

DOCTORAL THESIS

**EDUCATION POLICY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN HIGHER
EDUCATION:
A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE STUDY**

by

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ABSTRACT

The study is a critical investigation of social justice concerns in higher education policy in emerging democracies such as South Africa. The study focuses on three initiatives at the University of Pretoria as exemplary projects that address social justice concerns in order to redress the situation in post-apartheid South Africa. These initiatives are the Institute of Women and Gender Studies, IGWS, which attempts to achieve gender equality, eliminate patriarchal tendencies and unleash women's potentialities within the University of Pretoria; The Centre for the Study of HIV/AIDS which seeks to eliminate any discriminatory tendencies against University of Pretoria members who are living with HIV/AIDS and contribute meaningfully in reducing the scourge of the pandemic; and The University of Pretoria Foundation Year Programme, UPFY, which attempts to increase the participation rates of the previously disadvantaged in areas of scarce skills such as mathematics and science.

The study seeks to share new insights into the limits of grand policy frameworks that promise much by way of social justice but deliver very little in real terms. This policy gap trajectory between intent and practice begins and ends at the University of Pretoria as a case study that provides important lessons for cognate institutions and other social structures. The study is further likely to contribute insights into how higher education can implement programmes so as to purportedly address and redress social injustices and inequalities when in essence; these programmes achieve little more than a public relations objective.

The intent of this case study is to illuminate attempts, through various programmes, by higher education to address social justice concerns such as inequality and discrimination, and reflects the inadequacy of such efforts that are not developed within an institution's capacity in order to affect the existing institutional culture.

In reflecting on the persistent policy challenges and the marginalisation of social justice agenda, the study points to the dominance of the neo-liberal discourse on a global and local scale and its manifestation in higher education in the form of commodification and marketisation. As a result, the study proposes the revival of a radical social justice

agenda so as to mainstream social justice concerns in higher education and promote its emancipatory possibilities.

KEYWORDS: Social justice, Higher education policy challenges, Gender equality, Access into higher education, HIV/AIDS, Neo-liberalism, Commodification of education, Emancipatory possibilities, Radical social justice agenda

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, nor has it been prepared under the aegis of / with the assistance of any other body or organisation or person outside the University of Pretoria.

M TJABANE

DATE

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Higher education, globally, has operated in a context in which the powerful determine mainstream policies and define appropriate strategies to be followed. The powerful, today, are informed by a neo-liberal ideology that has resulted in the commodification and marketisation of higher education. The rationale behind the trend is that higher education plays an important role in economic development for the global economy. While the economic role of higher education is not in dispute, its role in promoting democracy and social justice is being marginalised. This has become a global trend that is gaining ground in emerging democracies such as South Africa and has continued to perpetuate socio-economic injustice and inequalities. It is against this background that the study investigated how higher education has responded to societal challenges through its mandate of promoting social justice.

This study focuses on the persisting inequalities in terms of the participation rates of the previously disadvantaged groups in higher education in South Africa, with the focus being placed on one historically advantaged higher education institution amidst the rhetorical “hype” regarding social justice as the discourse of choice in educational policy. The study focuses on three initiatives that claim to address social justice concerns in order to redress the situation in post-apartheid South Africa and threaten the human rights culture that South Africa is attempting to establish. These initiatives are the Institute of Women and Gender Studies, IWGS, which attempts to achieve gender equality, eliminate patriarchal tendencies and unleash women’s potentialities within the University of Pretoria; the Centre for the Study of HIV/AIDS which seeks to eliminate any discriminatory tendencies against University of Pretoria members who are living with HIV/AIDS and to contribute meaningfully in reducing the scourge of the pandemic; and the University of Pretoria Foundation Year Programme, UPFY, which attempts to increase the participation rates of the previously disadvantaged in areas of scarce skills such as mathematics and science.

These initiatives have become necessary post-apartheid initiatives, especially since the adoption of the renowned South African Constitution that protects, and attempts to create, a culture of human rights and dignity. It is my contention that the South African constitution is strongly shaped by social justice discourses and that within the

educational policy framework, these social justice discourses assume, and are preceded by, the People's Education Movement that was prevalent during the ant-apartheid era. The said policy framework is currently at the heart of intense national debate since historically Afrikaner universities such as the University of Pretoria are struggling to achieve gender equality, to reduce discriminatory tendencies and racial inequality in areas such as mathematics and science.

The study seeks to share new insights into the limits of grand policy frameworks that promise much by way of social justice but deliver very little in real terms. This policy gap trajectory between intent and practice begins and ends at the University of Pretoria as a case study that provides important lessons for cognate institutions and other social structures. The study is further likely to contribute insights into how higher education can implement programmes so as to actually address and redress social injustices and inequalities when in essence these programmes achieve little more than a public relations objective.

The intent of this case study is to illuminate attempts, through various programmes, by higher education institutions to address social justice concerns such as inequality and discrimination, and reflects the inadequacy of such efforts that are not developed within an institution's capacity in order to affect the existing institutional culture. While the University of Pretoria is the focus of the present study, its selection may reflect similar treatment of social justice in former Afrikaner institutions. A discussion of social justice in terms of the achievement of gender equality, increased participation rates of previously disadvantaged groups such as blacks, women and the disabled, in subjects such as those mentioned, and other discriminatory tendencies, is attempted by assessing higher education policy as regards the presence of a social justice discourse and its implementation in three programmes at the University of Pretoria.

At this stage in the present research, social justice is conceptualised as the significant and meaningful reduction and total elimination (ideally) of gender and racial inequality as well as of other discriminatory tendencies or of the use of artificial social categorisation to perpetuate unfair distribution and social inequality.

The first chapter offers an introduction to the research with a description of the main research questions, the purpose and significance of the study, the conceptual framework and the research methodology used in the study being discussed. The study employed the qualitative research paradigm and the case study approach in order to study experiences of the implementers of initiatives with respect to social justice.

Chapter two focuses on a review of literature related to social justice and education in higher education. This includes research carried out internationally and locally with regards to the status of social justice in various areas. The purpose of this chapter is to present a review of literature on key issues related to the central research problem. This analysis informs the study of that which is already known from research on social justice.

Chapter three provides a literature review of the transformation movement of higher education in South Africa. It focuses on the transformation pillars of increased access and broadened participation to higher education, and responsiveness to societal needs, research and cooperative governance. This chapter illustrates how South African higher education has performed with reference to the three pillars of transformation.

Chapter four deals with the University of Pretoria during the democratic dispensation. It provides a brief background of the transition from a conservative university to one that has embraced the transformation agenda of the current government. The Innovation Generation Document is also analysed with regards to how it meets the transformation agenda and social justice mandate. In addition to this, some transformation indicators are discussed to illustrate how the university has transformed with a focus on the social justice imperative.

Chapter five provides a consideration of access to higher education as a transformation imperative and part of the social justice agenda. Furthermore, it examines certain elements of social justice education and how they facilitate access and success in higher education. Finally, the UPFY is critically discussed regarding the role it plays in fulfilling the higher education social justice mandate of access.

Chapter six considers the gender aspects of social justice in the global and local contexts. The women's movement agendas ranging from that of the Women in Development to that in gender mainstreaming are discussed from a global perspective while, locally, the present author critically considers how the IWGS fulfils the higher education mandate of promoting gender justice.

Chapter seven investigates HIV/AIDS as a global emergency and social justice imperative globally and locally. It discusses how HIV/AIDS has been conceptualised and the responses to the phenomenon at state and Institutional level. The CSA is critically examined as a case study of the University of Pretoria's response to HIV/AIDS as a social justice imperative.

The final chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the main findings and contains the conclusion. The researcher suggests that the social justice agenda is under siege globally and is marginalised, and in order for it to be a lived experience for everyone, radical scholars and activists need to pursue the liberatory and emancipatory possibilities of education inherent in radical social justice.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym	Description
ADEA	African Development Education Association
ANC	African National Congress
ART	Anti-Retroviral Treatment
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CHE	Commission on Higher Education
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
CHR	Centre for Human Rights
CSA	Centre for the Study of AIDS
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service
DFiD	Department of International Development
DOE	Department of Education
EFA	Education For All
ERS	Education Renewal Strategy
GEAR	Growth and Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
GENNET	Gender Network
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDASA	Institute for Democratic Alternatives in Southern Africa
IWGS	Institute for Women and Gender Studies
MDG	Millennium Development Goals



NACOSA	National AIDS Coordination Committee of South Africa
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NEPI	National Education Policy Initiative
NPHE	National Plan on Higher Education
POWA	People Opposed to Women Abuse
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordinating Committee
SANAC	South African National AIDS Commission
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UK	United Kingdom
UNAIDS	United Nations HIV/AIDS Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational and Scientific Council
UPFY	University of Pretoria Foundation Year Programme
USA	United States of America
VTC	Voluntary Testing and Counselling
WAD	Women and Development

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CHAPTER 1 – BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and Statement of the Problem

The introduction of a democratic government in South Africa in the mid-1990s played a significant role in foregrounding a social justice discourse in all aspects of public life. Indeed, the newly established government attempted to imbue most of its public policies, and especially education policies, with the language of social justice; many of these rhetorical commitments could be found in earlier discourses such as the People's Education (1) movement of the 1980s and the broad democratic movement in the 1990s (National Education Policy Investigation , NEPI, 1992). Social justice has always constituted a major political commitment in the long history of education struggles in South Africa. With widespread celebrations of “ten years of democracy” (CHE: 2004) there seems to have ensued a paralysis in the debate regarding issues of social justice, especially in the context of the public policy. It appears to be accepted that social justice has been substantially addressed and reflected in the education policies of the new government because of the euphoria of the democratic dispensation in the country that seems to promise more progressive possibilities than the past dispensation. While social justice might well be contained within new education policies, it is not at all clear that such commitments have been achieved in education practice. The present study consequently presents a critical investigation of the practice of social justice at the University of Pretoria, measured against the policy expectations for justice of this type in higher education contexts.

At the level of rhetoric, I sought to determine the nature, claims and expectations for social justice as reflected in higher education policy. At the implementation level, I set out to determine the ways in which the University of Pretoria has responded to social justice demands in policy, and the extent to which such responses are effective within higher education contexts. A working hypothesis in this study is that while institutions might formally reflect programmatic responses to social justice demands in the policy environment, in practice such responses might remain marginal within the mainstream higher education environment.

Research shows that in official government circles, there is a tendency to assume that formal commitments to social justice imply practical commitments to its realisation in educational contexts: a symbolic policy (Cloete and Massen, 2001: 449). Such an approach to social justice fails to take account of the myriad ways in which social justice claims on institutions can be limited, subverted, ignored or even resisted in institutional contexts.

Globally, social justice is under challenge, marginalised as it is by powerful counter-discourses associated with neo-liberalism and its expression through new managerialism and the changing academic workplace within higher education (Altbach, 2000; Jansen, 2000). Under these new global conditions, social justice cannot be assumed to enjoy prominence in higher education policies; even less certain is the assumption that (social justice) policy pronounced in theory is attained within the practices of universities.

Social justice, in the context of the study, refers to the extent to which higher education institutions reflect and pursue commitments to equity, democracy and redress in their institutional policies, plans, programmes and practices. This study therefore proceeds from the assumption that the practices of social justice are a reaction to policy demands for greater institutional responsiveness regarding complex issues including increasing access of disadvantaged students (such as that of black students to science and engineering), broadening the participation of marginalised groups (such as disabled or women students) and creating services and support for stigmatised communities (such as HIV/AIDS sufferers).

In pursuit of this objective, the current research consisted of comparative case studies of institutional-level initiatives designed to respond to and reflect commitments to social justice. These three initiatives are the University of Pretoria Foundation Year Programme (or UPFY), the Institute for Women's and Gender Studies (IWGS) and the Centre of the Study of AIDS (CSA) — all are responsive initiatives of the same institution, the University of Pretoria (see the motivation for sampling in the Methodology section).

1.2 Research Questions

The fundamental question explored in this study concerns how institutions of higher learning respond to the national mandate of social justice. This study is guided by four research questions, with the fourth question constituting a working hypothesis to be tested through data generated in the earlier segments of the study.

- What are the claims and expectations for social justice embedded in South Africa's new higher education policies?
- What are the modes of institutional responsiveness to social justice claims in higher education policy?
- How do these responsive modes or initiatives understand their roles and status within the broader institution with respect to the broader quest of social justice?
- Why do initiatives responding to the social justice commitment of institutions find themselves at the margins of institutional life?

The first research question was addressed by means of an extensive *analysis of relevant policy documents* in higher education. These documents included printed resources on higher education, publications of the National Education Policy Investigation's Oxford Series; the National Commission on Higher Education discussion documents; the Green Paper on Higher Education; and the White Paper on Higher Education Transformation (White Paper 3). The documented claims and emphases over the lifespan of higher education policy development were identified only as they relate to social justice concerns. In addition to the analysis of key policy documents, this question was pursued by means of *further critical scrutiny of publications of key policymakers and policy authors* who authored successive documents in order to elaborate and probe the underlying thinking (and shifts in thinking) behind the social justice claims made in each policy position.

The second research question was pursued by means of a *critical description* of the three sampled projects as illustrative cases of social justice commitments of the institution. The data was extracted largely from *extensive documentation* on each project and *intensive interviews* with senior managers and facilitators responsible for each of

these three projects in order to gain a nuanced sense of how and to what extent these projects are regarded as responses to social justice commitments of the institution.

In terms of the third research question data was sought on the functions, roles and status of each project in its institutional setting. This segment drew its data from *extensive* and *intensive interviews* with the first-order participants (project staff) in these three projects, with the objective of describing their understandings of the roles and status of each initiative within the broader institution.

The fourth research question tested the emergent data against the principles of critical theory in order to explain the status (assumed to be marginal) of each project in institutional life. This segment of the study *developed the position* that initiatives responsive to social justice concerns remain in the margins of institutional life as a result of factors such as the lack of funding and institutional support.

1.3 Rationale for this Study

While much has been written on the subject of social justice in schools (see Adams et. al., 1997), available literature regarding the meaning and achievement of social justice in higher education contexts is relatively sparse. Yet higher education policies, especially in new democracies, are often invested with enormous expectations for achieving social justice on and off the university campus (see Department of Education, 2001) Department for Education and Skills, 2003). However, the questions that arise are: What kind of “take-up” occurs within higher education institutions, given the policy pressure for social justice, especially in newly emerging democracies? How do universities engage with social justice in their day-to-day operations? What does the institutional culture tell us about the social justice claims of the state as the primary resource of funding in public higher education? These are the puzzles that have led to this inquiry into the context of South African higher education institutions.

Universally, higher education systems are under pressure to be socially responsive to changes in society by addressing social justice concerns such as equity, access, success and the creation of a democratic culture. In South Africa, this has been a priority item in policy formulation and implementation. The policy documents formulated post1994

were informed by a democratic culture that advanced the transformation of the higher education system. The intellectual climate was fuelled by great optimism and celebration because the legacy of apartheid injustices had been overthrown and South Africa embraced the promise of democracy ready for the 21st century. However, ten years later in 2004, the optimism had faded and the bright anticipation had evaporated – almost to a point of paralysis. Currently, there appears to be a transformation paralysis regarding issues of social justice in the sense that the noble calls to address social justice concerns have remained at symbolic and rhetorical levels with limited substantial implementation. Even those aspects that have been implemented fall short of portraying a complete social justice agenda. It would appear that the current democratic dispensation in the country seems to possess all the answers to address social justice and therefore that this society has reached a state of stagnation and cannot think of any other alternatives. For social justice to be elevated to the level of significance it deserves, there needs to be a revival of debate so that its worth and relevance can be evaluated and subjected to critical analysis. This is an important exercise that holds higher education institutions accountable for meeting the social justice imperatives and being socially responsive.

The transformation paralysis currently affecting higher education is detrimental to an important function of higher education: the creation of a democratic culture. This study will contribute to the steps being taken to shift higher education from such a paralysis to a transformational dynamics. This entails the resuscitation of the social justice agenda. In addressing the stagnation of debate, the study begins the optimistic task mentioned by critical educators like Giroux (2003): that of doing the impossible in counteracting the mainstream discourse of neo-liberalism. The *social significance* of this study lies in the fact that this research opens up terrain for an inquiry into social justice against the grain of neo-liberal policies and managerial cultures infecting higher education environments. The *intellectual significance* of the study is that it seeks to understand the complex ways in which social justice is programmatically encoded in institutional scripts for transformation and democratic culture.

Since neo-liberalism is the policy framework that has an overarching impact on the context of higher education in the 21st century, a brief explanation is furnished to

highlight its influence. Neo-liberalism is an invention of the Enlightenment and this is seen in the concept “liberal” that has been hybridised over time. It contains a set of economic policies that reflect some elements of classical liberalism. The genesis of the term is found in the writings of the Freiberg school of Germany which used the term to refer to a moderate alternative to classical liberalism that infused humanistic ideals with economic policy as opposed to strict free market policy (Boas and Gans-Morse, 2007:9). In this manner, neo-liberalism contained more positive connotations. However, in the 1980s, the term has come to mean the opposite of its original position in that it came to be used by opponents of liberalism to critique features of advanced modern capitalist socio-economic policies of the western countries (Larner, 2000).

According to Larner, a leftist social scientist,

The most common conceptualization of neo-liberalism as a policy framework is marked by a shift from Keynesian welfare towards a political agenda favouring the relatively unfettered operations of the markets. Often this renewed emphasis on markets is understood to be directly associated with the so-called globalization of capital... New forms of globalised production relations and financial systems forcing governments to abandon their commitments to the welfare state. Rather than formulating policies to ensure full employment and an inclusive welfare system, governments are now focused on enhancing economic efficiency and international competitiveness (Larner, 2000:5).

In its current state, neo-liberalism is identified by the following values:

- Individual freedom
- Freedom of choice
- Market security
- Minimal government
- Laissez faire policies (Larner, 2000:5, Martinez and Garcia, 2007:1, Bundy, 2005:86).

In the current century, neo-liberalism involves the paradigm shift in policy and ideology from welfare policies informed by Keynesian macro economics to a free market,

privatisation, deregulation and decreasing public spending. Some of the notable proponents of neo-liberal economic policies are western governments such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America who have in turn influenced international organisations, for instance the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, to adopt policies informed by neo-liberalism (Levidow, 2002:1-6). An equally important feature of neo-liberalism is the discourse of globalisation which entails the centrality of concepts like the information society and the knowledge economy (Levidow, 2002:2).

This study is premised on the observation that although in neo-liberalism there are some positive elements contained in the liberal ideals, such as freedom, the concept in theory and practice has come to display illiberal tendencies that compromised the ideal of social justice as conceptualised in this study. Against this background and in the context of increasing global inequalities and injustices, it is fitting to scrutinise the suitability of policies informed by neo-liberalism in advancing the ideals of social justice.

The neo-liberal policy context manifests itself in higher education through the following changes:

- The transition from elite provision to mass provision. This entails increasing and opening access into higher education and emphasising its role in contributing to national economic competitiveness (Bundy, 2005:86).
- An accelerated penetration of market relations in academic life. This involves the entrenchment of new market discourse characterised by dwindling public funding and focus on private funding, an increasing academic industrial agenda and the general commodification of intellectual labour. This has been translated into doing more with less (Bundy, 2005:87).
- The introduction of the corporate culture into higher education. This process is evidenced by the infusion of business practices and values in higher education. This is seen in the introduction of decentralisation to increase efficiency, performance targets, the audit culture borrowed from the finance field and quality assurance mechanisms (Bundy, 2005: 88).

In the African educational context the impact of neo-liberalism and its accompanying globalisation is an issue of great concern. According to Jansen,

The most dangerous consequence of globalisation is that it has established a broad consensus not only about what kind of economy is desirable, but about what education is for. This consensus holds that education is for economic productivity, for technological advancement, for greater competition and market share, for institutional and learner performance management, and for regulation and accountability to ensure that performance-driven economies and pedagogies are not only achieved, but sustained... in terms of education globalisation has redefined how we teach, what we teach, where, who we teach – and even whether we teach (2007:25).

The study is in alignment with the position that neo-liberal theories of economic rationalisation have adversely affected society in general and higher education in particular. In higher education, neo-liberalism's entrenchment is described as academic capitalism, a phenomenon described by Slaughter and Leslie as "the market like behaviours on the part of universities and faculty. Market-like behaviour refers to institutional and faculty competition for monies... from external resource providers" (2001; 154). These changes have become visible in most higher education institutions in the west and in South Africa and they generally indicate that the neo-liberal university functions along similar lines to the corporate world with an obsession to maximise profit and with limited concern regarding the role of higher education in advancing the social justice agenda and democracy in general (Cloete, Fehnel, Massen , Moja, Perold and Gibbon 2002).

There is a growing and enduring tension with respect to the dynamics of neo-liberalism in higher education around the world. Proponents and exponents are in constant conflict over the potential benefits and dangers of neo-liberalism. For instance the feature of massification is seen in a positive light in as far as it increases access into higher education for people who have been denied access due to exclusionary policies, but it also has a negative implication in that it may continue to increase inequality if higher education continues to be informed by elitist policies.(Currie 2004:42)

I take the view that the neo-liberal project is anti-social justice and that radical and socialist alternatives to educational problems and their solutions are worth pursuing more fully than before so as to defend the contribution of higher education to the public good and the promotion of the democratic culture informed by principles of radical social justice.

The democratic culture forms part and parcel of the quest for social justice which is being relegated to the periphery because of the dominant paradigm of neo-liberalism that is propelling global and market capitalism. The language of neo-liberalism informs most organisations and universities and has been described as inhuman and devoid of any human provenance or possibility because of the increasing level of injustice that exists uncurbed across the globe (Davies, 2005:1). In this light, the present study concurs with, and advances, the position of radical scholars that the struggle for the advancement of democracy and social justice needs to be pioneered in and through higher education and other progressive spheres:

Another challenge that needs to be addressed in order to “take back” higher education is the threat that neo-liberalism and corporate values pose to higher education and the necessity to once again remind us that those democratic rather than commercial values should be the concerns of the university. While the university should equip people to enter the workplace it should also educate them to contest workplace inequalities, imagine democratically organized forms of work, and identify and challenge those injustices that contradict and undercut the most fundamental principles of freedom, equality and respect for all people who constitute the global public sphere (Giroux, 2003:4).

In the context of a hostile neo-liberal environment and discourse, it might appear to be impossible to further social justice; however, this study takes its cue from radical scholarship in advocating what appears to be impossible in either theory or praxis.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

This research is informed by critical theory, which stands in opposition to conventional or traditional theory. According to Shalin (1992),

The term critical theory is commonly used in connection with the Frankfurt school, and in the broadest sense, it refers to the project of

emancipation which seeks to open up society by subjecting it to a critique through standards set up by reason. Across between the French Enlightenment and German idealism, critical theory combines the former's determination to purge society from oppression with the latter's liberating insight that obsolete practices are due in large measure to reason's own unreflexivity (Shalin, 1992: 252) .

