations are formed by the influence of their background, parenting, the discourses their minds are still steeped in, and how some people have had decolonization of the mind because they are liberated from these discourses. Also the approach of postcolonial feminism shortly shows how some relations and ideologies that people have on other people are strengthened by differences in gender, race and class. Fanon's assumptions on interracial relationships explain how people feel because of the created racial inferiorities and superiorities. These created representations can also be seen as a result of processes of othering, that still live on in people's mindsets. Comparing to other issues, these representations strongly come forward in opinions on interracial dating.

Within the postcolonial approaches on languages, different contradictions are visible. Fanon describes the effect of language on relations, while Achebe and wa Thiong'o mostly focus on the effects of using certain (former colonizers') languages. From Frantz Fanon's view on language it can be explained why people have certain feelings because of the use of a certain language, but Fanon's assumed powerful languages do not correspond. Achebe and wa Thiong'o differ from each other in the sense that they both give different roles to language. Achebe argues that because English is a global, world language, it has different dialects and pronouncements, and people need to be aware of this role of the English language. wa Thiong'o argues that native languages need to be spoken and written, hereby cultures are preserved. Although the approaches of Achebe and wa Thiong'o differ much from each other, both of them combined have served as a useful tool in explaining different experiences on dual language policies. Although people are not much aware of those different assumptions of the role of language, their experiences on language fit in how the different approaches give a role to language.

The approach of Crossley & Tikly is giving critique to the use of discourse analysis, since it can result to a homogenization of research results. They argue for reconsidering the present context of globalization. From their point of view the massive use of Western and Eurocentric models and theories is the result of the successful colonial education. But they assume those models don't pay much attention to local realities. In the South African universities, more and more postcolonial education models are used that do pay attention to those local realities and critical multiculturalism. Although the approach of Crossley & Tikly shows similarities and dissimilarities with the research results, it can be said that the approach is already more updated than for example Orientalism and Othering, since Crossley & Tikly already pay more attention to the influence of globalization.

The approach of Liberation pedagogy explains how and why some traditional values are still presented in universities, and why there still is some resistance against transforming those values. Hereby, the role of lecturers can be reviewed by arguing whether they reflect being cultural workers. Liberation pedagogy also is a useful approach in explaining how powerless and marginalized students still are not emancipated. Hereby, the assumptions of Bell Hooks that knowledge producers are mainly white class, and that thereby the conditions of the poor and underprivileged

students are not taken into account, do not correspond with the research results. Also here, postcolonial approaches on the attention to local realities do not correspond with the research results.

Especially Crossley & Tikly and Liberation pedagogy can be assumed as being more recent since they pay attention to the influence of globalization, but they don't take local realities enough into account. Thereby, a stronger link needs to be made between those postcolonial approaches and the influence of globalization and glocalization. The approaches of Orientalism, othering, Fanon, Achebe and wa Thiong'o are not recent anymore, they need to be updated. They have been written in periods when the worldwide influence of globalization was not as big as it is now, when there was no internet and social media. Postcolonial approaches need to pay more attention to the circumstances we live in, in this century, and the influence of globalization and technology herein. Hereby, it would be interesting to link the influence of social media (such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), television and internet to postcolonial approaches, since they seem to be powerful tools in widely spreading ideologies and mobilizing people. The Rhodes Must Fall Movement and the Black Face Incident already have shown the influence of social media in such issues. Besides, in using postcolonial approaches, more attention need to be paid to the different colonial histories of countries and regions. South Africa has recently been characterized by two power dominations. They were firstly dominated by the British, and during apartheid there was a domination of the white population over other populations within the country itself. Because the last domination is not a standard, typical form of colonialism, some dominant powers in post-apartheid are different to explain. This is for example shown by the fact that the postcolonial language thinkers assumptions on the results of the use of language do correspond with the findings of this research, but the assumed powerful languages hereby do not correspond.

7.3 Recommendations

The purpose of this research was to critically engage with legacies of apartheid that still live on in the university landscape in South Africa, in order to make recommendations to solve the current problems in the post-apartheid higher education system in South Africa. From the research results, and the explanations by postcolonial theories, some recommendations can be made.

Firstly, students need to be encouraged to go into debate about how they think about certain society-related issues such as discrimination. They can learn other student's perspectives and maybe become more open-minded and tolerant. When still resisting institutional apartheid powers disappear, students and staff maybe become less aware of the differences between people from different races and backgrounds, whereby (mis)representations can developed into being less strong than they are now. But it needs to be said that such mindsets are not changing very fast, thereby much time is needed.

This also applies to the language issues, more open debates can create more mutual awareness of the role of language. But it is difficult to make recommendations for language issues directly. At first glance, it seems easy to say all universities should make English the main medium of language. But also other African languages need to be provided to preserve and represent different cultures within universities and between students and staff. In addition, universities depend upon the languages students learn in primary and secondary school. Therefore a straightforward recommendation cannot be made, but creating more awareness would help students dealing with language problems and issues.

Another recommendation, that is comparable to other recommendations, is that more transparency could be given on other policies such as the different quotas, since the interviewed students argued they lack knowledge on policies. But it needs to be said that not many are involved in non-academic participation and thereby students are less likely to have knowledge on university policies. Furthermore, they also do not take effort to be informed about policies. By being involved, they can become more aware of policies.

Thus, it can be concluded that the recommendations show there need to be institutional changes that can also change students' and staff's mindsets in a higher speed. Hereby, there need to be more open debates on universities to create more awareness amongst students and staff members.

7.4 Critical reflection

Like any other research, this inquiry also had some limitations. The first limitation is that because of the bad timing of visiting South Africa (when universities where at the end of their academic year, and very busy), it was not possible to interview more staff members. Maybe a further research can focus only on students or only on staff members. Hereby, I assume there can be made more concrete statements.

The second limitation is that it was difficult to find respondents with different backgrounds. Although this research contains of a very diverse amount of respondents, more white Afrikaans students could have been interviewed. Hereby, it needs to be said that in this research more women than men are interviewed. Because of the snowballing effect, more women and more open-minded students were interviewed. The less open-minded students where difficult to find, when approaching students without being referred to them, many of them refused to participate in this research.

A third limitation is, as also mentioned earlier, some people are scared to step up for themselves. Hereby, during interviews, sometimes people had difficulties in expressing their feelings. They were also afraid people will recognize them while reading this thesis. Thereby, almost all respondents wanted to be anonymous.

The fourth limitation is that some respondents tend to give socially desirable answers on questions. Thereby a possibility is that truthful results are not revealed.

A fifth limitation is because of the Ethical Clearance Process, it was not allowed to directly mention the universities in the research results. If it was permitted, more concrete statements could be made and more conclusions could be drawn because the background and histories of the universities could be taken into account. Hereby, observations could be done to describe how students stick together on campuses.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Overview of respondents

Students

#	Name	Sex	Race / background	Native languages	Study degree
1	Annika	F	White, South Africa	Afrikaans	Supply Management
2	Brianna	F	White South Africa	English	Sociology
3	Bryan	M	Biracial: White Portuguese mother, black African father	English	Information Sciences
4	Carly	F	White, South Africa	Afrikaans	Social Work
5	Chin	F	Chinese	English	Architecture
6	Chryx	F	White, Bulgarian, Mozambique	Bulgarian / English	Finances
7	Daniella	F	White, Portuguese	Portuguese / English	Marketing Management
8	Julia	F	White, Dutch	Dutch	International Business Communication
9	Karabo	F	Black, South African	Pedi / English	International Relations
10	Kiara	F	Indian	English	Architecture
11	Lizzy	F	White, South African	English	Sociology
12	Madibuseng	F	Black, Lesotho, Nigerian Father	English	Accounting
13	Nikhaile	M	Colored, South African	English	Law
14	Nino	M	White, South Africa	English	Accounting
15	Pedro	M	Black, South Africa	Setswana, English	Law
16	Regan	F	Black, Angola	Portuguese / English	International Relations
17	Robert	M	Black, South African	Sepedi / English	Public Management
18	Romuald	M	Black, Botswana	English	Information Design
19	Thabo	M	Black, South Africa	Zulu / Xhosa / English	International Relations
20	Tumelo	F	Black, South Africa	Tswana / English	International Relations

| 21 | Wartick | M | Chinese | English | Accounting |
| 22 | Zane | M | Black, Congo | French / English | Computer Engineering |