In line with the above, critical theory has been described as a Marxist critique of capitalist society (figure 1 by Paulston, 1999 reproduced on page 21). It is a form of opposition to bourgeois society and traditional conventional theory which sought to reproduce the relations of domination and subordination of a capitalist society (Peters, Lankshear and Osslen, 2003:2). The connoisseurs of critical theory are located in the New Left movement and argue that positivist traditional theory does not address the historical, cultural and situatedness of research and also fails to offer transformative possibilities to the domination and oppression of capitalism (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002: 87-88). The founders and first generation scholars of critical theory, such as Horkheimer, intended to develop it as a philosophical orientation with the goal of leading to the development of society without injustices by subverting or undermining relations of a capitalist society (ibid).

In the contemporary context, critical theory is associated with second generation theorists, such as Habermas and Freire. Habermas is regarded as the most influential theorist as regards his concern with the revival of the Enlightenment project and the defence of democracy and freedom that is being continually threatened by the development of late capitalism and globalisation in the 20th and 21st centuries. Habermas advances the view that in order to free society from the crisis of oppressive and exploitative modern capitalism, the theory of communicative action is the solution. The solution lies in reasoned, rational and democratic communication that allows human beings to understand and make common plans that will gradually transform capitalist society into a more radically democratic one. Thus the injustices of modern society will be addressed (Morrow and Torres, 2003:47). Critical theory according to the perspective of Habermas forms part of a wider radical tradition of politically engaged analysis that stands in direct opposition to various forms of leftist and rightist dogma and tyranny. This implies that while being critical of other forms of oppression, it is also self-critical of itself, continuously practising reflectivity (Willmott, nd: 1).

Freire as a contemporary of Habermas shares a similar concern in so far as addressing oppression and emancipating people from the grips of modern capitalism are concerned. However, Freire's significance lies in inserting the pedagogy in critical theory that appears to have been glossed over by Habermas (Morrow and Torres, 2003:5). He has also been influential in formulating critical pedagogy, an educational theory whose object is to conscientise learners to transform the learning environment and relations of power in the struggle for a socialist order (McLaren and Faramandpur, 2005:1).

Freire focuses on the role of consciousness, critique and a utopian vision, the need to imagining a better future before it can be achieved, and the critical role of education for social justice and the vital necessity of leadership fully at one with the people should deepen practices of movements for social change (Gibon, 2009: 4).

The positions of Freire and Habermas illustrate that critical theory furthers the Enlightenment ideals. Its core concern is to develop more rational, enlightened social relations that are aimed at transforming the status quo towards more socially just futures.

Contemporary proponents of critical theory in the western world such as MacLaren and Kincheloe relentlessly pursue the progressive and emancipatory project initiated by the Enlightenment. They offer a reconceptualised interpretation of critical theory for the new millennium:

Critical theory analyses competing power interests between groups and individuals within a society – identifying who gains and who loses in specific situations. Privileged groups, criticalists argue, often have an interest in supporting the status quo to protect their advantages; the dynamics of such efforts often become the central focus of critical research. Such studies revolve around issues of race, class, gender and sexuality (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002:90).

Critical theory in addition to embracing the culture of critique creates a conducive intellectual environment for the flourishing of human freedom or agency.

This study makes use of an interpretative research paradigm which is in contrast to a traditional positivist paradigm. The particular element that the interpretative research

paradigm proposes to bring to the research process is the element of human agency which is marginalized by the positivist paradigm. In the positivist paradigm, human agency implies free will that is active in making sense of the social world. Agency refers to the capability of individuals to act independently and make their own free choices. In this tradition, human agency is seen as neutral individual freedom in a *laissez faire* market orientated socio-economic system of capitalism. The notion of human agency in the tradition of critical theory is re-conceptualised and has come to entail the promise that men and women can determine their own history and existence and they have in them the collective moral responsibility to advance emancipation from capitalist exploitation. It offers new hope for the oppressed masses living in the neo-liberal “utopia of endless exploitation” to use Bourdieu’s assessment of the essence of neo-liberalism (Bourdieu 1998:1) This implies that the freedom in human agency from the perspective of Bourdieu has the potential of fostering counter neo-liberal strategies and bring about utopia of total human emancipation. In the same vein, the centrality of human agency in counteracting a neo-liberal policy environment is shared by critical scholars like Giroux (2003), and (1998), McLaren and Kinecheloe (2005), Habermas (1974), Freire (2005) Heron (2008) and Mfumadi (2008). These views are summarised below. In the context of this study, reference will be made to elements an educational and policy environment that is conducive for the fostering collective human agency that is likely to counteract the neo-liberal policy environment.

- At institutional level, the purpose of educating the youth for critical empowerment rather than subjugation (Giroux, Maclaren and Kinecheloe, and Freire,)
- The centrality of teaching critical thinking as a constitutive feature of the struggle for self-emancipation and social change (Giroux 2003: 28).
- The fostering of the practice of self-reflection and self-criticism is essential (Giroux 1998:35)
- The development of collective critical consciousness. (Freier2005 , Mfumadi, 2008:,Waghid 2008)
- The development of critical pedagogy. (Cooper , Hill and Ross 2009:216)

- The promotion of radical democracy through the theory of communicative action (Habermas 1974).
- The development of collective human agency based on non-western cultures that is interdependent, interconnected and deflates the individual (Heron 2008:82)

So in the tradition of critical theory, the struggle against neo-liberalism is not just waged by an individual constructed in the language of liberalism but by collective individuals informed by the culture of critique and the relentless quest for socially just socio-economic futures that facilitate utopia of human emancipation. In line with the type of social justice advanced in this study, human agency needs to be couched in the language of radical social justice for it to make a dent on neo-liberal educational and policy environment.

While utilising the broad framework of critical theory, I will also explore the applicability of this theory to analysing education in emerging new democracies such as South Africa. Since critical theory is a broad field, the first step with regards to this research is to indicate the limits of the scope of its usage. This project will not attempt to trace its historical origins in detail, nor its detailed intellectual history. It will only be used where it helps to illuminate the radical position of social justice as one of the projects of this study. Within critical theory, social justice, as used in this study, is in alignment with its (critical theory's) quest for the emancipation of humankind from the prominent injustices in society in the form of maldistribution and misrecognition caused by the traditional political, economic and cultural structures of modern society (Fraser, 2001:11).

According to Nel (1995:126), "critical theory has a double meaning: it refers to a theory that is critical of society, on the one hand, and on the other, a theory that is critical of past theories of society, or, what one would call 'traditional' theory". Scholars who identify themselves with critical theory are leftist in persuasion and perceive the oppositional stance of critical theory as offering much appeal in promoting the broad agenda of social justice such as equity, inclusion and redistribution of socio-economic benefits to all.

Critical theorists hold the position that past and current attempts at achieving social justice have failed even in the context that continues to celebrate capitalism as a key to social justice, and therefore propose a more radical position on the latter (McLaren, 2005:20). Critical pedagogues are concerned with the influences of educational knowledge that legitimate an unjust *status quo*, resulting in inequitable, undemocratic and oppressive institutions and social relations, and the persistent failure of reformist policies in addressing radical social justice (Burbules & Berk, 1999:46). The most commonly cited reason for the failure of past and current attempts at achieving social justice is the neo-liberal paradigm's project of modernisation and its notion of social consensus.

Critical theory challenges and seeks to change the neo-liberal paradigm which is deemed to be socially unjust and politically undemocratic. With reference to social justice, critical theory is associated with the radical position or the egalitarian paradigm of social justice. Critical theory's quest is for social justice; it therefore displays a close affinity to the latter's ideas such as the quest for utopia – a better life for everyone. It is particularly this position that has led to a number of criticisms being leveled at critical theory.

Torres and Morrow (2002) provide a succinct digest of the criticism of critical theory from a variety of theoretical positions.

From the direction of positivist educational theory, it has been rejected as impractical, romantic, and without any empirical basis; (2) from the Marxist left, it has been condemned for idealism, subjectivism, and romanticism, a perspective most common in Latin America; (3) from the direction of a conservative hermeneutic and phenomenological approach, it has been received with ambivalence because of its "westernizing" politicization of education at the expense of the life world and tradition; (4) in the name of radical environmental critique, it has been charged with normative anthropomorphism; and (5) under the labels of postmodernist, post-structuralism, and postcolonial theory, it has been questioned for its modernist rationalist bias, normative universalism, conception of an autonomous subject, and lack of attention to questions of difference (Morrow and Torres, 2002 163 – 164).

Given the above criticism, this study is not dissuaded from defending the necessity of critical theory and its advancement of a social justice agenda, particularly in the current context and the growing hostility to issues of social justice. It is therefore prudent to highlight those aspects of critical theory that are common social justice concerns. Since this study does not claim to provide a fixed definition of social justice, the egalitarian paradigm will be defined in terms of conditions that are deemed as socially just. According to Feagin (2001):

Social justice requires resource equity, fairness and respect for diversity as well as the eradication of existing forms of social oppression. Social justice entails a redistribution of resources from those who have unjustly gained them to those who justly deserve them. And it also means creating and ensuring the process of truly democratic participatory decision-making (p. 5).

These concerns also form part and parcel of the social justice agenda in the developing world and developed world contexts. In this context, an additional emphasis on the resuscitation of progressivism was exemplified by the 1960s civil rights movements, while in the developing world the emphasis falls on counteracting the negative impacts of neo-colonialism (Scrase, 1997: xi; Fillmore, 1997:121). Hence in essence, social justice conditions are those that promote the full participation of all groups in society, holding a vision of equal distribution of resources to all, the development and enhancement of self-worth and respect for others, and tolerance of diversity (Bell, 1997:3).

These conditions of social justice and the positions of critical educational researchers resonate with the agenda of critical theory: to make institutions into laboratories of freedom and democracy as a lived experience. The resonance lies in the dissatisfaction felt by critical theory researchers with the way the neo-liberal macro-economic policies deal with injustices and contradictions in society and the inability of neo-liberal informed strategies to challenge and transform these policies for the common good. This has emerged as a dilemma or a paradox for democratic governments because the market economy constitutes their driving force and it would be inappropriate for them to challenge their life-line. In this context, critical theory provides an enhancement of social justice because it has purposed to disrupt and challenge the status quo of modern

democratic countries, particularly their macro socio-economic and political policies (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002:279).

In the educational arena, a socially just condition for critical theory promotes political emancipation. Critical theorists maintain that universities can become institutions where forms of knowledge, values and social relations are taught for the purpose of educating young people for critical empowerment rather than subjugation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002: 280).

The key features of critical theory that promote transformation and social justice are:

- The interest in human emancipation;
- The zeal for radical change and social justice on a global scale;
- The establishment of positive humanism; and
- Making students critically maladaptive to globalisation and its impact on national and international destinies in favour of a humane social order (McLaren, 2001:108 – 120).

The main agenda of critical theory is that of change. Proponents of progressive pedagogy support this position because it is in harmony with their transformational agenda and stands a chance of promoting liberating educational experiences. However, the dilemma of critical theory lies in maintaining its credibility and existence in a world that is intolerant of its agenda. All hope is not lost, though, as proponents of progressive education continue to call for the renewal of social justice informed by critical theory, with transformative intellectuals playing a key role as pressure groups in influencing policy and research that will contribute to the creation of a socially just society (Muller, 1998:207).

In addition to the above, other social justice conditions promote gender equity and non-sexism, thus creating favourable conditions for the recognition and celebration of women's contribution to socio-economic development in the long term (Weiler,

1993:223; Davies, 1997). Thus, it could be said that in modern democracies the egalitarian paradigm of social justice is accommodative of all the agents in society.

These entail:

- The participation of all members in making decisions that affect their lives;
- The recognition of diversity of culture that marks the post-modern world; and
- A conception of the social good, a commitment to the well-being of, and decent lives for all citizens (Weiler, 1993:224).

Implicit in the three aspects of social justice is the concept of *Ubuntu*: the humanness that illustrates the social justice condition is that of interrelatedness, interconnectedness and interdependence among humans, and the living and non-living creation (Goduka and Swandenar 2000:66-74).

In summary, the social justice condition informed by the egalitarian paradigm entails broad principles of democracy, humanism, critical pedagogy and an education for development. Although the scenarios depicted in these broad principles represent a challenge to the neo-liberal discourse that informs new democracies and the higher education scene, the proponents of social justice argue that while governments confront the inequities of the market system on the one hand, on the other hand the supporters of social justice need to continue to struggle for the realisation of the social justice agenda, informed by the principles mentioned above (Graig, 2002:670). The struggle for the egalitarian radical conception of social justice is not a simple one; it is complex and multifaceted and, therefore, requires methodologies that seek to understand its dynamics by focusing on the natural setting and the lived experiences of the participants, as critical theory does. When applied to educational research, critical theory advances a position that is critical of positivist notions of research and proposes a position that utilises an alternative research paradigm. The critical education researcher is concerned with how existing institutions can be interrogated to understand issues of power and institutional contradictions. His/her focus is on problems of social inequity and injustices produced through the practice of schooling (Popkewitz, 1999:3). The central task of this approach is the emancipation of people from positivist thoughts and

practices, and it fosters alternatives of naturalistic research practices. Its core is to illuminate the role of schools in perpetuating the established order and to convert them instead into instruments of social reform (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:129-13). In this light, critical theory possesses the power to facilitate social renewal and a redressing of the injustices of the past. In the same light as critical theory, critical research informed this study because it is a transformative “endeavor unembarrassed by the label ‘political’ and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness” (Kincheloe & McLaren 1998:264).

1.5 Methodology – The Methods of Inquiry Informed by Critical Theory

In line with the critical theory tradition that informs this study, a qualitative method of research was employed. This tradition of inquiry has been defined in a variety of ways but in order to establish some common conceptions this study utilises Creswell’s definition:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on a distinct methodological tradition of inquiry that explores a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting (Creswell, 1998: 15).

In exploring social or human problems, qualitative research yields data that is humanistic and subject centred, aiming at capturing the original meanings and experiences of the participants. It is a welcome alternative to survey-dominated traditional quantitative research (Easterby, Thorpe and Lowe, 2002:28-31). I have elected to use naturalistic methodology as an overarching technique in which I approached, analyzed and interpreted the data in an effort to gain understanding, knowledge and perspectives of the research participants. This methodology is in contrast with positivist methodology. A researcher using the positivist tradition strives to be a neutral gatherer and objective observer of purely mechanistic empirical data related to the subject during the research project. This is due to the fact that the positivist tradition sees the world as existing externally and objectively and thus that it can only be understood using objective, scientific methods (Boshier, 1999:11). This obsession with objectivity flows out of a rational or realist-objectivist orientation; the

researcher is supposed to approach the research with a value and bias-free epistemological framework (see Figure 1 by Paulston). This situation limits the manner in which knowledge can be formed, gathered and interpreted. In this tradition, the subjects speak for themselves and the researcher's job is simply to listen, observe and form knowledge, thus applying models of natural science to human behaviour. With regards to the creation of knowledge, positivist research is simply descriptive of observable phenomena, leading to the creation of theories which are testable and could be generalisable (Boshier, 1999:12).

Qualitative methodology generally, and critical theory specifically, allows the researcher to probe beneath the surface facts and asks why a phenomenon occurs; it proceeds further to advance the emancipation of the subject. Qualitative research views knowledge as socially constructed through the interaction of people with one another and the physical world.

According to Denzin and Lincoln,

Qualitative research is situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representation, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative research may study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (2003:4-5).

In the above quotation, the authors illustrate that qualitative researchers make no attempt to hide their biases, but make them explicit. In other words, objective observation is impossible. This implies that qualitative research is couched in the idealist-subjective orientation as illustrated by Paulston (1996) in Figure 1. The position of Denzin and Lincoln above also reveals that the qualitative researcher has at his or her disposal a variety of methodologies and tools to use in gathering data while taking into cognisance the meanings that participants bring into the research endeavour.

1.6 Qualitative Critical Research – Social Science for Emancipatory Change

In accordance with the theoretical framework that frames this study, critical qualitative research is employed. It is research that aspires, as its purpose of inquiry, to confront injustices in society. The assumption behind this position is that the knowledge that is developed in the research may serve as a first step towards addressing the injustices and different forms of oppression that are characteristic of modern capitalist society (Gail J, Gail M and Borg, 1999: 361).

The ontological roots of critical qualitative research are couched in the discourse of radical humanism. In this tradition, the assumptions about reality (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology) are informed by realist-subjective orientations as illustrated by Paulston (1996) in Figure 1 on page 21. This implies that the latter view reality as socially constructed, subjective and existing within the mind in the conscience of people (Boshier, 1999:9). Furthermore, knowledge or truth is shaped by ideological consideration and power relations. Those who are in power control and own the means of production of knowledge as well as determine what valid and legitimate knowledge is. The dominant forms of knowledge have been informed by positivist characteristics that are viewed by radical humanists as oppressive, limiting cognition and creating a false consciousness that inhibits emancipation from domination (Boshier, 1999:14). In this context, radical humanism seeks knowledge that would foster a critical consciousness together with the goal of transformation (Boshier, 1999:15). In this study, various scholars associated with radical humanism have been used to make a case for radical social justice. These include but are not limited to Freire (1997), McLaren (2005), Giroux (1987) and Habermas (1984). I have chosen to use critical theory as a primary epistemological methodology because it is eminently suited to this type of research due to its critical stance towards capitalism and the manner in which capitalism impacts on individual and collective life. Since the Enlightenment, critical theorists from Marx to Habermas have been critical of dogmatism and orthodoxy and have continued in this tradition and applied it in their critique of capitalism. Their objection to capitalism lies in the rise of socio-economic and political injustices, oppression and exploitation that continue unabated in the current century. They further contend that capitalism has a mesmerising effect on the individual and society at large so that these end up being unable to imagine an alternative to the status quo: that is, people are so

indoctrinated that they have come to be absorbed by the culture of complacency, characterised by a closed intellectual system. Policy makers and intellectuals seem to be contributing by merely perpetuating a system that is responsible for global injustice. This research is a humble step towards attempting to make capitalism humane through advancing radical social justice and finding social justice within capitalism. A socialist revolution in the terms of Marxism in altering the course of capitalism would be ideal, but it is not a possibility in the current epoch. So in this overwhelming context, the critical theory carries impressive credentials for reclaiming the enlightenment ideal of freedom from oppression and exploitation and promoting radical humanism.

Radical humanism’s ontology and epistemology are in direct contrast to traditional positivist research as briefly explained above. To further illustrate these differences, Paulston’s Map of theory (below) is useful.

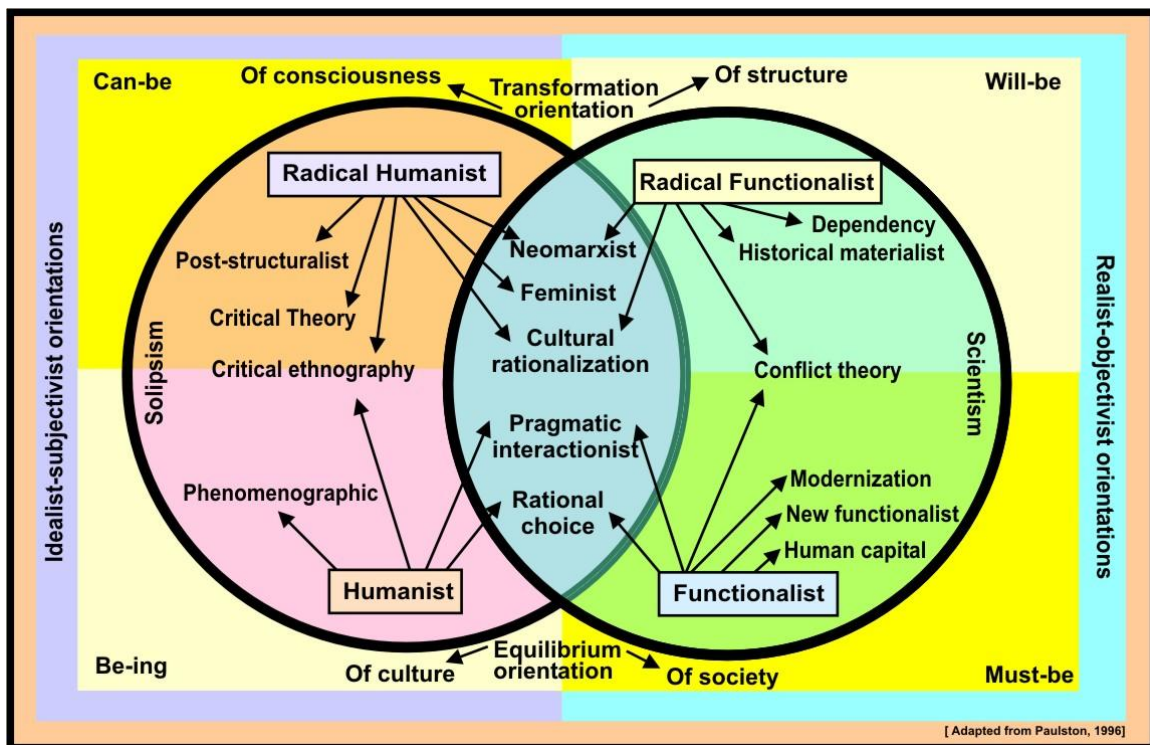


Figure 1.1 – Mapping the World of Concepts and Theories

Critical research is intended to yield transformative knowledge and be more open than previous methods to the possibility of social change. In this regard, it draws heavily on the powers of critical reasoning deployed in the Enlightenment and which have been

employed to overturn oppression and injustices (Willmott, 2008:1). In the pursuit and in the defence of the Enlightenment project, critical methodology or social science for emancipatory change is guided by the following interconnected themes: the critique of positivist science, the critique of technocracy, an emphasis upon communicative action and the critique of one-dimensionality and consumerism (Willmott, 2008:2). In critical research, a rosy view of science as neutral and objective and yielding objective knowledge is challenged because, instead of serving human emancipation, it serves the interests of scientific knowledge for dehumanising and destructive purposes (Willmott, *ibid*).

Critical research abhors technocracy and its degenerative moral stance with reference to role of non experts or ordinary members of the public. The public is disenfranchised, leading to some form of complacency on the part of the oppressed and the oppressors, that is, general acceptance of instrumental rationality and the status quo of modern capitalist exploitation. The constrained patterns of human imagination due to technocracy limit opportunities for confronting and changing unjust social systems (Clark, 2008, Willmot, 2008, and Gail, Gail, and Borg, 1999).

In order to counteract the negative impact of technocratic rationality, critical research is heavily influenced by Habermas' theory of communicative action which is the epitome of genuine democracy. Communicative action underscores democratic dialogue and the importance of socially constructed meaning and language that facilitates the freedom of humankind as the public interact to respond to the crisis of modern capitalist society (Willmot, 2008 and Clark, 2008:3).