(Non-)Academic Staff members

#	Name	Sex	Race / background	Native languages	Function
1	Bheka	M	Black, South Africa	English	Head of a Department
2	Frank	M	White, South Africa	Afrikaans	IT Team leader
3	Jacob	M	White, South Africa	Afrikaans	Lecturer at undergraduate and postgraduate level
4	Jennifer	F	White, South Africa	English	Lecturer and project coordinator at a faculty
5	Kathutshelo	F	Black, South Africa	Sepedi	Barista
6	Lerato	F	Black, South Africa	Sotho	Administrative worker
7	Mohlomi	M	Black, Zimbabwe	English	Barista
8	Nick	M	White, South Africa	English	Technical officer at a Disability Unit

Appendix 2: Interview guide students

1A: Background
- Can you tell me something about yourself?
- What is your age? Can you tell me something about your origins?
- Where are you living (on campus)?
- What are you studying? In what year are you? Why did you choose that study and that future career?
- Are you happy with this choice? What are your future aspirations? How do you pay your study?

1B: Future
- What do you hope your future will be? What do you think you can do in future? What are your job opportunities? Will it be easy to get a job?
- Do you think some racial groups have more (job) opportunities in the post-apartheid South African landscape? Can you give some examples?
- What are some of the concerns, worries that you have about your future?
- Are you satisfied with the way your study program prepares you on your future?

1C: Teaching, in classroom
- Can you tell me something about what theories are used and where do they come from (Eurocentric, Afrocentric, Indigenous)? Can you give some examples? Do they come from Western models, or are theories designed in South Africa (indigenous theories) used?
- What do you think of the theories that are used? Can you tell me something about examples of theories that are given?
- Are these theories practiced at local, national or international, global levels? Can you give some examples?
- Can you relate some (local, indigenous) theories to your own living experience? Can you give some examples?
- To what extent do theories that are used reflect social issues? How is dealt with social issues in class? Can you give examples? How do you think there should be dealt with social issues on campus?
- Which language is used in class? What is the language medium? What do you think of the language used?

1D: Assessing
- Can you tell me in which way you are assessed? Individual and group work?
- Are you able to choose your own group or are they formed by lecturers?
- If you are able to choose, on what base are groups chosen? Can you describe which other chosen groups are visible?
- What is the role of race, language, background in the forming of these groups? To what extent are these groups racially segregated? Can you give examples?
- Can you describe your experiences of working in groups? Which languages are used in group work?

1E: Lecturers & discussions in class

- What is you relation with your lecturer? Are you satisfied with your lecturers?
- To what extent are all students equally treated by lecturers? Have you ever experienced discrimination, prejudices or marginalization from lecturers to students or vice versa?
- To what extent are lecturers fairly treated by students? Have you ever experienced discrimination, prejudices or marginalization from lecturers to students or vice versa?
- To what extent do your lecturers try to bring up discussions in class? What is your opinion on the way lecturers are leading discussions? What do you think of the openness of lecturers and how they are reacting on sensitive social issues?
- Can you tell me something about discussions and feedback in class? Can you give some examples?
- To what extent do you think that every students is able to give input and critique? Are always the same students taking part in discussions? Which students are asking questions during class?
- How do you feel about participating in class discussions?
- What is the role of mastering a language in discussions? Do students that (not) master a certain language are (dis)advantaged in taking part in discussions?

2A: Social interactions, cultural practices and tolerance

- How do students treat each other? Which relations occur between students in class and in other facilities such as libraries, cafeterias, etcetera?
- What is the role of race, language, origins on these relations? Can you tell me something about socio-economic status and origins on campus? To which extent is this important? To what extent does it influence the way people are treated?
- Have you ever experienced discrimination, prejudice and marginalization on campus and within classrooms? Can you give examples? On which grounds did you experienced it, grounds of race, language, age, sexual orientation, gender, social class, origins, culture, religions (dis)abilities, political preference ?Can you give examples?
- Have you experienced other students being discriminated, prejudiced or marginalized in classroom? How did you, other students and lecturers react? How did you felt?
- Do you experience some cultural practices and processes in classes and on campus? Can you give some examples? What is your opinion on these practices?
- How do you practice culture in your society, outside the university landscape?

- Do you see some religion on campus? Can you describe what you see about religions? To what extent is religion important in your life?
- To what extent do you think that students are tolerate to each other? Can you describe how students treat each other?
- How are for example bisexual, homosexual, transgender students treated? What is your opinion on bisexuality, homosexuality, and transgenders? What is the role of religion herein?
- How are students with mental and physical disabilities treated? Can you tell me something about their physical access on campus? Can you give me examples?

- What do you know about provision for mentally and physically disabled students, and for other students who are having some problems? To what extent do you think students with disabilities feel they belong on campus?

- Can you tell me how you and other students react on interracial friendships and interracial dating? To what extent are interracial friendships and interracial couples accepted and tolerated on campus?
- Can you tell me something about your friends on university? Can you give a racial composition of your friends? Can you tell something about your personal and group norms and values?
- How do you relate and communicate with other groups? Which language is used in your friendship relations?
- Are these friendship relations affecting your relations outside the university landscape (family, friends, etcetera) or vice versa?
- Which other (friendship) groups can you see on campus? Can you tell me about the different types of students that you get on campus? Where do they come from? Which prejudices do students and groups have about each other?
- Can you tell me something about inclusion, exclusion, inequalities and access on campus? To what extent are feelings or belonging important? To what extent do you feel you belong?

3A: Student organizations/societies
- Are you involved in any student organizations or societies? For example study related, not-study related, (inter)national organizations, sports organizations, organization for fun, etcetera?
- To what extent are these organizations linked to other (trans)national organizations? Can you describe an give some examples?
- To what extent do all students have the same access to participate in such student organizations? Do students in some organizations receive or have to pay fees?
- To what extent are these organizations still racially, language, origins segregated?

3B: Student politics
- Are you involved in any political party on campus? Can you tell something about political parties on universities? To what extent do you think the university is open to different political parties?
- What influence do these parties have on campus, which activities do they do? What do you think of these political parties and their actions, products? Can you give some examples?
- Are these parties linked to or part of other national parties? Do these political parties have contact with political parties on other universities?
- Are these parties only focusing on issues regarding university or also on other, (national) issues?
- Can you tell me something about elections on university?

3C: Community engagement
- Are you involved in any community engagement project?

- Are you involved through some student organization/society? Is it a compulsory part of your study program? Is it on voluntary basis? Can you describe the community projects, give some examples?
- What is your opinion on community engagement projects as a compulsory part of the study program?
- How do you hope to help these communities to deal with their problems? How do you think to find solutions to deal with social justice? What is your role, what could you have done to deal with social justice?

4A: Living on campus

- Are you living in campus residence? Can you describe how living in campus residence is? Why did you decided to apply for campus residence? If you're not: can you tell me about where you are living and how you experience that?
- Which kind of roommates do you have and what kind of relations do you have with your roommates?
- To what extent do you think here still is some stereotyping, prejudice, marginalization and discrimination between roommates? Can you give some examples? Did you ever experienced it by yourself? Did you experienced it at others? How did you react, how did you feel?
- Can you tell me something about activities, traditions and rules in campus residence?
- Can you tell me about the application process and policies of campus residence? On what grounds are students placed in certain residences?
- To what extent are campus residences racially segregated or mixed? Are there some quotas?

4B: Sports

- Are you involved in sports on campus?
- Can you tell me something about the team formats? To what extent are sports on university still racially segregated? Can you give some examples?
- Are you involved in sports related to campus residences, Varsity?