Communicative action is the one type of action that Habermas says uses all human ways of thinking, and language. This combination allows human beings to understand and agree with one another to make plans for common action. This coming together and agreeing; communicative action takes the place of revolution as the mode of change. According to Habermas, the move from capitalism to communism (if it occurs) will occur as a result of reason and communicative action (*Illuminations*, 2008:1).

Critique of one dimensionality and consumerism is also underscored as an important and related theme of critical research. In the current era of an advanced capitalist

society, due to its oppressive nature, the emancipatory possibilities inherent even in democracy are marginalised or obfuscated to the extent that most people have become passive unreflective consumers, even when this poses great danger to life on the planet (Willmott, 2008:3).

The institution that has been identified for this study is the University of Pretoria. This institution has been purposively selected because it has demonstrated a public commitment to social justice against the backdrop of a white-exclusive history; accommodates the largest number of black students in a residential South African university; has launched a number of specific projects to redress disadvantage in the broader student and staff bodies; and has been hailed in the public media as an institution with demonstrated responsiveness to the challenges of higher education policy.

This study is a collective case study of three projects or cases that are beacons of social justice. As mentioned, the cases selected for this study were the University of Pretoria Foundation Year Programme (UPFY), the Institute for Women's and Gender Studies (IWGS) and the Centre of the Study of AIDS (CSA). These three initiatives were selected because they represent the most prominent and visible responses of the University of Pretoria to the social justice claims of higher education policy. The case study tradition has been employed in this study because it seeks an in-depth and holistic description and interpretation of a problem or situation (Creswell, 1998:40). It has also been selected because it provides for clear boundaries. In the case of this study the case is bounded by time and place.

In accordance with the case study tradition used in this study, the research participants were selected purposefully instead of randomly. They consisted of decision makers, at management level, of the three centres as well as policy practitioners, lecturers and facilitators at the implementation level. The participants consisted of academics and non-academics employed by the University of Pretoria, with some form of experience in higher education and possessing a minimum of a first degree. The rationale for the purposeful sampling strategy chosen is that the study seeks to explain the impact of initiatives informed by social justice from the perspectives of policy implementers in the

context of higher education and not from those held by the receivers or beneficiaries of the initiatives. Furthermore, the nature of the participants in critical theory terms is that of public intellectuals who play a significant role in the implementation of higher education policy and the facilitation of knowledge production for the public good, since the University of Pretoria is a public institution. The promotion of the public good and the enhancement of radical social justice in the role and practice of the public intellectual as custodian of emancipatory knowledge and democracy constitute the hallmark of critical social science advances made by radical scholars (Giroux, 2006:68). An equally important rationale for the choice of the participants is informed by radical social justice advocates such as Gerwitz, in arguing that due to the contested nature of social justice, that which counts as justice in education can only be understood within specific contexts of interpretation and enactment (Gerwitz, 2006:70). In this regard, the aim is to contextualise the meaning and experiences of social justice. As noted, the study did not include the beneficiaries of the social justice initiatives because most of them consist of transient members of the community who would need a special focus research project of their own for their experiences to be documented honestly and adequately. The in-depth voice and experience of the participants was crucial in explaining the change and lack of change in the three centres towards the realisation of social justice imperatives in higher education.

1.7 Data Collection and Analysis

The process of data collection was extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information, as is characteristic of case study research (Creswell, 1998:62). Data for the first research question, ‘What are the claims and expectations for social justice embedded in South Africa’s new higher education policies?’ consisted of the mission, vision and strategic plans of The University of Pretoria which were critically examined. Existing statistical data from the institution’s database was studied in order to establish the participation rates of the previously disadvantaged members of the population. The focus fell on the three projects under study.

Data for the subsequent three research questions was collected by means of semi-structured interviews with project participants. The specific questions for the interview can be found in APPENDIX A. The interview was semi-structured and open ended,

designed to explore the nature of the three case study responses to access to higher education, gender and HIV/AIDS as social justice concerns. A one-on-one interview procedure was adopted and the sessions were conducted in the offices of the participants. Each interview session was recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

The interview questions used in this study are framed in the constructivist tradition which is in line with critical theory and the qualitative methodology used. The questions have been constructed with the epistemological assumption that knowledge is socially constructed by members of a given society interacting with each other. In this tradition, both the researcher and the research participants are actively constructing the social world and through interview, they can give authentic insights about their experiences on social justice issues in higher education. The interview questions were semi-structured and open ended and therefore allowed for the research participants to provide their own insights on the dynamics of social justice at the institution that is under study. The familiar setting (offices of the participants) and the open-ness of the interview questions also enabled the participants to talk about concerns of social justice in more detail and depth without feeling threatened. The interview sessions were generally conversational with the objective of understanding the participant's position on issues of social justice. In addition to this, the questions enabled the participants to critique existing practices and principles of social justice by enquiring about challenges and ways to address them from the perspectives of the participants. for example : *What challenges do you face as you implement concerns of social justice and can you share with me how you have addressed such challenges* In this manner, the research participants were involved in constructing knowledge and ideological critique with the purpose of transforming or changing the status quo. In this question, what is embedded is the requirement to reflect on the practices of social justice that are being marginalized to come with more innovative and transformative ways of elevating practices of social justice. Furthermore, in order to reinforce the possibility of contributing to transformation of practices, the participants were probed. For example the following question was asked with this aim in mind. *“Would you like to share with me any other concern on social justice that has not been raised?”*

Since negotiating entry and establishing rapport are important features of all qualitative studies conducted in a public organisation, the aims of gaining access to the field and establishing rapport with the participants were pursued (Creswell, 1998:115). Approval from the University's Research Ethics Committee was sought and granted (See APPENDIX B – Research Ethics Clearance Certificate). In order to facilitate understanding, a summary of the research objectives was sent to each together with an informed consent form, which was signed by each of them (See APPENDIX C – Informed Consent Form). All the participants (APPENDIX D) were assured of full confidentiality and it was indicated to them that no harm would be inflicted on them, in compliance with the ethical codes of human science research.

The data analysis consisted of detailed readings of the transcribed interviews with the participants. This was carried out in order to familiarise the researcher with the data and to execute the initial coding and categorisation of the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994.) During this process *in vivo* and created codes were developed from the data, followed by the categorisation of the codes into themes that presented the different responses to the interview questions. The themes developed from the data gathered from each centre are listed below:

1.8 Themes from Data Analysis

In an attempt to provide more nuanced interpretations of the themes developed, role ordered and conceptually ordered matrices were created for each question (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In these matrices the vertical lines represent a digest of the facilitator's responses to each question while the horizontal line represents the themes and sub themes formulated for each query: for instance, the role ordered matrix developed for the response to the question: "What is your specific role in the broader mission of UPFY, IGWS or CSA?" In this matrix the vertical lines represent the facilitators while the horizontal line represents the three roles derived from reading the combined transcripts, namely learning facilitation, facilitation of the academic development and support of the students, and the administrative and support role.

Table 1.1 – Themes from data analysis

UPFY themes	IGWS themes	CSA themes
Implementation of access policy	Implementation of gender policy	Implementation of leadership in HIV/AIDS
Conceptualisation of access	Conceptualisation of gender	Conceptualisation of responses to HIV/AIDS - Human rights framework and social justice
Conceptualisation of social justice	Conceptualisation of social justice	Conceptualisation of social justice
Research	Research	Research
Role of project manager	Role of project manager	Role of project manager
Outcomes of project	Outcomes of project	Outcomes of project
Challenges facing UPFY	Challenges facing IGWS	Challenges facing CSA
Dealing with challenges	Dealing with challenges	Dealing with challenges
Other emergent factors: The uniqueness of UPFY	Other emergent factors: The potency of the oppositional voice	Other emergent factors: Critical policy engagement

The interpretation of data was informed by the critical research tradition and the position that all research involves an act of interpretation – the facts do not speak for themselves.

The quest for understanding is a fundamental feature of human existence as encounter with the unfamiliar always demands the attempt to make meaning, to make sense. The same however, is also the case with the familiar. Indeed, as in the study of the commonly known texts, we come to find that sometimes the familiar may be seen as the strangest (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1998:97).

In the process of making meaning, the data was analysed and subjected to a level of scrutiny that exposed the explicit and implicit in the utterances of the research participants. Furthermore, as indicated the act of interpreting the data was heavily influenced by critical theory whereby the researcher brings in his or her personal subjectivity, which involves context, assumptions, understandings and concerns related to issues of social justice. This involves a form of intellectual give and take mutually undertaken by all the research participants that eventually leads to new understandings with the intention of ultimately leading to new research content. These constituted the co-creation of new research content by all the research participants, and represented not merely a well-defined linear process but a complex form of organised chaos entailing

back and forth movements connecting research questions and the literature review, interview data and findings.

1.9 Strategies to Ensure Rigour - Validation Strategies

An important aspect of ensuring validity in this research is to link the research to the purpose of critical theory. In this sense, critical theory purposes to critique existing socio-economic formations and advances ones that are more humane and socially justice (Morrow and Torres 2002). The methodology that is more suitable to this project is the qualitative interpretative paradigm that empowers research participants to construct knowledge about the social world. In this process, critical theory serves as both the research methodology and research content.

It has been stated that the research approach that is utilised in this study is a qualitative one and thus it employs paradigm specific strategies for the purpose of ensuring rigour and serving to establish the trustworthiness of the research. (Lincoln and Guba 1985) and (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) have been cited in several research publications: they appear to be the most widely referred to and comprehensive social scientists who have constructed a very understandable analysis of what constitutes rigour in qualitative research. According to Guba and Lincoln, “credibility is an analog to internal validity, transferability is an analog to external validity, dependability is an analog to reliability and confirmability is an analog to objectivity” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:300), (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:112)

As the research is embedded in real-life situations that study the lived experiences of the participants, an attempt has been made to document these through thick descriptions of the research setting and parameters of the study. The purpose was to take the reader into the setting and context of the study so the reader may understand the phenomenon being studied as experienced by the research participants. In the tradition of qualitative research that is informed by critical theory thick descriptions are central to making sense of social phenomenon because they illustrate the constructive and naturalistic epistemological stance of the two traditions. That is, knowledge is socially constructed.

Furthermore, in the tradition of critical theory, thick descriptions are seen as more democratic and empowering because they privilege the subjects. This implies that the researches participants are empowered in the process of making meaning – those that are marginalised are privileged (Levistik and Tyson 2008:319). Related to the democratic feature of thick descriptions is the notion of providing context of the research problem so that it becomes more accessible to a wider readership

Furthermore, other strategies that were employed to ensure the credibility of the study were triangulation, and peer review (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:219). Through triangulation, I sought the corroboration of data from multiple sources. In other words, documentary evidence, interview records and policy review data were checked for consistency. Document analysis in the form of Annual reports and strategic documents from the three centres were studied to discover the level of corroboration with the interview data. Triangulation is particularly useful because it adds a sense of richness to an inquiry as it shows that there are multiple realities in social life. It further provided valuable insights that cannot be gained from just interview data.

The approach that I adopted towards triangulation is the constructivist one which shares similar epistemological and ontological orientations with critical theory and qualitative research. For instance, triangulation confirms the position that knowledge is socially constructed and there multiple realities as there are multiple sources of data. These multiple sources of data enabled me to deepen and widen the comprehension of issues of social justice as they are enacted at the three centres understudy.

By means of peer review, informed colleagues from within the university environment were tasked to comment on emerging interpretations and findings. This process involved discussions of the interpretations and conclusions with colleagues in the higher education environment. Other peers were co- researchers who are involved in researching areas related to social justice issues in higher education namely the service learning in higher education and creativity and innovation in higher education. The two research areas are studied from the critical theory perspective using qualitative research methodology. These colleagues were useful in providing valuable insights and constructive criticism on social justice concern in higher education. The colleague

whose research field is in creativity and innovation in higher education adopted a sceptical stance which was valuable in helping me refine the interpretations of the findings. My Supervisor played a crucial role in challenging me to provide concrete and illustrative evidence for my interpretations and conclusions.

Confirmability refers to objectivity or the degree of neutrality and the extent to which the findings are shaped by the research participants rather than the bias or motivation of the researcher in conventional research (Lincoln and Guba 1985:55). Because a naturalistic inquiry involves participants making meaning, objectivity and neutrality are an illusion in this tradition. A great deal of subjectivity and intersubjectivity is involved in constructing meaning and as a result, the preferred concept is perspectival, implying the recognition of multiple realities in creating “a holistic picture” (Ibid). An audit trail is the most common strategy used to establish this measure. It shows that there is coherence from the goals, data, findings and conclusion of the study. Another measure of confirmability as a measure of validity in the tradition of critical qualitative research is directly related to its stated purpose of inquiry. In this regard, it has been stated in the previous sections that the purpose of the inquiry is the emancipation of humankind from systems of oppression. It follows that the validity of the study is determined by the extent to which it provides ways of counteracting the systems of oppression (Clark, nd: 4). the study is confirmable to the extent to which it makes explicit the multiple perspectives and inter subjectivities of the whole research process. In this regard, it has been stated unequivocally that this study advocates radical social justice.

1.10 Limitations

The hallmark of social research involves watching people live their lives, asking people about their experiences, using words to tell the stories. This process carries with it the limits of subjectivity. The writer is aware of the debate with regards to objectivity versus subjectivity in social science and holds a view similar to that of Silverman (1993) who avers that freedom subjectivity in social science is impossible. Since this study is a qualitative study using the case study approach, it does not make use of large samples and therefore the findings cannot be generalised.

An additional limitation of the study is inadequate participant validation or member checking. In the tradition of critical research, ideally, participants are to be sent the data to validate and make additional comments as a way of co-creating knowledge with the researcher. This step is pursued as a way of facilitating the process of empowering the participants to overcome the problems they encounter in the social world. However, this was not pursued to its logical conclusion and therefore has been identified as a limitation. In order to address this limitation, post-research presentations to the three centres are going to be scheduled and they are possible spin-offs of sharing and creating knowledge that is framed in the tradition of critical theory.

1.10.1 Post research activities as a means to reinforcing validity

The post research activity would be an attempt to share the research findings with the research participants and also an act of mutual empowerment through knowledge creation. What is envisaged in this venture is the following:

- Follow up presentation at the three centres studied
- Co-authoring of journal articles on emergent issues.

1.11 Conclusion

The study was designed to critically explain how the University of Pretoria has responded to the government's emphasis on social justice mandated through the three initiatives of UPFY, IGWS and CSA. This chapter has described the conceptual framework as critical theory and the research method of the study as qualitative. It has also been indicated that the case study approach has been employed for purposes of providing a nuanced and in-depth analysis of the University of Pretoria's response and non-response to the social justice mandate. It has also described in detail the elements of data gathering, analysis and strategies used to ensure rigour which were in compliance with the case study tradition of qualitative research tradition. The next chapter in this study reviews the literature regarding key aspects of social justice in general and with specific reference to higher education.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

2.1 Introduction: Some Positions on Social Justice

Studies on higher education policy and research on social justice have been conducted mainly in isolation, while very little research has been carried out with regards to the relationship between higher education policy and social justice. Since the pre-1994 democratic discourses emphasised the need for social justice to inform government transformation agendas, it is essential that this link between higher education policies and social justice be further investigated to determine the extent to which social justice informs these policies. This review of literature seeks to highlight the key principles and nature of radical social justice by foregrounding major international debate and aims to arrive at an intersubjective understanding of what social justice is and how it should inform public policy. Furthermore, this review of literature will highlight reviews of the legislative and policy framework with respect to higher education. Lastly, it will also seek to establish the link between these policies and the aspirations of radical social justice and to show how these aspirations are adequately (or inadequately) addressed in the legislative and policy framework.

At this juncture it is opportune to discuss the three traditions of social justice and their position regarding broader political and socio-economic issues, in an attempt to evaluate a tradition that promises a more socially just global order and to illustrate that educational arrangements are inevitably a reflection of deeply embedded political and economic factors that are unique to a particular society. The three main traditions of social justice found in the western world are the conservative, liberal and the social democratic or socialist traditions (Rizvi, 1998:54; Starr, 1999:14). These three conceptions exist alongside each other in any one given era, with any of them gaining prominence depending on the ideological position of the political party in power or the State.

2.2 The Conservative Tradition of Social justice

The conservative and liberal traditions of social justice are pro-capitalist and would support the discourse of human capital informed by neo-liberal discourse in education.

However, their position regarding social justice education differs. The conservative tradition is conformist and promotes meritocracy – “some will succeed at the expense of others” (Starr, 1999; Rizvi, 1998). In other words, in the conservative tradition, social justice is served when people take responsibility for their own lives and are rewarded according to their contribution to society, even if the consequence is a more unequal distribution of income or wealth. The Conservative Party in Britain and the Republican Party in the USA espouse some of the elements of the first mentioned tradition. Its modern variation is found in the economic policies of the conservative parties in the Western world. Its economic policy has come to mean freeing the markets from government constraints. This position originated with classical economists and advocates of the enlightenment projects, such as Adam Smith (1723–1790) (1776) and Hayek (1899-1992) (1848) whose common belief was that government should follow a *laissez faire* economic policy (Hill, 2003:3). As far as the socio-economic aspects of society are concerned, the conservative tradition believes that *laissez faire* is of greatest merit. For its proponents, economic, and politico-social justice can be achieved by the efforts of an individual, with minimal state interference. In this tradition, social justice is viewed as the desire to render to everyone their due. For its upholders the driving force for a socially just society is individual self-interest and the motivation for profit operating under a *laissez faire* economy policy.

During the late latter half of the 20th century, Robert Nozick (1929 - 2002) can be seen as an embodiment of the conservative tradition in the field of political and moral philosophy. His theory regarding political and economic ethics is based on Libertarian ideals. His position on how we can and ought to live together is presented in his book *Anarchy State and Utopia* in which he advances the ideal of a free market and defends the minimal state. He is renowned for the “Entitlement Theory of Justice” in which he vindicates right-wing libertarianism and the advancement of individual rights of control over one’s own mind, body, and life: a right to self-ownership. This position holds that what an individual possesses belongs to him or her and no one can take it away. For instance, he believes that it is unjust for individuals to be taxed for purposes of redistribution to the poor. The purpose of such a belief is to merely protect self ownership (Otsuka, 2005: 15, Feser, 2005: 20). Self ownership as the main principle of Nozick’s position is also reflected in his concerns with equality and justice; he views it

as immoral and unjust to equalise resources and opportunity. This position is similar to the argument of social Darwinism that nature abhors equality but favours competition; hence the principle of the survival of the fittest. Inequality is in the balance and is beneficial to society (Vallentyne, 2002:2).

The conservative tradition and its ideals, particularly libertarianism, would not be palatable to socialist minded thinkers because they appear to protect the status quo of an unjust distribution of socio economic resources. Nozick's approach can be directly contrasted to the approach of John Rawls as far as his minimalist state position is concerned.

2.3 The Liberal Tradition of Social Justice

The liberal tradition is reformist and promotes egalitarianism – “justice as fairness” – all will succeed. Its point of convergence with the conservative tradition lies in the belief that social justice can be attained within the existing capitalist socio- economic framework. However, it differs from the conservative tradition with regards to its position on the State's interference. This tradition is in favour of the role of the State to protect society and regulate markets for the promotion of egalitarian principles, while the conservative tradition favours a weak state (Rizvi, 1998; Starr, 1999). The liberal tradition's modern variation is found in the liberal-centrist policies of the Democratic Party in America and the Labour Party in Britain. The type of state this tradition supports is a social democratic or welfare state. In this tradition, social justice would require redistribution to those who lack the basic socio-economic amenities and the role of the state in ensuring this (Gale, 2000:268).

The roots of the liberal tradition of social justice are found in the moral and political philosophy of 17th century theorists and the ideals of the Enlightenment. John Locke (1632-1704) is one of the seminal thinkers of the liberal tradition. His influence is still present in modern liberalism in its various forms, particularly the notion of social justice as liberty and equality. With reference to liberty, Locke advanced some of the most developed ideas about liberty with regards to two states of liberty – “the natural liberty and “liberty in society” (Tuckness, 2005:1; Schwartz, 2007:2).

According to Locke, people possess natural or original rights given to them by God and the Law of Nature. In particular, people enjoy the right to life, health, liberty and possessions and no one is entitled to interfere with these rights. These are the individual rights as they came to be reflected in the universal declaration of human rights – the Bill of Rights. These rights also display strong linkages with social justice, particularly its liberal tradition. John Locke was also famous in philosophy as a rational empiricist. In this regard, most of his work is characterised by opposition to authoritarianism and a strong belief in the use of reason – free and autonomous inquiry in order to grasp the truth (Uzgalis, 2007:1). Locke’s empiricist stance and advocacy for natural liberty have exerted an impact on modern day philosophy and the notion of human rights, particularly social justice as an embodiment of human rights.

Locke’s rationalism also exerted an influence on other enlightenment philosophers, such as Kant (1724 – 1804) who was a central figure in the philosophy of the Enlightenment. He defines enlightenment as the maxim of always thinking for oneself (Uzgalis, 2007:21). A commentator on Kant’s theory advances the view that:

Kant wrote his social and political philosophy in order to champion the Enlightenment in general and the idea of freedom in particular. His work came within both the natural law and the social contract traditions. Kant held that every rational being had both an innate right to freedom and a duty to enter into a civil condition governed by a social contract in order to realize and preserve that freedom (Uzgalis, 2007:1).

Kant’s account of social justice is embodied in his theory of freedom and equality. Equally important is Kant’s account of rationality and theory of knowledge which advances the notion that, through reason, mankind can find truth and just solutions to problems caused by dogmatism and authoritarianism (Uzgalis, 2007:20). While Locke and Kant may be regarded as the embodiment of the liberal tradition of social justice, the 20th century ushered in yet another liberal social scientist and philosopher who equally championed freedom and equality with almost similar tones to theirs, as found in the ideals of John Rawls (1921-2002).

Rawls’ central idea in most of his works is justice as fairness. He argues that two fundamental principles of justice designed to protect our political liberties and social

opportunities should be affirmed. In the theory of justice his main point is encapsulated in the quote below.

The first principle: each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all. Second principle: social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principles, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity, All social primary goods – liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect – are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any of these goods is to the advantage of the least favoured (Rawls, 1971: 302-3).

According to Rawls, the above principles of justice would be agreed upon by people who are under a hypothetical veil of ignorance assuming the original position. In this position, the people would establish an egalitarian-liberal system as the fairest ideal of justice (Kellner, 2005:5 and Stephens, 1994:15). The promise of Rawls' justice as fairness is the creation of a more open society based on social justice. The context in which Rawls devised his theory of justice was heavily reliant on positivist philosophers who derived their moral principles from some form of utilitarianism. Rawls published a theory of justice in order to revive the tradition of political thinking based on a foundation of moral argument and a critique of crude utilitarianism. Rawls' main positions held that a person possesses dignity and worth that social structures should not be permitted to violate. He has been hailed as one of the most influential and enduring moral philosophers of the twentieth and twenty first centuries (Nussbaum, 2001:1). Liberal equality is often associated with him. His theory of justice is based on the principles of liberty and democracy and equality.