4C: Recreation

- What do you like to do in your free time (on campus)? Recreation, celebrations, parties, going out?
- Can you tell me something about which pubs, clubs and bars you like to go to? To what extent are these pubs, clubs and bars (racially) segregated? Are they segregated on other grounds?
- To what extent do these leisure time activities on campus differ from your social life outside the university landscape?

5: Symbols and traditions

- Can you tell me something about symbols and traditions on campus? Wherein are these symbols and traditions reflected (architecture, statues, artworks, flags, signs, emblems, stories, music anthems, celebrations, graduation ceremonies, literature, cultural practices etc.)?

- To what extent are these still based on apartheid values? To what extent do you think these symbols and tradition have changed after apartheid and are still changing? Did some symbols and traditions disappeared, returned, or were invented new?
- Can you tell me something about the influence of symbols and traditions, norms and values on guided behavior on campus? Have they been changed over time?
- To what extent do you think the symbols and traditions are representing all people involved in the university landscape?
- Can you tell me something about symbols and traditions in campus residence?

6: University policy
- To what extent do you think the university has influence on the socialization of students?
- Can you tell me something about policies that your university has? For example on quotas, application processes, placement and access of students? Can you give examples?
- Can you tell me about the language policy of your university? What is the medium of language? What is your opinion on that?

7: Identity
- Can you tell me something about your identity?
- How do you see yourself?
- How do you think that others see you?
- How does this influence your behavior?

Appendix 3: Interview guide academic staff members

1: Teaching

- Can you tell something about the curricula, education models? Is it based on Eurocentric or Afrocentric knowledge? Are they locally, nationally or internationally orientated? What kind of teaching methods and assessment frameworks are used? Which levels does the offered education has? To what extent do they prepare students on their future career? What do you think of the studies in general?

- Which theories are used? Where do they come from? To what extent is South Africa's history and transition process taken into account in education? Do you make use of indigenous theories? To what extent does the university reflect social diversity in practice, education? Can you link these indigenous theories to your own social life outside the university landscape?

- Can you tell me something about individual and group work? In which way are groups formed? Can you describe them? Why are those groups formed in this way?

- Can you tell me something about feedback, critique and discussions in class? Which students mostly ask questions and which students do no ask questions? To what extent do you think this is a cultural matter?

- Can you tell me something about how you see students from different racial groups are interacting with each other? How do they treat each other? What is your opinion on this? To what extent do you think these relations differ inside and outside the classroom?

- Can you tell me something about personal attention to students? About counsellors, mentors, psychologists, social workers? Is there a place, a board where students can complain about expressions of (racial) discrimination?

- Can you tell me something about the (un)equal treatment of students?

- Can you describe your relations with students, both inside and outside the classroom?

- To what extent do you, as a teacher, pay attention to moral agencies, unjust practices, (racial) discrimination?

- To what extent do you experience (racial) discrimination? Both in case of yourself, students and other staff on the university? Can you describe it, give examples?

- What do you think of the main language used in courses and on university? Which language is most used? Do you feel (dis)advantaged by (not) mastering some certain languages? Do you experience difficulties of students, teachers and staff when using language? To what extent do you experience some language problems? Does a certain language problem influences experiences of discrimination?

2: Staffing

- Can you tell something about your role in the university landscape, your functioning, workload, division of labour?

- Can you tell something about the appreciations of you as an employee on the university? Are you confident with your salaries? To what extent are there differences in salaries between employees?