Commentators on the first two traditions, Rizvi (1998) and Starr (1999), classify them under the modernisation paradigm and neo-liberal philosophy. The education reform policies informed by the said paradigm advance the human capital position on education, viewed as an investment, and maintain that by distributing the same amount of a social good (education) to people of all classes, justice can be attained, and individuals will be able to utilise their education in an open market society (Whitty, 2000:93). The human capital paradigm emphasises that education enhances the

knowledge and skills of people. Human capital investments generate monetary and social returns.

The main thrust of the market argument with reference to social justice is its insistence that the markets and social justice are inexorably intertwined as part of the capitalist system. It entrenches individual rights – individuals are free to pursue their rational self-interests with limited State interference. This tradition bases its position on *prima facie* evidence that the more capitalist a culture, the greater are its freedom and prosperity and therefore social justice; less capitalism means more human misery and consequently this tradition is opposed to economic and social justice. Throughout history, this tradition recognises the gains derived from the division of labour, capital accumulation and the increasing standard of living, and the cornerstones of the profit motive as the promoters of a just society. Another common description of the proponents of the first and second social justice traditions is the New Right. According to Apple, this social movement consists of three social movements: the neo-liberal, the neo-conservative and religious fundamentalists. The New Right sentiments are found among professionals in the new middle class (Apple, 1993:11).

The New Right or the conservative alliance conception of social justice is informed by liberal and neo-liberal ideology. Their conception of social justice can be referred to as distributional justice that seeks to promote an egalitarian society based on the principles of human rights and capitalism. The conservative alliance reflects some of the French Revolution's principles of equality, liberty and fraternity which have become encapsulated in modern democracy. Ideally, a government should ensure more equitable and fairer access to resources, which should be evident in both theory and practice (Gerwitz, 1998:470). In other words, a socially just government should practice the ideology of egalitarianism by distributing socio-economic resources fairly and equally while being informed by the culture of human rights. In principle, the ideology of the conservative alliance appears to embody social justice because it appears to preach the message of equality and distribution, which appeals to the marginalised and poor. However, in practice, owing to the unequal nature of capitalism, the distributive element of liberal social justice has come to be translated into the distribution of unequal socio-economic relations, characteristic of capitalism.

The two traditions of the conservative alliance have dominated the Western socioeconomic and political scenario but they have not brought about much change because of the tension inherent in the pursuit of social justice in the modern world as a result of globalisation and the neo-liberal agenda. Instead, injustices continue to be the order of the day despite the advocacy of social justice. The persistent existence of injustices, from the perspective of leftist scholars, is attributed to the failures and debilitating nature of neo-liberalism.

The critiques of neo-liberalism contend that, globally, its policies are seen in:

- A loss of equity, economic and social justice.
- A loss of democracy and democratic accountability.
- A loss of critical thought within a culture of performativity (Hill, 2003:4).

According to Giroux (2004a), the conservative agenda and neo-liberalism exercise a strong hegemonic grip on societies across the world, evidenced in market fundamentalism. According to Apple, one of the most important objectives of the conservative alliance or the rightist agenda is to change people's commonsense, altering the basic meanings of the categories and key words they employ to understand the social and educational world and their place in it, so that the reality comes to portray the agenda of the conservative alliance as the ultimate truth or alternative (Apple, 2001: 195). While the new right movement finds this an ordinary historical progression, there are some social progressives who have accepted the neo-liberal agenda as common sense even though it is counter to the progressive agenda of democratic idealism and socially just futures (Giroux, 2004a:5). For Giroux, there is hope in the struggle against the pervasive force of neo-liberalism if democratic forces both local and global connect with intellectuals to destroy the conventional wisdom and myths of neo-liberalism with visions of a development informed by progressive democratic idealism (Giroux, 2004a:7).

The neo-liberal tradition not only insists on opening up the markets, but also on opening up social services such as education and health to the rule of the markets so as to achieve the perceived social justices. With reference to education, it makes business

sense to open it up to the market in line with the vision of the knowledge economy of the 21st century (Rikowski, 2003:11). According to the neo-liberal paradigm, the common good that education should contribute should be regulated exclusively by the laws of the markets, free competition, private ownership, and profitability. In essence the definition of freedom is no longer democratic but private (Apple, 1993:30-31). It appears that from the neo-liberal perspective, for education to serve the social justice agenda it must conform to the language and aspirations of the markets and privatisation. However, certain social scientists view this marketisation of education in a negative light and as counter to the social justice agenda of equity and public good. For them marketisation destroys the stronghold of public good in education (Cookson, 1999:7; Apple, 1993:30-31; Giroux, 2004a:2-7). These proponents of progressive social justice argue that if society is to meet the challenge of neo-liberal globalisation and its onslaught on education, universities need to salvage and redefine themselves as beacons of public good, sites of critical learning and promoters of utopian democratic social justice (Giroux, 2004a:2).

Another variant of opposition to liberal social justice is evident in the ideas of Alasdair McIntyre (1929-). McIntyre is particularly opposed to the enlightenment project of modernity and liberalism, particularly atomistic individualism. McIntyre especially disputed Rawls' claims and the general liberal theory's universal pretensions and devaluation of community (Bell, 2008:2). As a communitarian, he argued that "the standards of justice must be found in forms of life and traditions of particular contexts and hence can vary from context to context" (Bell, 2008:2). For him genuine justice can be cultivated by drawing on the ideals of the Greek *polis* and Aristotle to arrive at the morality of small communities in which people work to fulfil their innately human purpose while resting the destructive forces of liberal capitalism (Clayton, 2006:1).

Social researchers and opponents of the conservative or rightist neo-liberal agenda comment that with the dawn of the 21st century, it has become even more difficult to differentiate between the conservative and the liberal traditions because of their undying belief in free market logic in all aspects of the economy. The common and mutual agenda of the conservative alliance and their pro-capitalist stance has made it imperative for leftist social researchers to come up with an alternative framework that is informed

by socialist ideology even if, at this moment in history, macro-political order does not allow it. Leftist social researchers call for an alternative to global capitalism and regard the role of transformative intellectuals housed in universities as very important to the anti-capitalist struggle.

2.4 The Radical Tradition of Social Justice

Continuities exist between the first two traditions of social justice and the third tradition in their calls for democracy and equal participation in socio-economic and political matters of the state. The third tradition, which is socialist, demonstrates elements of post-modernism in its outlook and has been identified by most social scientists as possessing the greatest potential to promote social justice (Starr, 1991:22). It is associated with leftist politics and is critical of conservatism and liberalism. According to this tradition, everyone is supposed to benefit equally from participating in the socio-economic activities and social institutions of a society (Starr, 1991:23); hence the move towards the redistribution of social wealth, other social amenities and a more equitable economic system. It is couched in the language of transformation and ideally would thrive under a socialist socio-economic order.

The language of a transformation of the capitalist socio-economic order associated with the third tradition causes it to possess a strong affinity to critical theory and the Frankfurt school of thought. While there are numerous social theorists associated with critical theory, of particular relevance to this project are Habermas and Freire because of their clear position on democracy and social justice. Habermas' position on social justice is heavily influenced by his belief that justice exists and reason or rationality can benefit society. His attachment to reason can be traced to his disillusionment with the irrationality of German Nazism and the repression and injustices that resulted from it (Stephens, 1994:3). As a result, he became an avowed critique of totalitarian fascism and advocator of an open, free society that upheld the principles of social justice and democracy. In this regard, his project could be interpreted as transforming human oppression into an expression of more humane and democratic values. He therefore found a philosophical home in the critical theory of the Frankfurt school. Habermas' strong affinity to the said theory was the common goal of opposing capitalism and

proposing a more socially just socio-economic order based on egalitarian social democracy (Kellner, 2005:1).

Radical social justice concerns of equal and fair inclusion for Habermas are reflected in his theory of communicative action and the democratic public sphere (Stephens, 1994:5). The theory of communicative action aims to expand the scope and power of the “bourgeois” public sphere so that everyone is involved collectively so as to achieve more representative and socially just and rational solutions. Habermas supports benefits for the majority as opposed to the conservative view that the minority should benefit. He is often criticised by conservatives for destroying competition by increasing collective participation and decision making. So for Habermas, social justice lies in reasoned communication in a democratic public sphere. This is in line with the description of him as “trying to develop a historical materialist analysis which helps to bring about a society free from domination and repression or what he calls distorted communication” (Frankel and Habermas, 1974:41). Furthermore, Habermas as a Marxist and radical social scientist supports the advancement of research based on social justice:

I see our research projects as an input into a social science which should be capable of a critical analysis of late capitalism with practical consequencesthis is a standing demand upon any Marxist that you must have a theoretical approach which is just (Frankel and Habermas, 1974:57).

The elements of radical social justice encapsulated in Habermas’ work and research comprise the quest to emancipate society from the debilitating grip of capitalism by creating a just knowledge while critiquing late capitalism.

The concerns of Habermas to open up communication resonate with Paulo Freire’s (1927 – 1997) concern with democratic dialogue as a tool to emancipate the oppressed against the debilitating effects of capitalism. Writing from the third world context, for Freire, education is a tool for liberating oppressed people from colonialism. He was critical of capitalism and the crises associated with societal modernisation such as abject oppression and injustices (Morrow and Torres, 2002:11; Glass, 2001:15). He exerted a strong influence on the critical education tradition in that he argued that education

served to reproduce the interests of the ruling class and as a result it would take critical education to empower students and workers to resist capitalism and become active participants in a struggle for emancipation towards a socialist utopian vision (McLaren and Faramandpur, 2005: 53; Gibon, 2006:4). According to Freire, education for critical consciousness is closely related to the quest for transformation as found in radical social justice. In a third world context, closely similar to that of South Africa, Freire contends:

The education our situation demanded would enable men and women to discuss courageously the problems of their context – and to intervene in that context, it would warn men and women of the dangers of the time and offer them the confidence and the strength to confront those dangers instead of surrendering their sense of self through submission to the decisions of others... that education could help men and women to assume an increasingly critical attitude towards the world in order to transform it (Freire, 1974:30).

Evident in Freire's assertions is the idea of transformation informed by a critical and contextualised analysis of society so as to lead to just futures. In support of Freire, this study advocates that the above sentiments and pedagogy of the oppressed are needed today as a matter of urgency in order for the majority to benefit, because of the onslaught on radical transformation and freedom by the current unjust discourse of neo-liberalism as explained in Chapter One.

The tone of the third tradition argues for transformation and majority benefits rather than minority ones. This implies that it supports the redistribution of socio-economic benefits. However, while the third tradition is an improvement on social justice informed by neo-liberalism, according to certain leftist scholars it does not fully promote genuine social justice as it is only limited to redistributing socio-economic resources to those that have been marginalised and excluded from the mainstream (Young, 2000). A progression from the third tradition is proposed by certain leftist feminist scholars. An improvement to the distributional dimension of social justice is found in what they term relational social justice. This type of social justice focuses on the nature of the relationships that structure society. These relationships include issues of power, at the micro-interpersonal and macro-socio-economic level, and how they are mediated. The said type concerns forms of social cooperation and distribution of power relations (Gerwitz, 1998:471). Relational justice incorporates the following conceptions

of social justice: justice as mutuality, justice as recognition and justice as freedom from oppressive relations (Ibid).

2.4.1 Justice as Mutuality

Justice as mutuality is an element of the relational dimension of social justice that is based on principles of communitarianism. In this conception of justice, all citizens are accorded equal treatment and benefits and, in turn, the relationships between them are mutually reciprocal for the purposes of promoting the common good (Gerwitz, 1998:473). Justice as mutuality also possesses the element of interdependence. This element is derived from a post-modern version of mutuality and is informed by affirmative post-modernism. Mutuality attempts to overcome the negativity of sceptical postmodernism with positive social action by attempting to balance difference, solidarity and commonality (Gerwitz, 1998:47). A view of justice as interdependence argues that promoting solidarity may make it possible for society to participate in collective resistance in the campaign for a socially just society (Graig, 2002:475).

Mutuality is an important part of affirmative postmodernism because its advocates are:

...more politically optimistic, they support a wide range of new political and social movements and advocate pluralism and tolerance rather than partisan and dogmatic postures... The expression of affirmative post-modern politics in the third world takes the form of populist, fundamentalist, national post-modern movements. These organisations call for returning to the primitive, sacred and traditional society as well as rejecting first world ideologies, technologies and economics (Rosenau, 1992:24).

While affirmative post-modernism is more positive about the future, sceptical post-modernism is more nihilistic. This study concurs with the Marxist critique of scepticism in post modernity: "...It heralds the end of grand theories like Marxism and liberalism, scorning any notion of a united feminist challenge to patriarchy, of united anti-racist struggle, and of united working-class movements against capitalist exploitation and oppression. For postmodernists, the world is fragmented, history is ended, and all struggles are local and particularistic" (Hill, McLaren, Cole & Rikowski, 1999:9).

The two versions of post-modernity help illuminate the current debates on socially just futures and continually occupy competing positions for advancing a socially just order. However, this study identifies more fully with some elements of affirmative post-modernism because it is more tolerant, accommodative and optimistic since it recognises the commonality of the human race.

2.4.2 Justice as Recognition

Justice as recognition is linked to the post-modern version of mutuality yet it draws heavily on feminist insights. Justice as recognition concentrates on the acknowledgement of others and otherness while avoiding practices of power and control over others. The principle of recognition promotes the struggles for social justice waged by a variety of groups such as those based on gender, race and ethnicity (Fraser, 1995:68). Practically, it involves listening to others before action is taken and engaging in a joint authorship of the narrative of society, while acknowledgement of their diversity is taken as a priority. At an interpersonal level, justice as recognition is inclusive, which is a positive aspect of social justice (Gerwitz, 1998:476)? Fraser further proposes two distinctions of recognitive justice – affirmative and transformative. Affirmative recognition corrects injustice without disturbing the underlying framework that generates injustices. Transformative recognition corrects injustices by restructuring the underlying framework that generates them (Fraser, 2001: 82). In other words, transformative recognition attempts to challenge the status quo in an almost similar tone to that of the project of critical theory in seeking for alternatives to the current framework of neo-liberalism.

Justice as recognition resonates with other radical scholars' conception of social justice owing to the element of inclusion and acknowledgment of "others" inherent in it. Other social scientists and theories that support the inclusive and redistributive nature of the third tradition have coined the term "recognitive justice", particularly in the diverse and plural context. According to Gale:

... Recognitive justice (has an) expanded understanding of social justice that includes a positive regard for social difference and the centrality of socially democratic processes in working towards its achievement. Yet, in adhering to this position I want to avoid suggesting that material

conditions and distributive matters are unrelated to or are unimportant in defining and practicing social justice... (2001:267).

The positive aspect of recognitive justice is that in addition to its accommodative stance, it encourages the engagement of all, particularly the previously excluded, in social processes. However, it does not indicate the practicalities. Its position is similar to that of Gindin (2002: “speaking to the limited nature of social justice inherent in liberal capitalism”). This implies foregrounding the social justice agenda even when history and the broader socio-economic framework are at odds with it. The challenge is how this should be accomplished. In the same vein, Whitty (2001:293) argues that in promoting the recognitive and inclusive aspects of social justice in education, policies need to deploy human capital as well as social capital. Social capital is a concept that is also used by the World Bank to refer to norms and networks that enable collective action which could be used in support of community development and social inclusion, processes which are crucial in the functioning of a democratic, inclusive and cohesive society (Forum Report, 2003:3). While the present study recognises the neo-liberal ideological leaning of the World Bank and that of its conception of social capital, its author chooses to use the concept of social capital to illustrate that the radical social justice position advances even the radicalisation of social capital to render it more inclusive in the widest and broadest possible sense. Inclusivity, social, economic and political, resonates with participation parity: a position that is advanced by the radical social justice proponents in their current scholarly journals such as the *Journal of Inclusive Education*: a more viable alternative to proposals informed by neo-liberalism (Waite, 1999 Hamilton, 2001; Sikes & Vincent, 1998; Alexiandou, 2002).

The two dimensions of relational social justice as identified by Gerwitz (1998) display limitations. The concepts of communitarianism and interdependence held by those who advocate justice as mutuality ignore the injustices inherent within capitalism by conflating the interests of the capitalist and other groups. Another limitation of the two positions is their inability to inform the content and direction of collective social action for a more socially just world (Gerwitz, 1998:477). The limitations of these dimensions are addressed by the notion of justice as freedom from oppressive conditions.

2.4.3 Justice as Freedom from Five Faces of Oppression

Justice as freedom from oppression entails freedom from the following forms of oppression:

- Exploitation;
- Marginalisation;
- Violence;
- Powerlessness; and
- Cultural imperialism (Young, 1997, as cited in Gerwitz, 1998; Young, 2000:35).

Each of the five faces of oppression represents a form of injustice that a member of society might experience. Justice as freedom from the five faces of oppression envisages a society in which socio-economic justice is achieved through equal redistribution of the resources of society, humane treatment of all, equal recognition of the worth of all members of society, empowerment and celebration of diversity. Advocates of this radical and broad conception of justice assert that it encompasses the principles and practice of utopian egalitarianism, democracy and human rights. It seeks to promote socio-economic empowerment, political recognition and tolerance, and the inclusion and celebration of diversity through processes that counteract imperialism in any form (Gerwitz, 1998:477; Young, 2000: 48).

Young clearly posits a view of society divorced from social injustices and different forms of oppression and domination. Not only does it illuminate a global context, it can also be used to clarify the situation and lived experiences of the marginalised and disadvantaged in the South African context. Young is not alone in providing a deep analysis of oppression and domination and their consequences. In the South African context, Ramphela articulates a similar view by employing various dimensions of space as sources of marginalisation and domination, which therefore counteract the emancipatory possibilities of people (Ramphela, 1993:3-7). According to Ramphela, space is multi levelled; it consists of the physical, political-economic, ideological-intellectual and psychosocial. People who live in marginalised and poverty stricken

Table 2.1 – The 5 faces of oppression

Face of oppression	Description by Young
Exploitation	“ the injustice of exploitation consists in social processes that bring about a transfer of energies from one group to another to produce unequal distributions, and in the ways in which social intuitions enable a few to accumulate while they constrain many more” (p.41)
Marginalisation	“... marginal are people who the system of labour cannot or will not use... the growing number of underclass of people permanently confined to lives of social marginality... A whole category of people expelled from useful participation in society and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and extermination (p.41).
Powerlessness	“I have discussed several injustices associated with powerlessness: inhibitions in the development of one’s capacities, lack of decision making power in one’s working life, and exposure to disrespectful treatment because of the status one occupies. These injustices have distributional consequences, but are more fundamentally matters of the division of labour. The oppression of powerlessness brings into question the division of labour basic in all industrial societies” (p.44).
Cultural imperialism	“Cultural imperialism involves the paradox of experiencing oneself as invisible at the same time that one is marked out as different. The invisibility comes about when dominant groups fail to recognise the perspective embodied in their cultural expression as perspective. This then is the injustice of cultural imperialism: that the oppressed group’s own experiences and interpretation of social life find little expression that touches the dominant culture, while that same culture imposes on the oppressed group its experiences and interpretation of social life” (p.46).
Violence	“Many groups suffer the oppression of systematic violence. Members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their person or property which have no motive but to damage, humiliate, or destroy the person... Violence is systemic because it is directed at members of a group because they are members of that group” (p.46).

settings, such as hostel dwellers, experience limited dimensions of space due to systemic oppression and exclusion. Ramphela explores the emancipatory possibilities that can be facilitated by dismantling systemic oppression and expanding and liberating the various dimensions of space (Ramphela, 1993). Applying this notion of space to a radical conception of social justice means that systemic structures which facilitate oppression and domination need to be dismantled. This would be in line with the radical conception of social justice adopted in the present study.

Young's conceptualisation of social justice and Ramphela's (1993) position on the various dimensions of space share common elements of emancipatory possibilities for individuals and societies in oppressive contexts and constitute a useful framework of an agenda for social justice. Young's model incorporates that which is good in liberal and post-modern conceptualisations of social justice but overcomes their limitations by being inclusive and non-reductionist while indicating how different groups face oppression (Gerwitz, 1998:482). Young's broad conceptualisation of social justice is constructive because it improves on a more restrictive liberal and conventional conceptualisation of social justice. It can be regarded as a useful starting point for theorising about social justice during the globalised, post-modern and post-colonial era because it reflects a more expansive and holistic synthesis of distributional and relational dimensions of social justice. Although it was originally used to explain injustices in the USA, this study argues that it is relevant for explaining the persistent injustices in the South African context during the 21st century.

2.4.4 Radical Social Justice Agenda for the 21st Century

The distributional and relational dimensions of social justice as identified by Gerwitz resonate with other elements of social justice informed by leftist discourse of the 21st century. Concepts such as socio-economic inclusion, and human development, radical democracy and transformative intellectuals emerge in the writings, on social justice, of radical scholars. The emphasis on social justice, inclusion and social capital accords with that of humane capitalism which, according to Brine (2001:139), is reliant on social inclusion and subsistence welfare support and is less aggressive. Consequently for him social capitalism would promote conditions conducive to social justice. Similarly, Walker (2003) argues that social justice pertains to human development, the advancement of the individual as well as collective solidarity – the one with the other (Walker, 2003: 168-169).

Applebaum (2001) adds another dimension to the debate on social justice by indicating that as a form of, and essential to, moral education, social justice needs to raise awareness of dominance. He suggests that for social justice to be genuine there must be a critical analysis of dominant beliefs, values and standards so that the supposedly “good intentions are exposed for what they promote and genuine socially just

alternatives are found” (Applebaum, 2001:55). This position is similar to the notion of the anti-capitalist terrain of social justice advanced by Gindin (2002). He proposes that a social justice situation comprises certain elements such as the radical democratisation of knowledge, where *technobureacracy* moves to *technodemocracy* and academics develop into *academocrats* (Gindin, 2002:8), which implies civil workers or workers who are democratic in outlook and practice and also implies that academics hold transformatory and democratic dispositions. In many ways this position echoes Giroux’s notion of teachers as transformative intellectuals (1987:36). This position advanced by Giroux is also reminiscent of that held by Young on justice as freedom from oppressive situations, discussed above, since the main objective of transformative intellectuals is to liberate the oppressed masses by developing solutions to the injustices of the past.

Social justice and the transformative intellectuals that support it bring to light very appealing classroom dynamics, for example, that further illustrate the elements of radical social justice. The elements of these classroom dynamics include collaborative problem solving and critical reflective practice. These must be displayed by all, particularly teachers as intellectuals, while challenging the underlying assumptions of policy provision and practice (Lloyd, 2000: 149).

Gerwitz and Gibb (2002) support the above in maintaining that:

Asking about socially just education practices requires policy sociology to combine action-oriented and critical perspectives. It demands a respect for practice and a willingness to see educational practices as sites of justice or merely injustice, to raise consciousness of the people in order to overcome ignorance and change their distorted social reality. It also requires sociologists to see their own educational practices as having a direct effect on the possibility of these conceptions being realized (Gewirtz and Gibb, 2002: 509).

This position also echoes the writing of Freire regarding the nurturing of critical consciousness in people so as to address the social reality; the way things are, in order to change them for the collective good (Freire, 1974:17). Freire’s position also falls in line with critical theory as discussed in the conceptual framework (see chapter one). With reference to classroom dynamics, critical theory and critical pedagogues locate their oppositional role in nurturing critical consciousness, for the purpose of

transforming the whole of a society towards becoming a radically socially just one (Slee, 2001:174). Slee's sentiment echoes Giroux's language of possibility as regards radical scholars in critical theory and the pursuit of social justice (Giroux, 1987:218).

These suggestions of how to bring about social justice at educational institutions, using the discourse of inclusive education and critical theory, are also noble and progressive. These groups of social scientists are explicitly committed to social justice in education. However, their views are inadequate in that they do not also further continue to indicate how practically the social justice agenda can be realised.

Having looked at various traditions of social justice that exist in the world, I now turn to what other social theorists see as the way forward for the advancement of the social justice agenda. Social justice advocates a call upon all humanity to work towards a new global order that practises inclusive democracy in socio-economic affairs, while promoting sustainable development and environmental balance (Feagin, 2001:17). Feagin (2002) writes as a critical sociologist with an optimistic attitude towards advancing the goal of social justice. As is characteristic of the critical sociology tradition, he also adopts an inclusive stance by calling upon all humanity to advance the cause of social justice.

While other scholars lament the fall of the communist ideal and note that the theories that promised certain emancipatory effects do not produce them, they nevertheless relentlessly call for the reinvigoration of the public sphere, new forms of plural democracy and reconstructed critical educators or professionals (Muller, 1998:205). McLaren (2002) shares the same sentiments, in calling on critical educators to recognise the dangers of democratic education in adjusting students to the logic of the market. He further argues that democratic education should be challenged by a radical social justice that is optimistic about the future and informed by a radical positive humanism with its belief in the inherent ability of humankind to create a just social order (McLaren, 2002:1; Feagin, 2001:23). The inherent ability to create such an order is also found in liberal capitalism and other failed attempts such as the social democratic tradition (Cindin, 2002:3). In liberal capitalism and the social democratic tradition, social justice ideals are limited because they are expressed in the language of reform found in the

practices of a welfare state and the goals of democratic capitalism. The support of capitalism, common to both the traditions, continues to seriously undermine and marginalise the ideals of radical social justice. Consequently, with regards to this position, it appears that the possibility of the realisation of the social justice agenda is multi-faceted and plural, as discussed above. The challenge is how to make the ideal conceptions realistic, concrete and tangible so that they become the lived experience of everyone.

However, numerous frameworks do not perceive neo-liberalism, capitalism and socialism as the appropriate framework for social justice. One of them is the post-modernist tradition which promises limited room for social justice insofar as its characteristic of rejecting the metanarratives of modernisation is concerned. Post-modernism is vehemently opposed to tradition. Its foremost theorists range from Lyotard (1979) to Foucault (1980) among others. Their positions represent an accumulated disillusionment with the promises of the enlightenment project and modernisation. They employ terms such as “responsible anarchy”, which implies acceptance of disorder. According to one of its prominent supporters, Atkinson, “responsible anarchy involves standing against the fantasies of grand narratives, recoverable pasts and predictable futures” (Atkinson, as cited in Cole: 2003: 447-448). Atkinson further states that “through acceptance of uncertainty, the acknowledgement of diversity and the refusal to see concepts such as justice, or society as fixed truths, post-modernism ... is a powerful force for social change” (2003:473). The postmodernist discourse promises social justice by opposing what its advocates refer to as “metanarratives” such as capitalism, socialism and communism. In postmodernism, the focus on the local instead of the global masquerades as social justice. Furthermore, postmodernism seems to possess impressive credentials by appearing to elevate the status of the marginalised and downtrodden in society. The elevation of the marginalised human beings serves as a necessary catalyst for them to perceive that they have within themselves the capacity to stand against the grand narratives that have so far not fully promoted a socially just society. However, social justice in postmodernism is extremely limited as it does not deal with a holistic view of social justice as the third tradition does.

Another tradition that bears certain similarities with the postmodern tradition and is also opposed to neo-liberalism is the postcolonial tradition. Postcolonial discourse is of particular importance to Africa and the developing world because of its critique of western and new-imperialism as well as its mission to promote a more socially just society by going beyond critique and looking for more progressive alternatives to imperialism and colonialism (Tikly, 2004:150). Post colonialism is concerned with re-narrativisation that is displacing the story of capitalism, modernity and Eurocentricity and promoting non-western epistemologies and Afrocentricity (Tikly, 2004:193). The uniting concern of postmodernity and postcolonialism is the re-narrativisation and celebration of the marginalised epistemologies and ways of knowing such as the African perspective. It is in the process of re-narrativisation that the possibility of reconceptualising a more socially just world order lies. However, postcolonial theory does not totally embrace the propositions of postmodernity. This is evident in that while postmodernity is nihilistic and sees no hope in metanarratives, postcolonial theory attempts to seek answers in these metanarratives and other alternatives that promote critical thought and social transformation (Tikly, 2004:194).

Proponents of the radical tradition of social justice view postmodernism as being opposed to social justice since it promotes chaos and anarchy, which does not provide hope for the marginalised. According to Allman, the radical left "... take issue with its anti-foundationalism, its rejection of the metanarrative, and its denial of any totalising system of thought like Marxism or feminism. Basically (they) challenge its inability to make general statements about society" (Davies, 2001: 43). Allman, one of these radical left researchers, argues that "the approach to critical education that I advocate in my writings is an approach that is aimed at enabling people to engage in an appreciated experience of pro-alternative, counter hegemonic social relations. These are social relations within which people can learn to 'read' the world critically and glimpse humanity's possible futures beyond the horizons of capitalism" (2001:16).

According to Allman (2001), postmodernism cannot accommodate genuine social justice as conceptualised by the radical left. For Allman, that which is genuine educational reform, which also meets the ideals of social justice, is an approach that "... aims at enabling people to live the now by struggling to transform it into an affirmation

of humanisation, i.e. an affirmation of our faith in human beings' ability and need to 'make and recreate their own world'" (Freire, 1972:63, as cited in Allman, 2001:16). This position which is described as a critical utopia is more appropriate than the ludicrous utopia which arises out of the belief that the liberal democracy which informs capitalism promises social justice regardless of its contradiction (Allman, 2000:16). The critical utopian agenda that aims at promoting social justice is also shared by other radical left educators in the western world. This camp is one that is associated with neo-Marxism, which is the main challenger of the capitalist and neo-liberal agenda on social justice (Allman, 2000:17; Hill, 2003:24 & Cole 2004:488).

The quest for a critical utopia in which the communal human being is to replace a self-centred individualist is the main focus of radical scholars. Among the elements of such a utopia is the advancement of social justice by inflicting maximum damage to capitalism (McLaren, 2003:3). Another pertinent element is the re-introduction of Marx's theory of labour value and its orientation against capitalist exploitation (Ibid). This would be doing justice to the plight of the marginalised and the oppressed in society. Lebowitz, one of the forefront proponents of educational change informed by radical social justice, states that:

...if you seek social justice, you are struggling, consciously or unconsciously against the logic of capitalism. And that implicit in your ideal of social justice is a different type of economic system, one which exists nowhere in the world at this time but which I hope, barring nuclear war or environmental disasters, will someday take shape (1988: 29).

In his most recent writings, Lebowitz has added that the struggle is not only for social justice but also against capitalism and the reproduction of wage-workers who perceive that capitalism is necessary for their survival (Lebowitz, 2004:7). Doing justice, for those within the grasp of capitalism, would entail the critical and important realisation that there is an alternative to capitalism worth struggling for. One process towards this realisation is a critical evaluation and reassessment of the inadequacies and failures of the 20th and 21st century (Lebowitz, 2004:8). This process should not merely end at evaluation and assessment, but continue to the reformulation of a more progressive

alternative that does justice to global human development. This would, in the words of other radical left educators, do maximum damage to capitalism (McLaren, 2004).

Social justice, according to Lebowitz, accommodates endogenous development because it allows and encourages a solidarity that stems from a focus on the interests of the community and human development rather than self-interest and capitalist development (Lebowitz, 2004:11). Consequently, according to proponents of the third tradition, real change for the marginalised will result with the overthrow of capitalism and the reinstatement of socialism.

Scholars of radical social justice declare that education is important for radical educational and social change. It is crucial, according to them, that in the educational arena, ways are created to bring about social change informed by radical social justice. Education possesses a considerable potential for change and they aver that education needs to create an arena where real global and local issues may be addressed. One of the forefront supporters of this kind of education is Rikowski. He suggests that the education of the future that would advance social justice consists of three moments: the first is that of a critique of capitalist society and education. The second is that of meeting human needs and education while the third comprises the realms of freedom and education (Rikowski, 2004: 566). The critique of capitalism involves the critique of all forms of inequality in capitalism: class inequality, sexism, racism, discrimination against different groups of people. In order for the critique to have a bearing on change in society, Rikowski argues that it must be linked to meeting human needs, which is the second phase. The third phase involves enabling the students and teachers to develop realms of freedom which entail possibilities for transcending capitalism and its oppressive institutions (Rikowski, 2004:567-569). Rikowski's (2004) education for the future, informed by Marxism, resonates with the concept of social justice education as advanced by leftist scholars, particularly with its focus on promoting education that is liberatory and contributes to transformation.

The radical left's call for equal participation and an end to all faces of oppression as identified by Young (1997) defines social justice as both a process and a goal for a

society that promotes mutual cooperation, socio-economic justice and physical and psychological safety for all its members.

Our approach to social justice education begins with people's lived experiences and works to foster critical perspective and action directed towards social change... We take the position that people in both dominant and subordinated groups have a critical role to play in dismantling oppression and generating a vision for a more socially just future.'... As individuals and groups can only have partial visions. Coalitions can bring together multiple ways of understanding the world and oppressive structures within it (Adams, et al., 1997:14).

Social justice at a more practical level involves everyone in the particular society or group, both the benefactors and the oppressors. It requires individuals to know about themselves and others while acknowledging differences, embracing and engaging with diversity. In this entire process social justice involves the quest for alternatives to the status quo – that of the oppressiveness of neo-liberalism and capitalism. Radical scholars, particularly the feminists, have suggested a practical way for constructing institutions that promote social justice. The summary below offers an illustration of some practical activities that could enhance social justice in organisations.

- Engaging practically with difference and diversity;
- Practicing and promoting community activism for social justice;
- Promoting critical consciousness raising and awareness;
- Creating and nurturing change agents for a common progressive and democratic organisational culture; and
- Promoting the practice of employment equity (adapted from John Anner, 2000: 494-495).

The above digest depicts a tall order for creating socially just educational organisations. It can be viewed as a stepping point towards achieving what many have described as impossible. The observations of feminist radical scholars such as Young (1997), Fraser (1995) and Davies (1997) are useful in illuminating the possibility of achieving socially just educational futures. “The possible is embedded in the (im) possible. Through a shift

of attention, a shift of conscience and consciousness, not just in one mind but in the mind of a people, action unfolds, sometimes violently, making a new possibility” (Davies, 2005:12). Davies further echoes the sentiments of Rikowski (2004), Adams (1997) and other radical scholars in proposing that students need to be educated in a manner which enables them to critique the system of oppression and come up with new alternatives.

We must give to our students a doubled gaze, to enable them to become critically literate, to become citizens at once capable of adapting and becoming appropriate within the contexts in which they find themselves and as responsible citizens capable of critique; citizens who can understand the constitutive work that discourse do and who can work creatively, imaginatively, politically, and with passion to break open the old where it is faulty and to envisage the new (Davies, 2005:13).

The above sentiments of creating new possibilities also echo radical left principles for achieving social and economic justice in education policy. According to Hill (2000), these principles are based on a democratic theoretical framework. This principle advocates that in order for education to advance the radical social justice agenda, governments must commit more funding to education and put an end to a competitive market ideology in education. The curriculum and policies must be informed by principles of egalitarianism and democracy and seek to transform the present capitalist system into a socialist one. The teachers and intellectuals must promote democracy and engage in critical pedagogy, with a commitment to social justice inside and outside the school (Hill, 2000:2).

On the whole, the sources that employ the language of the possibility of a progressive radical conception of social justice are informed by critical pedagogy and focus on the agenda of transforming educational policy and practice to make it more inclusive, participatory and emancipating. There are points of convergence between the literature from the West reviewed in this study and policy concerns in the South African context. This is evident in the struggle for radical social justice, the impact of globalisation, and the failure of the neo-liberal paradigm to address the education crisis and the ensuing injustices, as well as its inability to bring about a socially just socio-economic and

political order. The section that follows considers the South African concerns regarding social justice.

2.5 South Africa and Radical Social Justice

In South Africa, concerns with social justice, in line with the radical tradition, have always been high on the agenda of the anti-apartheid movement. The dawn of political independence and the dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s led to a re-emphasis on the social justice agenda in the government's attempts at nation building, reconciliation and addressing the injustices of the past.

Social justice became an integral part of the education and training agenda for post apartheid South Africa. The foundation of the social justice discourse can be traced to the anti-apartheid movements, culminating in the formation of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) in the 1990s, a policy initiative informed by a progressive philosophy of education and reform. The apartheid government also proposed a policy framework: the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS), which also claimed to address the injustices of the past. There were major differences between the ERS and NEPI, both conceptually and politically. In the first instance, the NEPI framework could be seen as an attempt to democratise education policy formulation, whereas the ERS did not fundamentally address the question of social injustice and was essentially autocratic and informed by neo-liberalism's economic and technocratic rationality. Secondly, the NEPI researchers consisted of a wide range of people, spanning political leaders and academic practitioners, while the ERS derived its personnel from the state bureaucrats (Chetty et al., 1993). It could be said that the ERS policy options were in alignment with the conservative social justice positions as discussed in part one, while the NEPI policy options were more in alignment with the social democratic tradition.

The NEPI emerged as one of the dominant positions that proposed progressive policy options for South Africa. The guiding principles of NEPI were non-sexism, non-racialism, redress, democracy and a unitary education system (NEPI, 1992: 6-7). According to the NEPI proposals, the above principles require that any higher education institutions must at least ensure open access, wider consultation and participation with

all stakeholders, equal-opportunity employment policies and equal opportunities in admissions (NEPI, 1992:90).

On closer scrutiny, it could be said that during the agenda setting stage of policy development in South Africa, the policy options that embodied concerns with social justice, as advanced in this thesis, were those of the NEPI. All five guiding principles of the NEPI not only hold appeal for the mass democratic movement but also for progressive scholars internationally, in the quest for democracy and socially just futures. However, it should be noted that the proposals of the NEPI did not exist in a conflict-free political setting. They were strongly contested, further illustrating that the battle for progressive radical social justice is fraught with competition as well as struggles for recognition and a place in the centre.

Following the NEPI and ERS Proposals, the late 1990s saw the formulation of policy documents such as the White Paper on Education and Training of 1995, the Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation of 1996, the White Paper on Higher Education (3) and the Higher Education Act of 1997. All these policy documents signalled the country's commitment to transforming and reconstructing education in general, and higher education in particular, in line with the demands of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Since the year 2000 a plethora of policy documents focusing on transforming and reconstructing higher education have been published. These included the Size and Shape Document – *Towards a New Higher Education Landscape – Meeting the Equity, Quality and Social Imperatives of South Africa in the 21st Century* (June 2000), the National Plan For Higher Education (February 2001) and the New Academic Plan for Programmes and Qualifications in Higher Education (January 2002).

The policy documents of the 1990s, especially the foundational 1995 White Paper on Education and Training, emerged as documents that carried over the proposals of the NEPI and the ERS. The 1995 White Paper locates education and training within the Reconstruction and Development macroeconomic policy. It is an attempt by the government to envision and realise the policy of open access to all in an integrated unitary system. The policy states: “the paramount task is to build a just and equitable system which provides good quality education and training to learners young and old

throughout the country” (Department of Education: White Paper, 1997:9). The specific values that drove the policy are those embodying the reconstruction and development of education and training. The policy is committed to education as a human right, open access, lifelong learning, and an integrated approach to education and training, equity, democratic governance, justice, respect for diversity and commitment to critical thought. Most of these values portray a commitment to redress and justice (Department of Education: White Paper, 1997: 9-12). In these foundational documents, concerns with social justice were explicit. Although the basic principles that guided these policy documents were progressive, overall macro-economic factors continued to be at odds with the progressive philosophy. This inconsistency consequently calls for a new approach to the advancement of the social justice agenda.

The subsequent policy documents and policy-making bodies, namely the National Commission of Higher Education (NCHE), the Council on Higher Education (CHE), the National Plan on Higher Education (NPHE) and the New Academic Policy (NAP), brought additional elements of the social justice agenda to the policy scene. Most of them made reference to this agenda, implicitly or explicitly, and to varying degrees. The common aim of these policy documents is to transform higher education to meet the challenges of globalisation. The recurring points raised in these documents that are in alignment with the social justice agenda are: equity and redress, democratisation and development (White Paper, 1997: 11-13). The “Size and Shape” document echoes the White Paper in the following: meeting equity, redressing challenges and promoting critical intellectual debate, good citizenship, open access to all and the reinvigoration of the African continent Council on Higher Education- CHE,, 2002:24-28). The National Plan priorities were to increase the participation and representation of previously disadvantaged groups (Department of Education: New Academic Policy, 2002: 26-27).

Although concerns with social justice remain in the policy documents on higher education, the tone of the statements appears to be aligned with conceptions of social justice associated with neo-liberalism and its emphasis on developing higher education for the needs of the competitive global knowledge economy. Concerns with global competitiveness and the knowledge economy have been translated in terms of the corporatisation and commodification of higher education – a trend that is eroding social

justice concerns in higher education. Proponents of the radical social justice agenda, such as the progressive intellectual forces in the country (Muller, 1998; Vally, 2002; & Chisholm, 1998), lament the manner in which social justice is downplayed in policy due to the macro-economic regime under which the new government has placed itself. The developments in question are the replacement of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) by the Growth, Economic and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR). At the macro-level, progressive social scientists call for the re-insertion of the transformatory agenda of the RDP in addressing the impact of globalisation. Commenting on the change in the direction of post-apartheid education in South Africa (from RDP to GEAR), Kallaway et al. (1997) have this to say:

Instead of the popular or socialist ethos of Peoples' Education and the implementation of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), the master narrative of educational reform has, to a large extent, been framed by the international neo-liberal guidelines from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Instead of the vision promoted by People's Education for People's Power, the defining concept of the new education has been rationalization, downsizing, line management, efficiency, equivalencies and outcomes-based education (1997:.1).

Writing in the mid 1990s, Chisholm and Fuller's (1996) critique of South African policy formulation and implementation indicates that the broad transformative agenda of the pre-1990 period was being narrowed down to promote the concerns of a market economy. Chisholm states that these alterations took place because of the broader direction of change globally and locally in South Africa, which was moving towards a more neo-liberal macro-economic policy. This development at macro level made it impossible for policy makers to propose a policy agenda that was at variance with the dominant trends (Chisholm, 1996:713). Although the macro policy development points to a direction opposed to the progressive social justice agenda, literature in the South African context continues to argue for the promotion of an atmosphere conducive to both the macro and micro level, as regards social justice education.

Scholars writing in the 2000s also share similar sentiments about the erosion of the transformatory agenda that has the concerns of social justice in higher education at heart. According to Badat (2001:1), globalisation and other hegemonic practices and policies informed by neo-liberalism have exerted an impact on the extent to which

higher education can drive the agenda for social justice. In making this observation, he was commenting on inserting the principle of the common good into higher education, which is an element of social justice. Furthermore, Badat avers that for higher education to be more responsive to the public good and social justice issues there needs to be a courageous critical scholarship with a commitment to social justice and a humane society (Badat, 2001:5). In similar vein, Ntshoe (2002:9) argues that the specific aspects of globalisation that have impacted on the neutralisation of the progressive social justice agenda are the thinking of the new right, and neo-liberalism. Ntshoe's position is that, for the reversal of the neo-liberal negative impact on social justice, the neo-liberal agenda needs to be challenged. However, he does not indicate how it should be challenged or the specific strategies that could challenge it. Singh (2001) also shares the same sentiments as Badat and Ntshoe. According to Singh, for the above stated goals to be realised, social justice issues need to be made more explicit and real. She acknowledges that to pursue such an agenda will prove difficult but that through tenacious commitment to social justice and its clarification, it could be achieved (2001: 12).

Another study in South Africa views globalisation in a positive light: the author contends that restructuring higher education in the era of globalisation creates possibilities for communitarian liberalism, and adds that it may contribute towards deepening democracy at higher education institutions (Waghid, 2000:106). The specific elements of communitarian liberalism that are likely to promote democracy are identified as conversational justice and shared rational deliberation (Waghid, 2002:112). Implicit in this suggestion is an atmosphere fertile for the germination of the ideal of social justice. Thus, it needs to be explored further but with caution, lest attempts at promoting it relapse into neo-liberalism.

At the micro-level, the agenda for the promotion of social justice lies in the call for more participatory and democratic policy formulation and implementation – involving all social agents. De Clerq promotes this position in saying that policy documents separate policy formulation from implementation. In addition to this she observes that some of the policy authors possess a very poor understanding of educational dynamics on the ground (1996:144). According to her, policy stands a better chance of

implementation if it is subjected to a more vigorous and critical dialogue and pedagogical debate. In this manner all agents in the policy circle can contribute towards enhancing the education and training system in being more equitable and effective. Similarly, Unterhalter (1998:232) contends that, for policy to be more inclusive and gender sensitive, a different and more socially just form of analysis is needed. Carrim (1998:14) supports these sentiments in arguing that engagement with the concepts of inclusion and exclusion offers a potential towards the realisation of social justice.

Other micro-level issues have to do with the discourse that is most conducive for social justice in the current period of globalisation. According to Kraak (2001), this period was characterised by a highly contested policy environment leading to the emergence of three contesting discourses that have exerted an impact on policy formulation; the high-skill economic or rationalist discourse; a popular democratic discourse, and a residual stratification discourse. Each of these discourses treated social justice differently. The popular democratic discourse is more explicit on issues of social justice while the other two, the high-skill discourse and the stratification discourse, are more implicit in their conception of social justice, because they are market driven and, rather, influenced by conservatism and neo-liberal economic rationalism (Kraak, 2001: 23-24). It could be said that Kraak (2001) supports the popular democratic discourse in advancing the progressive agenda of social justice. In another paper, Ntshoe (2002) supports the position of Kraak above in calling for a re-emphasis on the shift to the fundamental issues of reconstruction and development, equity and redressing the historical imbalances of the past (Ntshoe, 2002:8).