- Can you tell something about interpersonal relations on the work floor, feelings of belonging? Do you experience some inclusion or exclusion (both yourself and other employees)? Can you tell something about collaborations with other employees?
- Can you tell something about opportunities on higher level jobs, job application procedures? (un)equal treatment between staff?
- Can you tell me something about the language that is used between employees? Do you feel (dis)advantaged by the main used language?
- Can you tell something about bullying on the work floor, (racial) discrimination on the work floor, (dis)satisfaction with the institutional environment?
- To what extent do you feel silence and fear of victimisation on the work floor? Do you stand up for yourself? Is there a place, a board where staff can complain about expressions of (racial) discrimination?
- Can you tell me something about the differences between men and women on the work floor? Does being man or woman does have some (dis)advantages? Can you describe this, give examples? Are there some differences in salaries, working opportunities, bullying, appreciations? Can you tell me something about the impact of having a child on the career prospect of female employees?
- To what extent does the way you are treated at your work affect your relations outside the university (at your friends, family)?
- To what extent do you think there is still some economic apartheid? What is your opinion on this? To what extent do you think economic and social class is still of influence on access to higher education and working opportunities?

3: Research
- Can you tell me something about research that is done in/by the university? What are most research being based on? Can you describe this, give examples? What are the purposes and focusses of research? How are choices for purposes and focusses on research made? What are the underlying assumptions of these research projects? To what extent are there some partner researches and collaboration project with other universities, companies and organizations? What are these projects based upon? What is your opinion about these projects?
- Can you tell me something about how research is linked to practice, business and industry?
- Can you tell me something about which organization, companies and universities are sponsoring some research projects?

4: Social life and community engagement & Recreational, cultural, sporting and other facilities
- To what are you and your students, education, research and colleagues involved in some community engagement, community projects? Is it a compulsory part of your job, of some study courses? What social activities do you get involved in? What is your opinion on these community engagement projects, social activities?
- Can you tell me something about your social life inside and outside the university landscape? To what extent is social life on university characterized by some issues concerning equality, tolerance, inclusion, access etcetera? Is this dependent on age, gender, race, culture, sexual

orientation, disabilities, religion, socio-economic status, origins, political preferences etcetera?

- To what extent does your social life on university differ from your social life outside the university (with your family, friends, etcetera)? To what extent does your social life on university affect your social life outside university? What do you do outside university life? Can you describe a racial composition of your family, friends, other groups? Where do you go outside the university? How do you practice culture in your own society, outside the university landscape?
- Can you tell me something about the university's influence on the socialization of students (for example norms, values and principles)?
- Can you tell me something about students organizations, local community groups etcetera? What is your opinion on these organizations and groups? To what extent are all students able to get access to such organizations and groups?
- Can you tell me something about other services and facilities on the university? Such as libraries, canteens, discussion rooms etcetera? What is your opinion about these?
- Can you tell me something about other study-related activities, such as study trips, etcetera? Are these accessible to all students?
- Can you tell me something about your view, idea, image of the social life of students at the university landscape? To what extent do you think there is a difference between students who are living on campus and who are not? To what extent do you think students' social life inside and outside the university landscape do differ from each other?

- To what extent do you participate in recreational, cultural and sporting facilities on the university? How do you experience these? Can you describe your relations with students and other staff when using these facilities? How do people treat each other here? Do you experience some (un)equal relations and discrimination here?
- Can you tell me something about celebrations, cultural events, special lectures, and different student clubs etcetera? What is your opinion on these events and groups?
- Can you tell me something about sports on university? Are you involved in the sport on the university? Can you describe, it give examples? Is sport still racially segregated? How do you experience relations within sports on the university?

5: Symbols and tradition
- Can you tell me something about symbols and traditions on the university? Can you describe them? Give examples? Are there still some historically ''apartheid'' practices and values visible?
- Can you describe some traditions that are expressed by practices, customs, opinions, beliefs in literature, scholarly writing, political discourses, shared identities and cultural practices?
- To what extent have some traditions been changed after the apartheid? Which traditions returned, and which new traditions are invented? To what extent do these traditions represent all students and staff on the university?
- To what extent is the university landscape characterized by symbols in products of architecture, statues, artworks, flags, signs emblems, stories, norms, values, music anthems,

inspiring persons, holidays, celebrations, official matters, graduation ceremonies, guided behaviour, etcetera? Are these products of symbols a good representation of all people involved in the university landscape? To what extent have these symbols changed over time?