Related to the popular democratic discourse is the concern of higher education policy makers in South Africa as to the place of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). According to Odora-Hoppers (2001:73), concerns for and engagement with IKS by higher education institutions stand a greater chance of reconstructing knowledge production, challenging existing paradigms, epistemological foundations and existing academic practice. This will contribute towards enabling the higher education community to find a sustainable and inclusive formula for a way forward; a formula that is more responsive to transformation and progressive social justice (2001: 84).

Implicit in the sentiments of Odora-Hoppers (2001) is the call for a concern with social justice that is transformative and emancipatory, which implies that for South African higher education to play a responsive and transformatory role; its practitioners must then begin to challenge the neo-liberal paradigm that thrives on injustices. Also related to the concerns with respect to IKS is the debate regarding mode one and mode two knowledge and their impact on the role of a university. According to Waghid (2002:18), this debate needs to be framed within a complementary knowledge base that constitutes disciplinary or mode one knowledge, plus socially distributed or mode two knowledge. It could be said that socially constructed knowledge possesses inherent progressive social justice attributes. The task lying ahead of researchers is to work them out. However, Waghid does not provide details on how to achieve this.

2.6 Criticisms of Radical Social Justice

Radical social justice, referred to earlier as the third tradition, possesses a broader agenda in the South African context because of the historical legacy of the country and its specificity, for instance, the consideration of the forms of mode two knowledge as social justice issues. The breadth and scope of the agenda further illustrate the inclusive and accommodative stance of the radical conception of social justice. However, radical social justice has been criticised for being overly utopian (Starr, 1991:24). With reference to its position on education, it has also been criticised for adopting an inclusive emancipatory and political stance that would produce a cadre of social activists without adequate skills for the marketplace. Its proposal of full inclusion has also been criticised for lowering educational standards by burdening educators with students from disadvantaged educational backgrounds (Rochester, 2003:1). Another criticism of the radical position of social justice stems from the postmodernist scholars who accuse it of being a totalising meta-narrative that excludes other ways of knowing, particularly those of feminism (Burbules and Berk, 1999:57). Despite this criticism, this tradition stands a better chance of achieving a socially just education and training system because of its socialist and redistributive agenda as opposed to the restrictive and neo-liberal agenda of the other two traditions. The tenets of the radical position on social justice, such as participation parity in all societal institutions, far outweigh the issues of marketable skills, the lowering of standards and a totalising meta-narrative. Also neutralising this criticism are the broad and inclusive agenda of radical social

justice and the language of possibility to which Giroux (1987) alludes. In such justice, concepts such as justice as mutuality, recognition and justice as freedom from oppressive socio-economic, political and cultural relations, promise a vision for genuine social justice. Therefore, the challenge is to revitalise social belief in the alternatives to neo-liberal social justice, such as are to be found in the radical social justice agenda.

In the context of the narrowing of the policy agenda, the shifting of policy alliances and ambiguities, this study contends that the pursuit of social justice is critical. My argument after reviewing research concerned with social justice issues in South Africa is that the national policy documents appear to serve and legitimate the current socio-economic context informed by neo-liberalism. In principle, the social justice agenda is expressed by the recurring focus on equity, redress and social responsiveness, democratic and inclusive education. This scenario tends to leave existing and traditional institutional practices intact. The question that arises is: How can institutional practices be made to support the social justice agenda? This study therefore seeks to extend the scope of existing literature on social justice education by providing a reconstructed, revitalised and relevant version. Additionally, the study will then look at those institutional practices that are conducive to social justice by addressing the desire for the clarification of the distinctive core elements of socially just conditions.

Furthermore, while evidence gleaned from the literature appears to indicate that history and the broader macro-economic framework of neo-liberalism stifle the concerns and practices of radical social justice, and that the essential structure of neo-liberalism remains integrated, new hope is to be found in the establishment or creation of the progressive voice and practices of dissent. These beacons of possibilities provide significant potential for the restructuring of the social justice agenda along progressive and democratic lines, which is an important consideration for the creation of a holistic and sensitive citizenry committed to a just world.

2.7 Conclusion

It is apparent that efforts have been made to integrate social justice into the legislative and policy framework in South Africa. It is, however, not clear whether this has been sufficiently addressed at the formulation level or even at an implementation level. This

study seeks to determine the extent to which radical social justice is sufficiently addressed at both levels.

Radical social justice is a concept employed to evaluate the distribution of benefits that result from major social institutions such as the schooling system and the health system. At its highest or ideal level, social justice promotes a utopian society. Consequently, this extreme utopian position has contributed to its marginalisation from the central debates that have been dominated by neo-liberalism. With reference to education, radical social justice is used to inform broad educational policies such as universal primary education and the move towards education for all, and furthermore, to inform the move towards massification with the emphasis on access, equity and the inculcation of a democratic culture – implying parity in participation in all areas of higher education. The fostering of equality as regards educational, socio-economic and political participation comprises the major tenet of oppositional critical theory, which essentially informs the theoretical framework of the study. The emphasis on radical social justice issues in higher education is in line with the traditional mandate of universities – to pursue teaching, research and service to the community. The chapter that follows represents a critical review of the extent to which South African higher education fulfills the mandate of social justice. This review is necessary because, as already observed, post-apartheid higher education policies and reforms, informed by social justice, are being marginalised by the overwhelming logic of neo-liberalism and the resultant marketisation and commodification of higher education.

CHAPTER 3 – SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRANSFORMATION PILLARS – FOCUS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a background to the South African higher education policy context and a discussion of how South African higher education has performed in response to transformation pillars is offered. The following aspects will be addressed: a brief description of the South African higher education transformation pillars, namely, increased and broadened participation, responsiveness to societal needs and cooperative governance and an assessment of how higher education has responded to these three challenges. My purpose in this chapter is primarily to comment on higher education's response to the national mandate of transformation in general and to social justice in particular.

3.2 The South African Higher Education System After 1994

The transition to a democratic society in 1994 necessitated the creation of a new policy framework on which institutions would base themselves in promoting the new democracy. After 1994, all reforms sought explicitly to make important changes in institutions of higher learning. These changes sought to address the apartheid legacy. Their guiding goals and principles were laid down in the 1997 White Paper on Higher Education Transformation. In 2000, the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) reformulated the broad goals and principles of the White Paper 1997 into three broad transformation goals of Higher Education, namely 1. Increased and broadened participation, 2. Responsiveness to social interests and needs, 3. Co-operation and partnership in governance (CHET, 2000: 36-37). These overarching goals were subsequently referred to by CHET as the three pillars of transformation. The digests of the broad goal of transformation in higher education, as provided by CHET, are informative because they offer a South African perspective on policy developments in higher education. The table below attempts to summarise them.

Table 3.1 – Higher education transformation pillars

TRANSFORMATION PILLAR	BRIEF EXPLANATION
Increased and broadened participation	The historical legacy of fragmentation, inequality and inefficiency in the higher education system must be overcome and a larger and more diverse student population must be accommodated within the system (Cloete & Bunting, 2000:4).
Responsiveness to societal needs	The higher education system must deliver the research, knowledge and highly trained people required in South Africa to be able to compete successfully in a rapidly changing international context (Cloete & Bunting, 2000:5).
Cooperation and governance	An enabling environment must be created in higher education institutions. This environment must be sensitive to and affirm diversity, promote reconciliation and respect for human life, and protect the dignity of individuals (Cloete & Bunting, 2000:5).

Adapted from Cloete & Bunting, 2000

The three pillars of transformation in higher education formulated and initiated by the government of national unity in the 1990s were also supported by non-governmental organisations and higher education research and development organisations that strive to develop current research on transformation throughout the higher education system in the country. Organisations such as CHET, and various education policy units attached to institutions, such the Wits Education Policy unit at the University of the Witwatersrand, make use of these broad goals in their policy research and analysis so as to produce high quality and high impact research for the purpose of informing decision and policy makers in education.

The broad transformation goals provided a framework for the transformation of higher education which was in accordance with the democratic dispensation of 1994. Policy analysts and researchers both locally and internationally contend that the three pillars of transformation were formulated during the symbolic policy stage 1990 – 1994, and were reshaped and made more concrete during the substantive policy stage of the period 1995 to 1998 when the state and other established bodies elaborated on the framework and

clearly defined the values informing higher education transformation in South Africa, a characteristic of symbolic policy. Winberg (2004) describes it as follows:

Policy documents are future orientated and utopian. In order to ensure that the policy is taken up, the documents must focus on the potential for a happy resolution to the current situation... the promise implied by higher education is that as recommendations are implemented, so new institutions will be created in which there will be broadened access, academic productivity and financial stability. Policy documents recommend changes to intuitions, their practices and underlying values and predict a future in which shortcomings will be addressed and an effective and efficient equitable higher education community created (Winberg, 2004:492).

The late 1990s to the present saw the dawn of a new period: a continuation of the substantive stage. Currently, the development of higher education policy is characterised by the continuation of the substantive policy stage and the distributive and redistributive stage. During this stage, the role of the state has begun to predominate as a way of making decisive policy choices towards achieving an integrated, coordinated higher education system that transcends the apartheid legacy more concretely (Cloete, et al., 2006).

3.3 Social Justice as an Element of a Transformed Higher Education System – Contributions and Contradictions

There are a number of research reports and sources that have been produced since the formulation of policy documents which laid down the framework for higher education transformation. The common theme in these sources is concerned with the construction of policies that would address the apartheid legacy and modernise the higher education system so that it becomes more responsive to local and global development. The trend that these various scholars and analysts portray in their writings is the distinctive and commendable nature of transformation in higher education during the democratic dispensation (Gibbon & Kabaki, 2000:132).

Research reports that are exemplary in this regard are those stemming from research and development organisations, progressive policy consultants and scholars in higher education. The majority of them were formulated in the language of progressive politics

and enlightened radicalism, a language whose project is to deepen democracy in higher education and thus promote social justice as conceptualised in this research. In other words, they envisage a higher education system that would contribute to the political empowerment and socio-economic liberation of the South African society. The discourses of progressive South Africa perceive education as an instrument of political liberation and socio-economic transformation and of overcoming the oppressive apartheid legacy. Specifically, the role of higher education is to meet societal socio-economic needs while safeguarding democracy and social justice (Cloete, et al.; Cloete, 2002 b; Jansen, 2003; Kraak, 2001; Park, 2003; Waghid, 2002). Equally, Government policies that were formulated subsequent to 1997 echo the transformation and social justice discourse, for example, the National Plan on Higher Education's five policy priorities. These are: 1. increased access so as to produce skills and competencies for the 21st century; 2. Promotion of equality of access and outcomes so as to redress past inequalities; 3. Diversification of the institutional landscape; 4. Building of research capacity; and 5. Restructuring of the HE landscape and making it consistent with the values of democracy (NPHE 2001: 76).

The thread connecting the preceding conception of transformation in higher education, as encapsulated in the transformation pillars, is the common aim of breaking the mould of apartheid education and aligning transformation with the democratic and social justice concerns of the new democracy.

The transformation debates in South Africa, as noted, have been hailed as exemplary by a number of policy analysts both internationally and nationally. However, they have also been criticised by scholars from the left for retaining traces of neo-liberalism in their obsession with meeting the market and globalisation imperatives. Chisholm offers the following explanation for the dependency of South African education transformation debates on international trends:

First, there is a dependency argument about dependency on World Bank policy; second that the alternatives offered by the left were too weak and could not offer as much as those policies which eventually were adopted; third, that post-modern flexible technologies and information dictate the pace of change; and fourth, ...manifestation of the impact of

globalization of capital and markets consequent on the ending of the cold war (Chisholm, 1998:51-52).

The above implies that with the dawn of the democratic dispensation, South Africa's isolationist status was ended as it became part of the global community and was influenced by an array of policy options from international organisations such as the World Bank, as well as technological development informed by neo-liberalism and the new right movement which regarded globalisation as a panacea for most of the development and transformation challenges.

The trend described by Chisholm above resonates with the marketisation and globalisation of higher education in western countries such as America and the United Kingdom. This process also involves the ideological shift towards neo-liberalism.

The new ideological configuration among the political elites and ruling class in at least the English-speaking capitalist countries can be seen in the policies of the former Clinton administration and the current Blair administration. These policies offer an interesting combination of some social issues formerly part of traditional liberal platform such as affirmative action, gay rights and environmental concerns – that are now coupled with extremely conservative economic policies which hark back to turn of the century neo-liberal economic ideas about an unfettered, free-market economy and a minimal state ... These economic ideas are shared both by political liberals and conservatives alike in the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada, as well as elsewhere (Shumar, 2004:824).

The key drivers in the ideological configuration of neo-liberalism are higher education institutions. According to Olssen and Peters,

Higher education institutions have been encouraged to develop links with industry and business in a series of new venture partnerships. The recognition of the economic importance of higher education and the necessity for economic viability has seen initiatives to produce greater entrepreneurial skills as well as the development of new performance measures to enhance output and to establish and achieve targets (2005: 313).

The discourse that characterises the transformation of higher education is one of revived modernisation and human capital theory. It is one that has continued to consistently link

education, economic growth and international competitiveness continentally and globally (Chisholm, 1998:65). Notwithstanding this, the specificity of the South African context and needs is accommodated in the emphasis on redress and redistributive strategies as an attempt to counteract the legacy of apartheid (Chisholm, 1998). For instance, in subsequent policy, analysts were consistent and stressed the importance of breaking the mould of apartheid and replacing it with a more socially just and democratic dispensation, even in the context of a socio-economic policy that was anti social justice; for example, radical scholars in the West warn nation states of the dangers of embracing neo-liberalism. Giroux contends that:

Neoliberalism is the most dangerous ideology of the current historical moment....[It] has given way to the language of commercialisation, privatisation and deregulation and ..., within the language and images of corporate culture, citizenship is portrayed as an utterly privatised affair that produces self-interested individuals. [It] maintains that corporate culture functions largely to either ignore or cancel out social injustices in the existing social order by overriding democratic impulses and practices of civil society through an emphasis on the unbridled workings of market relations (Giroux, 2002:425).

It is evident from the preceding discussion that South Africa has not been immune to international trends and their impact on education reform. The question to ask, according to Chisholm, is whether equity and quality in education will be achieved in the context of the internationalisation and marketisation of education reform informed by neo-liberalism (Chisholm, 1998). This is of concern, particularly to the transformation of higher education in South Africa.

In the context of the educational focus on increasing access and participation informed by the human capital theory, the issue of how higher education is performing in terms of promoting equity of access is very important. A number of stakeholders and policy analysts in Africa consistently highlight the important role fair access to higher education plays in the improvement of social justice (Sawyer, 2002: 38). Similarly, in the South African context, the importance of equitable access is emphasised in the first transformation pillar, that of increased and broadened participation as stated above. It is a continentally accepted trend that increasing and broadening access to higher education is an important reform and transformation strategy. As an important method, measuring

or assessing how South African higher education has performed in this area is crucial because it represents a measure of quality in higher education and its relevance to the community.

3.4 South African Higher Education Performance in Terms of Three Pillars of Transformation

The table below is a representation of how higher education has performed in terms of meeting the goals of transformation pillar one: increased and broadened participation.

Table 3.2 – Indicators of transformation goals for higher education in South Africa

GOALS	INDICATORS							
	Total head count enrolment in public universities and technikons (thousands)							
Increased and broadened participation		1993	1995	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002
	Total enrolments	473	567	596	596	600	645	674
Student body to reflect SA demographics	Percentage head count enrolment by population group							
	White	47	31	28	27	27	27	27
	Indian	7	7	6	7	7	7	7
	Coloured	6	5	5	5	5	5	6
	African	40	58	60	60	60	61	60
Increased participation of female students.	Percentage head count enrolments by gender							
	Male	57	50	48	46	46	46	46
	Female	43	50	52	54%	54	54	54

(Cloete & Bunting, 2000)

The enrolment figures portray a positive picture in terms of the continuing access to higher education. On the basis of table 2, it could be said that higher education in South Africa has made remarkable progress towards meeting the transformation pillar of increased access and broadened participation. That is, there is an indication of a definite effect on transformation pillar one, resulting from favourable developments with regards to positive and representative enrolment figures. These figures also signify that South African higher education is attempting to be representative of the South African population and is thus partly fulfilling the policy imperative of redress as required of

such education in South Africa. Some researchers describe this trend as a revolution because “...the ratio of black students in total university enrolment increased from 32% in 1990 to 60% in 2000, while in technikons it rose from 32% to 72% over the same period. Thus, by 2000, there was a majority of African students both in the universities (60%) and technikons (72%)” (Cloete, 2002:1). With reference to the participation of women, the increase was three times greater than that of men: from 42% in 1990 to 53% in 2000 (Cloete) The positive progress made towards increased and broadened participation is further reiterated by the study commissioned by the Commission on Higher Education ten years after the beginning of democracy in 2004 (CHE, 2004: 90).

Furthermore, the positive indicators of performance as a move towards the transformation pillar of increased and broadened participation also demonstrate that higher education is embracing transformation, since it has been conceptualised by various scholars in the South African context. For example, this performance is illustrative of Waghid’s conception of higher education transformation as initiating equality through furnishing equal access and development opportunities for disadvantaged students, and promoting accountability, because higher education policy has to respond to and address national policy imperatives and finally promote quality assurance measures that involve the spirit of dialogism (2000: 109). Waghid’s conception of higher education transformation in South Africa chimes with Van Wyk’s re-imagining of such transformation. Van Wyk’s reformulation consists of four necessary conditions for transformation: equity and redress, critical inquiry, communicative praxis and citizenship (2003:157). For these two scholars, increased access and broadened participation represent one of the conditional issues for transformation in higher education. In this regard, South African higher education is doing fairly well. However, with regard to other conditions mentioned by these scholars such as the spirit of dialogism, critical inquiry and communicative praxis, it is not quite clear how to establish the performance as it would require more qualitative investigation than the quantitative approach used by the CHET study.

While the performance indicators employed above indicate that there are some pockets of change as regards the nature and effectiveness of higher education transformation, certain studies caution against their uncritical usage. According to van Wyk (2004;

2005), a focus purely on performance indicators – performativity – would not support deep transformation. Deep transformation would be enabled by re-asserting the influences of *ubuntu* in policy reformulation and communitarianism as well as by creating space for imagination and creativity (Van Wyk, 2004 & 2005).

Although these indicators depict progress towards the broad goal of increased participation and broadened access, they obscure deeper problems. For instance, the Centre for Higher Education contends that while the number of black students and women has increased, it has not increased favourably in hard science areas such as engineering and accounting (Cloete & Bunting, 2000:72). In the same vein, Van Wyk contends that focusing on a quantitative increase is a matter of performativity, which can be associated with the corporatisation of higher education that uses the business language and logic of input / outputs and more productivity while marginalising aspects of the common good in higher education transformation (2005:183). There still needs to be a more in-depth analysis of the extent to which this transformation pillar is addressed by developments in higher education.

The trend in South Africa, that of opening up higher education, resonates with that of higher education in England at the turn of the 21st century. In England under the new Labour government, higher education was informed by an inclusive language of social justice, being regarded as important to the future economic success of the country and as playing a role in shaping a democratic, civilised and inclusive society (Skelton, 1999:240). In England it was declared that “education must be a force for opportunity and social justice, not for the entrenchment of privilege” (White Paper on Higher Education as cited in Blanden, 2003:8). This inclusivity was exemplified in increasing numbers of students from underrepresented groups, which caused those in higher education to increase in number as well as to represent a more heterogeneous student population (Skelton, 1999:240). Studies show that the English government’s target is for 50 percent of 18-30 year olds to have some experience of higher education by 2010 (Lewis, 2002:04). In South Africa, the government’s target was a modest 20 percent of the age cohort 18 to 24 by 2001 (Bawa, 2000:7).

The discourse that informed this policy reform was that of neo-liberalism with the aim of utilising higher education for the common good while at the same time the market imperative was more important (Vally, 2007:17). In other western democracies such as Canada, the trend is similar: increased access to higher education makes a crucial contribution to economic development, social cohesion and the advancement of democracy in a knowledge based society Kaiser, Hillegers, Iwen, & Legro, 2005:1).

However, studies on higher education reform indicate that the trend of increasing access to higher education is greatly flawed. The defect lies in the failure to highlight the contradictions between inclusive access and the exclusionary experiences of students of higher education because the cultural assumptions underpinning these experiences are left unquestioned.

Liberal humanism maintains that learning and access to culture are essential to human development, but it fails to recognise the implicit assumptions built into any particular expression of culture. It also fails to recognise that culture is contested; a particular expression of culture is an outcome of power relations between two groups (Skelton, 1999:242).

The English experience, while positive, offers lessons for South Africa. The country has progressed in increasing access and broadening participation, but it stands in danger of perpetuating the cultural assumptions and injustices of neo-liberalism if it does not critically engage with this ideology and discover alternatives to it. South Africa might also face the same problem if it does not critically engage with the cultural assumptions of neoliberalism such as western cultural imperialism and bourgeois dominance.

The pillar of responsiveness was complex to analyse for both the CHET 2000 study cited above and the CHE 2004 that followed it. In regard to this, the CHE 2004 study indicates that due to the “South African phenomenon of non-absorption of labour”; there are still inadequate employment opportunities which in turn affect the ability of higher education to satisfy the pillar of responsiveness (CHE, 2004: 165). The rationale provided by researchers in the 1990s for this still relevant phenomenon is that South Africa, like most developing countries, adopted a “Fordist” method of production accumulation that emphasised massification, particularly education, a clear division of labour and authority (Chisholm, 1998:55). This resulted in many graduates acquiring

inadequate, limited skills to meet the demands of the competitive global market. According to this analysis, post-Fordism, as a method of accumulation that places a greater emphasis on smaller units of production, multi-skilling and flexibility, would have addressed this complex problem, but its adoption in the country has been limited (Chisholm, 1998).

In addition to this, the scenario is compounded by an unclear and ambiguous relationship between educational outcome, economic growth and social development (CHE, 2004:165). This implies that a pool of unemployed and unemployable higher education graduates still exists. With reference to the ambiguous relationship mentioned analysts contend that it has been informed by the human capital theory and was responsible for universal movements such as Education for All, with the hope that investment in education would lead to economic development. Regarding this issue, international researchers have shown that this is a contested area since countries that have heavily invested in education in Africa do not necessarily exhibit much progress in the area of economic development (Chisholm, 1998:56-57). For example, in the South African context, Horwitz (2007) is of the opinion that the issue of the creation of skilled manpower resulting from investment in education in South Africa, like that of a two sided coin, is both a myth and a reality. He argues that South Africa needs to revamp its human capital strategies so that it can meet the needs of the global economy (Horwitz, 2007). In the South African context, it could be said that in principle and to some extent in practice, a mixture of Fordism and post-Fordism has exerted an influence on educational reform, particularly in the focus on increased participation and broadened access. The idea was an image of a multi-skilled, flexible worker to ensure the international competitiveness of the country (Chisholm, 1998:58).