6: University policy

- To what extent do you think the university has influence on the socialization of students?
- Can you tell me something about policies that your university has? For example on quotas, application processes, placement and access of students? Can you give examples?
- Can you tell me about the language policy of your university? What is the medium of language? What is your opinion on that?

Appendix 4: Interview guide non-academic staff members

1: Teaching

- Although you are not working as a teacher, do you ever get involved in other teaching related activities? Can you describe these activities, give examples?
- What is your view, image of students and teachers inside and outside classroom? To what extent do you think there is a difference? Can you give examples?
- Can you tell me something about how you see students from different racial groups are interacting with each other? How do they treat each other? What is your opinion on this?
- Can you tell me something about personal attention to students? About counsellors, mentors, psychologists, social workers? Is there a place, a board where students can complain about expressions of (racial) discrimination?
- Can you tell me something about the (un)equal treatment of students?
- Can you tell me something about your relations with students?

2: Staffing

- To what extent do you experience (racial) discrimination? Both in case of yourself, students and other staff on the university? Can you describe it, give examples?
- Can you tell something about your role in the university landscape, your functioning, workload, division of labour?
- Can you tell something about the appreciations of you as an employee on the university? Are you confident with your salaries? To what extent are there differences in salaries between employees?
- Can you tell something about interpersonal relations on the work floor, feelings of belonging? Do you experience some inclusion or exclusion (both yourself and other employees)? Can you tell something about collaborations with other employees?
- Can you tell something about opportunities on higher level jobs, job application procedures? (un)equal treatment between staff?
- What do you think of the main language used at your work place, between employees and on university? Which language is most used? Do you feel (dis)advantaged by (not) mastering some certain languages? Do you experience difficulties of students, teachers and staff when using language? To what extent do you experience some language problems? Does a certain language problem influences experiences of discrimination?
- Can you tell something about bullying on the work floor, (racial) discrimination on the work floor, (dis)satisfaction with the institutional environment?
- To what extent do you feel silence and fear of victimisation on the work floor? Do you stand up for yourself? Is there a place, a board where staff can complain about expressions of (racial) discrimination?
- Can you tell me something about the differences between men and women on the work floor? Does being man or woman does have some (dis)advantages? Can you describe this, give examples? Are there some differences in salaries, working opportunities, bullying, appreciations? Can you tell me something about the impact of having a child on the career prospect of female employees?
- To what extent does the way you are treated at your work affect your relations outside the university (at your friends, family)?

- To what extent do you think there is still some economic apartheid? What is your opinion on this? ? To what extent do you think economic and social class is still of influence on access to higher education and working opportunities?

3: Social life and community engagement & Recreational, cultural, sporting and other facilities

- To what extent are you and your colleagues involved in some community engagement, community projects? Is it a compulsory part of your job? What social activities do you get involved in? What is your opinion on community engagement projects and social activities?
- Can you tell me something about your social life inside and outside the university landscape? To what extent is social life on university characterized by some issues concerning equality, tolerance, inclusion, access etcetera? Is this dependent on age, gender, race, culture, sexual orientation, disabilities, religion, socio-economic status, origins, political preferences etcetera?
- To what extent does your social life on university differ from your social life outside the university (with your family, friends, etcetera)? To what extent does your social life on university affect your social life outside university? What do you do outside university life? Can you describe a racial composition of your family, friends, other groups? Where do you go outside the university? How do you practice culture in your own society, outside the university landscape?
- Can you tell me something about the university's influence on the socialization of students (for example norms, values and principles)?
- Can you tell me something about students organizations, local community groups etcetera? What is your opinion on these organizations and groups? To what extent are all students able to get access to such organizations and groups?
- Can you tell me something about other services and facilities on the university? Such as libraries, canteens, discussion rooms etcetera? What is your opinion about these?
- Can you tell me something about other study-related activities, such as study trips, etcetera? Are these accessible to all students?
- Can you tell me something about your view, idea, image of the social life of students at the university landscape? To what extent do you think there is a difference between students who are living on campus and who are not? To what extent do you think students' social life inside and outside the university landscape do differ from each other?