While the present study takes cognisance of these complex links between education and economic development as informed by both Fordist and post-Fordist modes of production, it concurs with CHE in cautioning against reducing the pillar of responsiveness to only meeting the demands of the labour market and downplaying the important role of higher education in fulfilling its obligation to the public good (CHE, 2004: 165). The role that higher education plays in promoting the public good is a crucial element of social justice as advanced in this thesis.

The third pillar of transformation, cooperative governance, is intended to guide higher education in the area of governance. The rationale behind this pillar was to destroy the legacy of autocratic management in apartheid higher education through the implementation of democratic governance structures and processes (Cloete, et al., 2000:10). South African literature reveals that during the apartheid era, two approaches to higher education management existed. The first was the strong state control that characterised the white Afrikaans speaking institutions in their relation to the state. With reference to internal management processes, these institutions were highly centralised, autocratic and conservative (Cloete, et al., 2000:14). The second was the polar opposite approach, of the weak state supervision that characterised the English speaking institutions. These institutions held anti-apartheid leanings and had a strong collegial tradition with participative decision making (Cloete, et al., 2000). The terms under which they engaged with stakeholders correspond with the participatory management approach. Conservative Afrikaans institutions adopted a non participative approach while the liberal English institutions adopted a more participative approach (Cloete, Kulati & Phala). Furthermore, the language and tone of cooperative governance portrays a post-Fordist method of accumulation because it is couched in the language of participation as opposed to non-participation, which is more Fordist. Although this pillar possesses impressive credentials for promoting transformation as discussed in this chapter, recent research reports reveal that problems do exist. These problems were identified in the complexity of implementing cooperative governance in 2000 and 2004 respectively.

From 2000, analysts (Cloete, et al., 2000; Hall & Symes, 2005) contended that the policy framework did not accord adequate attention to the management of institutional change and that, as a result, the majority of institutions were failing to translate the broad agenda of transformation into concrete strategies for institutional change (Cloete, et al., 2000:17). In 2004, the same problem of inadequate guidance with regards to how to make decisions emerged, thus hampering equity and democracy (CHE, 2004:184). In a similar context, certain analysts perceived the concept of cooperative governance as a hindrance to academic freedom (CHE, 2004:199). Thus, for cooperative governance to take root in the transformation of higher education, the latter's stakeholders needed to formulate proper guidelines for the implementation of cooperative governance.

Consequently it could be safely said that the implementation of such governance is in its infancy and that this issue continues to be a challenge to higher education.

The above assessment of the transformation pillars indicates that there are varying degrees of change and non-change in higher education. This scenario is also explained by contending challenges faced by this sector in its attempts to promote the transformation and social justice agendas. In 2004, CHE released a document that identified a number of critical issues and challenges facing higher education after 10 years of democratic rule. The array of challenges include addressing the legal and policy context at the systemic level by ensuring appropriate processes of monitoring and evaluating in order to identify and address policy gaps. At institutional level, the process of evaluating the progress made towards institutional transformation with respect to the institutional landscape and culture was identified as important, as was, furthermore, the process of developing processes for sustaining and maintaining the progress made in the following areas: equity, teaching and learning, research, community engagement, responsiveness, governance, financing and internationalisation (CHE, 2004:11)

In October, 2004, a seminar organised by CHET took place which brought together a group of various reputable and renowned experts who identified key issues challenging higher education ten years after democracy. The theme uniting the seminar was higher education and development, which was adopted because it was considered as more forward looking and linked to national agendas than past themes that were retrospective (CHET, 2004:5).

The conference recommended that South African higher education needed to adopt a positive discourse on higher education, democracy and development as opposed to a negative, disabling discourse. This implies that an optimistic attitude to the capabilities of higher education engaging with the challenges and creating meaningful solutions needs to be embraced. The paradox of skills availability, and scarcity, was reiterated as an issue to be prioritised. Related to the skills concern was the subject of an increase in the participation rate while not compromising quality. Since the core function of higher education is research, the challenge is to broaden the research spectrum. With regard to the policy process, it was suggested that adopting a more differentiated policy, as

opposed to a comprehensive and symbolic policy, would be appropriate and timely. The rationale was that this would encourage all institutions to participate equally, while those that needed support would be assisted. Since there is inherent dissonance or discord in the policy process, higher education needs to prioritise the creation of a more harmonious and orchestrated policy (CHET, 2004:1-2). While the conference focused on higher education democracy and development, it could not avoid the emphasis on the economic importance of higher education by reiterating the need to focus on skills development in order to meet the demands of the market and industry and the challenges of the globalising South African society.

In November 2004, the CHE also held a colloquium whose sole purpose was to critically identify South African higher education trends and review its commitment to transformation. The colloquium bore the following fruits in terms of paradoxes and challenges facing higher education after democracy. The need to re-examine the goals of higher education and strategies to achieve these goals emerged as contested terrain from the perspective of both opponents and defenders of the White Paper on Higher Education Transformation, for example, exposes inherent contradictions in and contributions of higher education as regards the promotion of equity and access. The core activities of the higher education sector were identified as a need to focus on re-inventing curricula and their content with a particular focus on mathematics, science and technology education, including teacher training. Other important focus areas identified were the promotion of staff equity, research and innovation, strengthening the link between higher education and further education and training, and the promotion of regional cooperation as well as the internationalisation of higher education. The relationship of higher education with the state was discussed and it was reiterated that the preferred state role is that of a strong steering state, essential for the furtherance of the transformation goal of the White Paper of 1997. This position was opposed by those favouring a loose state control in order to protect institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Since higher education does not operate in isolation but within society, there was a need to conceptualise the relationship between higher education and civil society while addressing the neo-liberal agenda that informs higher education. The relationship between higher education and the market was also reiterated as being of utmost importance since the private sector is an important source of additional funding. On the

overall theme of a transformed and engaged university, the challenge lies in the broadening of the transformation agenda that needed to be informed by debates on the African renaissance through continental consultation (CHE, 2004:3-9).

While the CHE colloquium raised current pertinent issues regarding higher education transformation, it also appears to have been influenced by the global discourse of techno science, particularly with the emphasis being placed on the genuine need to develop skills in mathematics, science and technology. Furthermore, the influence of a neo-liberal discourse is also evidenced by the importance being accorded to the role of the private and business sector with regard to funding. One unique point the colloquium raised is that of relevance to the African continent in the resuscitation of the African renaissance discourse, thus locating the role of higher education in Africa and avoiding completely Eurocentric influences. It can be said that the policy review and analysis carried out after ten years of democracy reveal that higher education policy in South Africa represents a strong embodiment of neo-liberal principles. While these principles may provide the best way to meet the needs of the global knowledge economy in principle and practice, they seriously undermine progress towards equity, social inclusion and social justice.

3.5 South African Higher Education: Persistent Policy Challenges

The celebration of the ten years of democracy also influenced other higher education stakeholders to begin to debate issues that continue to challenge higher education and the transformation agenda. The points of convergence between the various stakeholders demonstrate that South African higher education needs to adopt a positive and enabling discourse while re-interpreting the goals of higher education ten years after democracy. That is, the focus is to redefine and justify the existence of higher education. This focus comes at a time when globally, higher education trends signal shifts from the traditional professional culture of open intellectual inquiry and debate to one that stresses performativity – as mentioned, the language and logic of business evident in the emphasis on measured outputs, strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance measures and academic audits (Olssen & Peters, 2005:313). According to these Western researchers this is a period that is informed by neoliberalism; they maintain that

In a global neo liberal environment, the role of higher education for the economy is seen by governments as having greater importance around the world. Universities are seen as key drivers in the knowledge economy and as a consequence higher education institutions have been encouraged to develop links with industry and business in a series of new ventures and partnerships (Olssen & Peters *ibid*).

In South Africa, the CHET project of developing performance indicators for higher education is influenced by the same global trend, but this does not render the project as trivial and irrelevant. It continues to be a timely and relevant one that is useful for measuring higher education performance in order to make in-depth and informed choices and policy decisions. For instance, the CHET (2000) study has revealed policy gaps and contradictions such as the fact that, with reference to increased and broadened participation, the enrolment figures in higher education have levelled while the participation rate of blacks and women is still low, particularly in the mathematics and science areas. Such policy gaps need to be addressed. It is hoped that all these contradictions will be used to reformulate a more targeted and specific policy for higher education in order to meet this goal.

The challenges and trends that continue to plague higher education in South Africa indicate that while the process of producing broad and symbolic policies seemed to be easy and was hailed as exemplary because it promoted democratic principles, the process of implementation is fraught with problems and is complex. According to implementation analysts, the stakeholders often level accusations, such as implementation failure or paralysis and overload, at the government (Gornitza, Kyvik and Stensaker, 2005:35). This phenomenon is reflected in policy inconsistencies and contradictions. A number of factors have been attributed to the implementation gap – the main ones being the macroeconomic policy, GEAR, and the budget (UNDP, 2004: 56-57). This may possibly explain why, among the challenges facing higher education, some of the transformation goals still emerge as issues to be addressed ten years later. The limited implementation of most of the transformation goals further illustrates that systemic change at universities is complex and paradoxical because contradictory positions regarding the necessity for change and resistance to change always exist (Meister-Scheytt & Scheytt, 2005: 97). In the South African context, the position of the government of national unity was to concur with the necessity for change because it

embarked on a grand symbolic policy that aimed at a break with the apartheid legacy. An example of the “resistance to change” group is evident in intellectuals and institutions that engineered the apartheid legacy and are still interested in maintaining it. Furthermore, those which subscribe to neo-liberal ideology can also be grouped in the category of resistance to change because they preach the language of limited reform as opposed to the discourse of transformation. The elements of resistance to change are found in the conservative and new right movements who benefited the most from the apartheid regime. For this group the policies of the democratic government spell socio-economic and political disaster for the country.

The trends and challenges that South African higher education is facing mirror those of universities in the other parts of the world. This is evident in the fact that, while this sector is pursuing the noble role of teaching, research and service to the community, economic and social realities continue to impact either negatively or positively on contributions to national development by higher education. During the 21st century one of the socio-economic realities that most pervasively influence higher education is the phenomenon of globalisation. With regard to globalisation, its impact on South Africa is evident in a number of issues, the main one being the neo-liberal policy of GEAR which has influenced education decisions being made on the basis of fiscal austerity and market procedure (Oldfield, 2001:36). The second related impact is in the restructuring of higher education within market driven concerns: a situation that is detrimental to the nurturing of a newly found democracy in South Africa (Waghid, 2001: 455). The sentiments of South African researchers on globalisation chime with those of western researchers such as Reading, one of the more provocative researchers on the modern university, who asserts that globalisation is changing the structure and role of the university. He contends that due to this phenomenon, the traditional role of the university in serving and promoting the idea of a national culture is being replaced or downplayed, as nation-states are in decline and national cultures are being replaced by global cultures. Furthermore, universities are embracing the culture and business logic of trans-national corporations. Reading perceives this as the demise of the modern university and appeals to the creation of a new community of critical thinkers on the role of universities in the 21st century (Reading, 1996). In the South African context, Waghid et al., further contend that globalisation

...contributes to the redefinition of the notion of a university as a place that has been reduced to subservience to the idea of human “resource development”, based on a data base or education management information system, regulated three-year budget plan, reviews, performance appraisals and the rating of academics, appraisal meetings and annual reports creating a secure over-regulated world of excellence... Regulatory mechanisms based on auditing systems in effect reduce public accountability to the language of accounting, creating a false sense of security that limits society’s critical reflective ability. (2005:53)

The regulatory logic of auditing to which Waghid is referring reflects earlier in his research with regards to globalisation and universities, which drew attention to the concepts of new managerialism, academic capitalism, and the entrepreneurial university as important features of economic aspects of globalisation (Deem, 2001:7). Academic capitalism, as part and parcel of the knowledge and global economy, involves the process of developing, marketing and selling research products, education services and consumer goods in the marketplace. Slaughter and Rhoades provide the following illustrative analysis:

Academic capitalism in the new economy is a regime that entails colleges and universities engaging in market and market-like behaviours. What do we mean by that? How is the present different from the past? After all, colleges and universities have long operated bookstores and sold tee shirts and coffee mugs for profit and professors have long written textbooks and engaged in consulting for profit. We believe the difference is a matter of breadth and depth. Colleges and universities — particularly public colleges and universities faced with a major loss in state support — now develop, market and sell a wide range of products commercially in the private sector as *a basic source of income*. This goes far beyond non-academic consumption items (such as logos, tee shirts, etc.). Today, *higher education institutions are seeking to generate revenue from their core educational, research and service functions*, ranging from the production of knowledge (such as research leading to patents) created by the faculty to the faculty’s curriculum and instruction (teaching materials that can be copyrighted and marketed) (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004:37).

In the South African context, Waghid (2000) illustrates this in a critical analysis of CHE’s agenda of transforming higher education. The criticism is levelled at the goal of transforming higher education by increasing capital and knowledge intensive production and services, thus addressing the demand for skilled professionals in the scientific,

technological, technical and business field (2000:450). While the supporters of the audit culture might argue that a form of bureaucratic control is beneficial to the achievement of social justice, growing numbers of research findings indicate that it is counterproductive. In the South African context, researchers in support of Waghid's anti-audit culture stance argue that attempts to monitor and regulate universities are compliant with the audit culture, and undermine the very practices of academic work and professional autonomy that are essential for the promotion of social justice in universities (Enslin, Pendlebury & Tjiattas, 2003:75-56). The observations of these South African researchers concur with those of international research with reference to the introduction of a market logic in higher education (Apple, 2005) This trend is detrimental to the realisation of radical social justice because not only does it undermine the democratic culture, but it also infringes on the liberatory and emancipatory roles that higher education intellectuals need to play for the common good.

The overarching factors that have influenced this reformist policy trend are neo-liberalism and the macro-economic policy of GEAR, as discussed earlier. According to GEAR, higher education plays two important roles. Firstly, universities are to assume a more entrepreneurial position in outlook, research and curriculum content and secondly, they are to produce human capital that would render South Africa globally competitive, with the emphasis falling on the natural sciences instead of the arts and humanities. As noted, this newly assumed role or position has been criticised for downplaying the role of universities in contributing towards the promotion of a critical and actively engaged citizenry (Motala & Singh, 2001; Waghid, 2000: 11). This critical analysis is shared by Jobbins in arguing that:

In a democratic society, healthy universities act as a check on authority, as a watchdog ready to bark at excesses, errors and miscalculations by government. They give their academics a secure platform from which to analyze and criticize without fear or retribution from the state. The role is especially vital in the developing world, particularly for nations such as South Africa, as they struggle to compete in a global economy with the technological cards heavily stacked against them (Jobbins, 2002:56).

In other words, healthy universities are custodians of economic and social justice. They are the vanguards of democracy and transformation for the benefit of the majority of the

population rather than the privileged few. In universities, there is a mass of critical intellectuals whose agenda is to humanise and promote higher education for the public good and thus seek to alleviate socio-economic inequalities and advance democracy. The logic of globalisation does not automatically decrease socio-economic inequality and injustices and anti-democratic positions and ideologies (Waghid, 2001:463). Globalisation and its concomitant neo-liberal discourse are posing a serious threat to the maintenance of a critical mass of intellectuals that are housed in “healthy universities” because universities are now adopting business organisational culture and logic. For universities to promote social justice in the context of globalisation, they need to humanise the global market logic with that of social justice so that the conception of higher education for the common good is protected.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to indicate the complexity of change and transformation in higher education by discussing how South African education has transformed or changed with reference to three pillars of transformation. It has demonstrated that while some positive progress has been made in constructing these pillars, South Africa still has to put much effort into adequately addressing the gaps that emerged during the erection of these pillars. Furthermore, South African higher education must contend with the complex paradox of the effects of globalisation while attempting to advance the mandate of the common good and social justice. The chapter that follows will focus on the University of Pretoria and its attempts to implement transformation goals as embodied in social justice projects.

CHAPTER 4 – UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA AND TRANSFORMATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter a synopsis of the University of Pretoria is provided. This consists of a brief background to the institution during the apartheid years so as to provide an explanation of recurrent themes from the past. This will be followed by a critical discussion of the University during the more recent transformation and democratic dispensation in order to illustrate its position on social justice.

4.2 University of Pretoria before 1994 - The Conservative Tradition and Ideological Outlook

The University of Pretoria as an African University has its roots in the pioneering higher education institutions that existed in Egypt about two or three centuries before Christ (BC) and in Timbuktu in about the 11th century (Lulat, 2005:71 -72), an indication that its intellectual history is entrenched in African ancestry, in like manner as other institutions. The university itself was established in 1908 as the Pretoria centre of the Transvaal University College during the British occupation of South Africa (*South African Standard Encyclopaedia*). During British rule and, later, the apartheid era, the University of Pretoria played a crucial role in contributing to the creation of higher level human resources to assist the country's socio-economic and political development, in line with the role of universities in the rest of the African continent. However, the University was established in a context that was embroiled in conflict between the British and the Afrikaners. Originally it was established as an English medium public institution but due to the dominance of Afrikaans speaking students and the call for Afrikaner nationalism, the Institution became an Afrikaans institution in 1930 (*South African Standard Encyclopaedia*). The positioning of the University as an Afrikaans institution initiated and highlighted its role in promoting the interests, culture and ideology of the Afrikaner community in South Africa, while contributing to the development of the country.

Although the focus of this research is placed on this university after 1994, a brief synopsis is used to illustrate the extent of Afrikaner dominance in higher education.

Coupled with this was the project of Christianising education in general, but with specific reference to higher education. The CNE declaration of 1948 stated that:

Article 11: Higher Education

We believe that our higher education should have the same basis and purpose as our primary and secondary education, the Christian-National life and world view to the forming of the man of God completely equipped for every good work. We desire that our institutions for higher education, beside the usual secular sciences, Christian theology (*geloofsleer*) and in particular Christian philosophy should be taught and practiced. But we desire still more that instruction and practice in the secular sciences must proceed from the Christian life and world view: in no single science may the light of God's truth be lacking. We believe that our University education especially should be thetic rather than antithetic, never merely eclectic and never reconciliatory. A Christian University institution must expound Christian science positively, must place it in opposition to non-Christian science, but never give unconnected instruction, merely choosing here and choosing there, and it may never try to reconcile or remove the fundamental opposition: creator and creation, men and animal, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in one another. University councils have no more serious vocation than to appoint the right men and women for the teaching work; professors and lecturers must be convinced Christian and National scientists (Rose and Tunmer, 1975: 126).

The above quotation illustrates the extent to which Christian National Education¹ influenced higher education in South Africa during the apartheid years, particularly after the ascendancy of the Nationalist Party in the 1940s. With reference to other aspects of white education at tertiary level the above quotation embodies the following principles: the Christian basis of Afrikaner education, mother-tongue instruction and cultural separation; the moulding of the child, clericalism and the complementary roles of the church and state (Hofmeyer, 1982:100) (Ashley, 1989:59). According to scholars, these

¹ Christian National Education was the official education policy of the Nationalist Party during the apartheid era. It was informed by the religious element of the said Party that emphasised a religious state heavily informed by Christian principles. Translated to education, education policy founded on Christian principles that were conservative was implemented and promoted the world view of the Afrikaner as a dominant group.

principles, when applied to white education, resulted in an education that was conservative, unilingual and heavily state controlled (Hofmeyer). Since the University of Pretoria existed in this context, it was also influenced by these principles and continued to be integrated with the culture and ideological outlook of the conservative institutions throughout the apartheid years and even beyond.

A further reading of the quotation informed by the organisational culture of universities reveals other aspects of Afrikaans speaking universities before 1994.

Organizational culture refers to the taken for granted values, the underlying assumptions, expectations, collective memories, and definitions present in the organization. It represents how things are around here. It reflects the prevailing ideology that people carry inside their heads. It conveys a sense of identity provides unspoken guidelines for how to get along and enhances the stability of the social system to which they belong (Cameron & Quinn, 1999:134).

Using Cameron and Quinn's (1999) framework to analyse the organisational culture of the University of Pretoria, it can be asserted that during the apartheid years the dominant ideology that informed "how things were done", gave a sense of identity to and enhanced the stability of the institution was that of Christian National Education. When implemented as education policy and embedded in organisational culture, the proposal in the quotation resulted in Christianised higher education that promoted Afrikaner nationalism. In the excerpt, the following features of Afrikaner Nationalism are identified: the religious quality of Afrikaner nationalism, the ideology of white supremacy, institutional racism and ethnic mobilisation (Franzsenn, 1997:125-126). In more practical terms, the institutional culture reflected mainly that "the way things are done" was heavily informed by the Afrikaner culture, ethos and mission.

The historical reality that needs to be emphasised is that the University of Pretoria was founded as an apartheid university with a policy that supported racial discrimination or exclusivity from the start. This commitment was in line with the policies of the apartheid government. When university apartheid was enforced with the Extension of University Education Act in 1959, the University of Pretoria, like other Afrikaans medium universities, continued with minimal opposition to the government's higher

education policy (Moodie, 1994:7). This trend characterised the institution until the 1990s, while at the same time it enjoyed a sustainable degree of autonomy (Bunting, 2004:49).

4.3 The University of Pretoria during the Democratic Dispensation

On the dismantling of apartheid and the election of a democratic government, the role of the University of Pretoria as a South African university came to be redefined. The institution could no longer afford to support the apartheid status quo but was to experience a paradigm shift, that is, to move from a unilingual conservative university to a bilingual, multicultural and reformed institution that sought to promote transformation as outlined in the White Paper of 1997, thus partly embracing the culture and ideology of the democratic period. The paradigm shift was not experienced only in its philosophical outlook but also in the demography of the student population that had become almost representative of the South African population.

The dawn of the democratic period found the University to be an institution that is nationally and internationally recognised for its high standards of efficiency, productivity and innovation. In 1996, two years after the first democratic elections in 1994, it was among the top five institutions in South Africa with regard to efficiency and innovation. This was according to a project commissioned by CHET entitled “The Best in Higher Education”. There are several measures of efficiency and innovation in higher education, which indicate institutional productivity or the rate at which inputs are translated into outputs. The measures used by the CHET study were the following: undergraduate success rate, undergraduate throughput rate, relative cost efficiency, research outputs. In one measure of efficiency, the undergraduate success rate, the University of Pretoria was among the top five universities with an 82% rate. It can be argued that this sizable figure illustrates that good teaching was taking place at the University of Pretoria (CHET 1998:1). Although the study does not indicate the percentage success rate of African students, it clearly illustrates that the university’s overall success rate is satisfactory.