- To what extent do you participate in recreational, cultural and sporting facilities on the university? How do you experience these? Can you describe your relations with students and other staff when using these facilities? How do people treat each other here? Do you experience some (un)equal relations and discrimination here?
- Can you tell me something about celebrations, cultural events, special lectures, and different student clubs etcetera? What is your opinion on these events and groups?
- Can you tell me something about sports on university? Are you involved in the sport on the university? Can you describe, it give examples? Is sport still racially segregated? How do you experience relations within sports on the university?

4: Symbols and tradition

- Can you tell me something about symbols and traditions on the university? Can you describe them? Give examples? Are there still some historically ''apartheid'' practices and values visible?
- Can you describe some traditions that are expressed by practices, customs, opinions, beliefs in literature, scholarly writing, political discourses, shared identities and cultural practices?
- To what extent have some traditions been changed after the apartheid? Which traditions returned, and which new traditions are invented? To what extent do these traditions represent all students and staff on the university?
- To what extent is the university landscape characterized by symbols in products of architecture, statues, artworks, flags, signs emblems, stories, norms, values, music anthems, inspiring persons, holidays, celebrations, official matters, graduation ceremonies, guided behaviour, etcetera? Are these products of symbols a good representation of all people involved in the university landscape? To what extent have these symbols changed over time?

6: University policy

- To what extent do you think the university has influence on the socialization of students?
- Can you tell me something about policies that your university has? For example on quotas, application processes, placement and access of students? Can you give examples?
- Can you tell me about the language policy of your university? What is the medium of language? What is your opinion on that?

Participant consent form

Research title: Legacies of apartheid and discrimination within higher education institutions in a post-apartheid South Africa

I. BACKGROUND

Dear participant

My name is Lieke Vogels and I am a master's student from the Department of Human Geography (specialization Urban & Cultural Geography) in the Faculty of Management at the Radboud University Nijmegen, in the Netherlands.

As part of my master's thesis, I am doing a research internship at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education (Department of Humanities Education). I will thus be collecting data within the Gauteng Region in South Africa for my research study. For this research, I am interested in answering the following question: To what extent do legacies of apartheid still exist within university landscapes in a post-apartheid South Africa? Accordingly, I am inviting students, lecturers, support staff and experts from universities in the Gauteng region to participate in this research study.

I hope to gain a better understanding of how South African individuals within higher education institutions deal with the challenges of prejudice and discrimination in a post-apartheid South Africa. By participating in this research study, you will contribute important information and knowledge on the experiences of individuals within current South African university landscapes in a post-apartheid South Africa on patterns of prejudice and discrimination.

II. PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate in this research study, I will set a mutually convenient time to hold an in-depth interview with you. I will conduct the in-depth interview at an agreed-upon location. You will participate in the following:

- A 60 minute in-depth interview – which will be audio taped and transcribed
- Member checking via email to verify the individual interview transcript, data analysis and interpretation of the in-depth interview

III. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. There is no compensation for participation in this study.

IV. CONFIDENTIALITY

The research collected through research study, will be used for publication and presentation, in an attempt to share the new knowledge that I have gained from this research with others. However, respecting your privacy is extremely important to me as a researcher. Your name and personal information will remain anonymous through the entire study. Your name will not be included in any documents as I will assign a pseudonym to be used in place of your real name. No one besides my academic supervisory or myself, will have access to the audio taped in-depth interview. The information collected through the in-depth interviews will be kept in secured computer files. All information collected will be kept confidential. My supervisors and I will not share any of the information you provide with anyone outside of the study.

V. CONTACT PERSONS

- If you have any questions or concerns about this study; or if any problems arise, please feel free to contact me through email at l.vogels@student.ru.nl , phone +27 (71) 1838911 (South African phone number) or phone +31 6 46 79 54 51 (Dutch phone number).
- If you have any question or concerns about your rights as a research participant please contact one of my supervisors:

(i)   dr. Wendy Carvalho-Malekane

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Your signature indicates that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this research study

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Participant's name: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Researcher's name: _____