With reference to the throughput rate, the national average was 20% in 1996 while institutions with a percentage bordering on 20 were regarded as satisfactory. Once more,

in terms of this measure, universities fared much better than technikons (universities of technology). In this regard, the rate for the University of Pretoria was 22%: 7th out of the 10 universities under study. Hence it could be argued that even with graduate throughput, the University of Pretoria met the national average (CHET, 1998:2). Though this may not be the best indicator, it shows that the university met the minimum standards.

With regard to relative cost efficiency, the CHET study revealed that education at universities cost much less than that at technikons. This positive attribute functioned to the advantage of the University of Pretoria as a university because, for example, with regards to economics, students are more likely to choose university admission. This was illustrated five years later in market research (2002) conducted by Cornia Pretorius of the *Sunday Times*, a national newspaper, when the University of Pretoria topped all universities as being the most popular choice for higher education. This finding was utilised by the Vice Chancellor, Professor Pistorius, who emphasised the point that the University of Pretoria was positioning itself as the institution of choice for staff and students. “In the olden days, we were a strong white Afrikaans institution, but we have transformed to a South African institution and we are happy the results are showing” (Pretorius, 2002:7).

Not only was the University of Pretoria a popular choice amongst students; but its performance in research also makes it immediately and abundantly clear that it is among the best research institutions. The University of Pretoria is positioned second in terms of research outputs among all higher education institutions in the country, which, in terms of scientific strengths, indicates the aspects of research outputs that the institution was producing at required NRF standards. This further indicates that the University of Pretoria continues to play an important role in contributing towards the production of much needed research and knowledge for the growing South African democracy. This is the trend that the institution continues to maintain since, even prior to 1994, it was among the top 10 research universities in the country (CHET, 1998).

Considering the performance of the University regarding the aforementioned indicators of what is best in higher education at the dawn of the democratic dispensation, the case

can be made that the institution is efficient in terms of meeting the two core functions of the university: teaching and research. Furthermore, this efficiency could illustrate that its performance was in alignment with the country's goals of producing skilled human capital for the purposes of socio-economic development. This further illustrates that the institution had for many years been esteemed for the important contribution it made to socio-economic development. In the context of the policy developments and the transformation debates discussed in chapter 3, it is therefore important to consider the university's position on transformation and the extent to which it meets the needs of all South Africans and the government's social justice mandate.

4.4 University of Pretoria as an “Innovation Generation” Institution

The shift towards serving the interests of all South Africans occurred gradually, with several mission and vision statements being formulated and deemed as relevant to the democratic dispensation. At the University, the mission, vision and strategic plan that encapsulated the discourse of the democratic dispensation are to be found in the Innovation Generation strategic plan, which documents the position of the University of Pretoria as:

.... a leader in higher education in South Africa, and a research university that is recognized internationally for academic excellence and focus on quality. The university strives to be known for international competitiveness, local relevance and a commitment to continuous innovation, and to be the University of Choice for students, staff, employers of graduates and those that require research solutions. It will be a university with an inclusive and enabling value driven culture that provides an intellectual home for the rich diversity of South African academic talent and one that is committed towards discharging its social responsibilities. The university must be a symbol of national aspiration and hope, reconciliation and pride (*Innovation Generation*, 2000: 3).

According to the Innovation Generation documents, the strategic drivers of the universities are:

- Focus on academic endeavours;
- Quality;
- Local relevance;

- Transformation;
- International competitiveness;
- Value driven organisational culture;
- Sustainability; and
- Innovation.

The strategic drivers identify the University of Pretoria as an academic institution that is committed to providing access to all students in a supportive learning environment. Quality implies that the academic curriculum is relevant to the needs of most stakeholders and that the academic staff are motivated as regards the facilitation of learning. Transformation is a crucial driver which indicates that the institution is committed to the principles of democracy and redress of past inequalities and injustices. The adoption of a value driven organisational culture is also an important position which implies that it is inevitable for this institution to embrace transformation as a value since it operates in a context that is informed by the transformation paradigm. A focus on international competitiveness indicates that while the institution attempts to be relevant it addresses both local and global needs so as to meet the imperatives of the global knowledge economy. Sustainability indicates the commitment to transparent responsibility and accountability, efficient and effective use of resources while utilising appropriate monitoring and evaluating processes.

Since the title of the document is *Innovation*, it is important to cite the interpretation thereof:

The essence of innovation is renewal and continuous improvement. It is a powerful force that drives organizational competitiveness, and is fuelled by a creative energy. It is recognized that the process of innovation has two components, viz. the creation of new ideas or inventions on the one hand, and market adoption of the other. It is important that both components of the innovation process be managed. In order to be successful, the innovations must often be accompanied by organizational changes. Success will depend on the organization's ability to translate its interpretation of the concept into the ability to deliver quality products (*Innovation Generation*, 2000: 6).

There are some positive aspects of the Innovation Generation's strategic framework. It can be viewed as a precondition for the effective implementation of the main objective of the University of Pretoria in the new millennium informed by the transformation discourse. The document contains a comprehensive set of goals and priorities, ensuring that all stakeholders and decision makers are able to pursue a common agenda more coherently, an agenda that is unique to the University of Pretoria. This document can also be considered as a tool to orientate all stakeholders towards implementing and achieving the national call for innovation in higher education.

The concept of the "entrepreneurial university" is also reflected in the document. This is evident in the emphasis on creativity and innovation, which are the cornerstones of entrepreneurship (Clark, 1998 :). In this regard South African social scientists like Bundy advance the view that in relation to the adoption of the trend towards entrepreneurship, the University of Pretoria became a pioneer in a context that is strongly influenced by the global marketisation of education (Bundy, 2005:92). Consequently, in a sense, the university must balance the demands of the marketisation logic and those of transformation.

The University of Pretoria is engaged in multiple transformational challenges, which include giving effect to its mission, strategic drivers and changes in the institutional culture. The adoption of the Innovation Generation strategy at the University of Pretoria is an example of organisational change that is aimed at institutional transformation as a response to the national mandate, as well as at a transformed organisational culture. This is a complex process that requires the core values and shared beliefs to alter and become aligned to a shared vision of an ideal future. This kind of change is referred to as organisational change by Senge (1990:9). In the case of the University of Pretoria, the vision is to be a South African university that promotes the innovation generation, a shared vision that is relevant and is timely, given the global pressures and local realities of positioning the institution as a world player.

4.5 The Organisational Culture of the University of Pretoria

The adoption of the Innovation Generation strategic plan bears directly on the organisational culture of the university, which, according to Thaver, is a subset of a

much larger socio-historical process (2006:24). An understanding of organisational culture is important to the study of institutional transformation because it tells of “how things are done” at a particular institution.

The work on organisational culture was likened to that on institutional cultures by Tierney, with the aim of diagnosing cultures in universities and colleges and solving problems while managing change (Higgins, n.d.:104). Tierney extends the term “organisational culture” to the operations of universities as organisations and therefore considers that a synergy exists between organisational and institutional cultures since they have in common a focus on “how things are done” as informed by the prevailing and dominant ideology in any institution (Higgins, n.d.:105).

Since organisational cultures involve some pertinent aspects of the character and integrity of any institution, for any institution to be relevant to its epoch and context, it is inevitable that these aspects portray the said environment. In the case of the University of Pretoria, this implies that its ideological dispositions were required to portray the democratic dispensation as opposed to that of the apartheid past. At the said University, the adoption of the Innovation Generation strategic plan signals another change strategy and ideology informed by innovation – making improvements that are substantially and ideologically different from those of the past legacy in order to be aligned with the transformation imperative of the democratic state.

Understanding institutional cultures in the South African context has been influenced by a global common sense of neo-liberalism as well as by local questions with regards to racial and cultural identities in post-apartheid and post colonial society. According to Higgins:

The current, dominant sense of the term in South Africa understands the institutional culture of higher education institution through the lenses of ‘whiteness critique’. In this perspective, it is argued, institutional culture is above all experienced by black staff and students as the overwhelming ‘whiteness’ of academic culture. ‘Whiteness’ here refers to the ensemble of cultural and subjective factors that together constitute the unspoken dominance in higher education of Western, European and Anglo-Saxon values and attitudes as these are reproduced and inflected in South Africa. ‘Whiteness’ is or can be experienced as an alienating and

disempowering sense of not being fully recognised in or by the institution, and a consequent impossibility of feeling ‘at home’ within it (Higgins, n.d.:106).

In the South African context, the term “institutional culture” is highly contested and politically charged. The above analysis demonstrates that it is closely linked to the impact of the legacy of past racial injustices of black subjugation and white dominance. In this regard, Thaver takes the position that in comprehending institutional cultures:

.... we should be able to uncover various ways in which the racial “politicking” of the old has been transmuted and reconfigured (in other words, how it has been reinvented under the guise of “politically correct” rhetoric and democratic speak and even “nation building” or, alternatively how the old has been challenged and negated and how new modalities are seen to emerge in their stead (Thaver, 2006:25).

For the University of Pretoria, the adoption of the Innovation Generation strategy signals change. Though not an easy process, since it is meant to impact on the whole organisation, it represents a step in the right, and relevant, direction because the institution is attempting to conduct business differently from the past and to address the challenges and realities of the current democratic era in the country.

The adoption of this strategic plan by the university is a distinguishing feature of a complex organisation which is classified in the following manner by researchers such as Bergquist:

Bergquist focuses on archetypes by which numerous institutions might be categorized and described. He hypothesizes that different change strategies would be needed and appropriate within the four different academic culture archetypes that reflect any higher educational institutions – collegial culture, managerial culture, developmental culture and negotiating culture. The collegial culture arises primarily from the disciplines of the faculty. It values scholarly engagement, shared governance and decision making, and rationality, whereas the managerial culture focuses on the goals and purposes of the institutions and values efficiency, effective supervisory skills, and fiscal responsibility. This contrasts with the developmental culture, which is based on the personal and professional growth of all members of the collegiate environment. Lately, the

negotiating culture values the establishments of equitable and egalitarian policies and procedures (Bergquist, 1992, as cited in Kezar, 2002:439).

On the basis of Berquist's classification, and considering the status of the University of Pretoria, it can be inferred that the institution falls under the collegial type. However, the institution does not neatly fit into this category because of the past legacy and the fact that it also contains pockets of the managerial type within it. Although the reformational language and tone and some elements of transformation in the Innovation Generation document might be present and the institution may appear to be a collegial one, its management core continues to be more managerial in nature. Berquist's classification is useful in explaining one aspect of the categorisation of the University of Pretoria. A South African study that also deals with institutional classification is helpful in this regard. According to File, the collegial model is an "open system" subject to environmental changes and internal demands, with integration being achieved by the existence of a shared culture and a community of scholars (File 2000: 32).

The above aspect of collegiality is reflected in the strategic document, in the proclamation of the adoption of a new organisational culture that is inclusive and enabling and is based on the democratic rights and values of the constitution (*Innovation Generation*, 2002:5). The fact that in theory and principle, the University states in clear terms that it values the rights enshrined in the constitution is another positive aspect of the document. However, due to the contested nature and politically charged context of the South African higher education environment, the realities and experiences on the ground continue to exhibit aspects of the political model in which, according to File, the institution exhibits a diversity of interests within the institution, lack of shared goals and a common vision; different sectors and groups with differential access to power and resources; and problem solving based on bargaining and compromise (File, 2000: 32). This is due to the power relations and contestations as a result of the apartheid legacy and will continue to exist for some time. While an organisational culture informed by collegiality has a greater chance of promoting the social justice mandate because it is couched in the discourse of an inclusive culture, the probability of achieving institutional collegiality is still in its infancy. It is an ideal that needs to be pursued for the sake of protecting and maintaining a democratic institution.

4.6 Competing Discourses at the University of Pretoria

In revealing other meanings attached to the Innovation Generation, it is useful to employ recent approaches to policy analysis in education that are informed by critical discourse analysis. This form of analysis is used by a number of progressive policy activists, such as Taylor, as an investigative tool to explore change in new times and to promote social democratic goals (Taylor, 2004: 435). A relevant point with respect to the analysis of the document is to consider the kind of language employed in it. The rationale behind this procedure is that language, in the context and times in which the document is written, is used as a vehicle of knowledge as part and parcel of the knowledge based economy – a distinct feature of globalisation (Taylor, 2004: 433). One of the strategic drivers of the document is international competitiveness, whose purpose is to benchmark the institution on an international level (*Innovation Generation*, 2002:5).

Another feature of critical discourse analysis that is useful to employ for comprehending the meaning attached to “Innovation Generation” is its focus, moving beyond ideological critique to other forms of text and discourses that may mark the productive use of power in the face of economic and cultural globalisation (Taylor, 2004:107). Using the lens of such analysis, it is evident that in the institution’s strategic plan, other forms of discourse exist, namely those of neo-liberalism and social justice. The specific values that capture the former are international competitiveness and innovation while those that embody the latter discourse are those of transformation and local relevance. In the said document, there is a juxtaposition of competing discourses, which is a distinct feature of the fluidity of the era of South Africa as a 14 year old democracy. This may be perceived as a positive state of affairs, but for the agenda of the present study it will be positive only if, in the final analysis, the progressive social justice agenda gains supremacy.

A closer examination of the text of the *Innovation Generation* reveals the language and discourse of globalisation and indicates that neo-liberalism is predominant. This is evidenced in the pervasive rhetoric and values of the market in the representation of the text: for instance, most of the strategic drivers reflect certain aspects of market logic

such as technological innovation, focus on excellence, students referred to as clients and performance management systems (*Innovation Generation*, 1-14).

An important question stemming from the strategic document is the extent to which it addresses the government's mandate of transformation and social justice. Indeed, transformation is indicated as one of its important values. In comprehending the meaning attached to social justice in this document, it is important to identify the aspects that are closely similar to social justice as conceptualised in this research. Transformation is one of the values that are identical to social justice as theorised in this study, yet the transformation that is indicated in this document is one that is informed by the organisational culture of neo-liberalism and is therefore more reformative in nature, not promoting transformative radical social justice. Therefore, the discourse of transformation informing the document is not in harmony with the original transformation discourse which was informed by socialist discourse promoting equal distribution and access to all social and economic services. The kind of transformation in the document is reformist, focuses on minimal changes or adjustments and tends to legitimate a neo-liberal project of globalisation. This researcher is weary of an uncritical enthrallment with transformation that is more likely to prejudice the members of the disadvantaged communities and perpetuate existing educational injustices. The tone adopted regarding transformation in the document is neutral.

A further reading of the said document reveals that transformation as a value is embraced and manifested in a variety of ways that attempt to be relevant to the current era of democracy. Although the transformation as conceptualised in the document is still couched in reformist language which points to commitment to the process of modification without fundamental change, the fact that transformation is stipulated as a value indicates a *prima facie* commitment, in principle, to progressive values. The strategic plan as a response to the national systemic change informed by transformation discourse also encapsulates elements of reculturing. According to Fullan, reculturing refers to the process of developing new values, beliefs and norms (Fullan, 1996:422). The aspect of reculturing is significant as a contemporary value of the *Innovation Generation*, because it implies that all academic stakeholders across the generations are

to embrace the value of innovation. This further reinforces the point made by a South African researcher that:

Transformation ...is not about changes in the composition of staff and students, or changes in governance structures or course content (*curriculum*). Essentially, it is about the transformation of the organizational culture and the development and acceptance of new, shared values. This can only be achieved through fundamental changes in the mindset... of all stake holders and role players... (Fourie, 1999:277).

This conveys an important lesson for the *Innovation Generation*: that transformation which impacts on organisational culture needs to bring to the fore both the bottom and top structures in order to communicate. These sentiments are shared by Fullan (1999) in contending that the three strategies that carry a greater possibility of effecting change are networking, reculturing and restructuring. According to Fullan, networking is action orientated and increases the involvement of the majority of stakeholders by means of, for instance, ongoing, multilevel development. Reculturing entails developing new values – transformation. Restructuring concerns changes in roles, and structures and other mechanisms that enable new cultures to thrive (Fullan, 1999:422). Fullan's ideas are applicable to the promotion of social justice because they concern building a new and transformed order at an institution that promotes collaborative work and respects diversity. For the university to fully realise the *Innovation Generation* credo, it needs to reinforce its endeavours of networking, reculturing and restructuring. These are crucial processes that fall beyond the scope of this research and need separate treatment. However, Fullan's analysis is useful in explaining the extent of transformation at the university and how it has met the government mandate of social justice. It enables one to question the role played by the three centres being studied in the process of networking, re-culturing and restructuring so that the university is seen to be meeting the government social justice mandate.

Since the focus of this research falls on the three centres mentioned, in terms of the strategies of transformational endeavour that fulfil the national social mandate, it is proper to comment on how the strategic document treats them. The UPFY is given as an example of transformation: it is perceived as an innovative approach to increasing

access to mathematics, science and engineering by students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Consequently, the UPFY contributes to the human and social capital of the nation by equipping students in mathematics and science for the global knowledge economy. CSA is mentioned in the section on students as an aspect of innovation that contributes to a value driven organisational culture in addressing the university community and other stakeholders affected and infected by HIV and AIDS. These sentiments render the strategic document timely and relevant to one of the most profound challenges of higher education in Africa. The IGWS is referred to under “academic initiatives” as an area of special interest or expertise and research area housed by the faculty of humanities. The institute accordingly adds value to the *Innovation Generation* value of transformation since it focuses on gender – an aspect that is high on both the international and national agendas. The three centres not only embody most of the innovation values, they are also pertinent as agents of change towards furthering social justice goals as envisaged in the present research. The sections that follow will provide a detailed and critical analysis of the three centres. This will constitute an attempt to analyse the extent to which the University of Pretoria is addressing the national mandate of social justice.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief background to the University of Pretoria during the apartheid era and the succeeding democratic dispensation. It has demonstrated that while there are competing discourses at the institution, the dominant institutional culture is a conservative liberal one. This culture tends to favour the interests of the dominant Afrikaner. It has also been shown that the University has embraced certain aspects of transformation in terms of the *Innovation Generation* strategy. The influences of neoliberalism and market ideology have also been shown to be present at the institution. Regarding the conceptualisation of social justice, it is evident that, owing to the dominance of conservative and liberal ideology and the influence of the market, the kind of social justice that is espoused by the university possesses more liberal tones than those of the radical left. It is clear that the institution has not completely shed its conservative outlook.

CHAPTER 5 – ACCESS AS SOCIAL JUSTICE: THE CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA FOUNDATION YEAR PROGRAMME –UPFY

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, various conceptions of social justice and their educational implications were discussed. In summary, these views are the conservative conception of social justice and its utilitarian – confirmatory function, the liberal tradition of social justice and reformation and the radical view of social justice and transformation. The previous chapters also furnished an analysis of the transformation agenda of higher education in South Africa by means of a critical discussion of the transformation pillars of higher education. In this analysis, it was indicated that increased access and broadened participation in higher education comprises one of the policy agendas informed by social justice as one of its goals to redress the imbalances and inequalities of the past. However, the issue of access falls short of promoting radical social justice because it is more fully informed by the neo-liberal paradigm that perceives the economic or market value of access instead of by the holistic and transformation value of access advanced by radical social justice. Consequently, for access to genuinely promote a social justice agenda it also needs to reflect aspects of the radical conception of social justice that informs this study. In chapter four, a brief synopsis of the University of Pretoria and its position on access and the transformation pillars of higher education was provided, and it was shown that the institution is committed to transformation as exemplified in its strategic document regarding the Innovation Generation. However, its stance towards access as social justice revealed conflicting positions dominated by the neo-liberal agenda.

In the present chapter, access to higher education is explored in the case of the University Foundation Year Programme – UPFY. The research question addressed concerns how, and the extent to which, the University of Pretoria has fulfilled the social justice mandate through the UPFY. This will be carried out at a conceptual level, firstly by locating access as a social justice imperative within the broader debates with regards to a global conceptualisation of access in order to illustrate how it complements the agenda of radical social justice discussed in Chapter 2. Secondly, at a more experiential and practical level, the research question will be addressed by means of a critical

analysis of the interview data obtained from the participants in the UPFY case study. Lastly, recommendations on how the UPFY can best fulfil the social justice agenda underlying this study will be furnished.

5.2 Access to Higher Education as a Social Justice Agenda

The achievement of social justice is one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century and education has been noted as a vehicle for accomplishing its objectives to reduce oppression, inequality and other social problems. The rationale for education as a vehicle in this respect is informed by the human capital argument that investment in education is a key to the socio-economic development that would improve the quality of life of all citizens (Schultz, 1970) in the long term. Related to this view of education is the liberal notion that it has also added egalitarian benefits that would promote equality in society (Bowles & Gintis, 2001). The socio-economic and private returns on investment in education are crucial on a global scale and have been the goals of Education for All – EFA (Smanoff, 2002) and the Millennium Development Goals (World Bank). During the current century, the demand for increased access to and participation in higher education is even more urgent owing to the cultural, economical and political importance of the post secondary sector to the future of democratic societies (Giroux and Schmidt, 2004). The importance lies in the fact that this sector continues to build on the great democratic and civil rights struggles of the 20th century which advanced education as a human right with the power to transform society, so that principles of justice become a lived experience for all. In the current era of a knowledge driven society, expanded access to education has become a necessary tool for ensuring social justice. In the South African context, issues of access are similarly crucial to the transformation agenda of higher education and of the state and are embodied in one of the transformation pillars discussed in chapter three.

Studies across the world are in agreement that social justice is a key concern in current educational policy and practice. The achievement of social justice as theorised in this study entails the provision of equal opportunities to all citizens, the promotion of a human rights culture and freedom from all forms of oppression and discrimination as advocated by Young (2000) as well as the liberation of space proposed by Ramphela (2002). Important as it is, social justice is quite complex in its application or

implementation, particularly with reference to education. If we were living in a utopian context, social justice would not be a relevant consideration because all would be treated equally and the socio-economic benefits would be distributed equitably. The reality of the world that we all live in is that people are not equal, resources and the socio-economic system do not promote equality and that these factors render questions of social justice imperative (Clark, 2006:275).

The elements of radical social justice in education are found in the writings of leftist scholars who argue that in the pursuit for a just society there need to be just institutions, curriculum justice and equity pedagogy (Clark, 2006:285). Equity pedagogy involves teaching strategies and environments that help diverse students attain the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to function effectively within a just, democratic society (Banks et al., 1995:152). This implies that, ideally, institutions of learning which promote social justice need to ensure open access, and promote the success of their students. The three progressive discourses that enliven social justice are critical pedagogy, cultural studies and the anti-globalisation movement. The common feature of these discourses is the call for education whose goal is to transform the socio-economic status quo of neo-liberalism and globalisation and recommend socially just alternatives (Hyttén, 2006:222).

In other words, the vision and promise of social justice can be expressed as follows:

First it asks us to uncover, examine, and critique the values and politics that undergird educational decisions and practices, even as we also explore the more instrumental issues of organizing curriculum and instruction. Second, it compels us to challenge educational common sense and to ask important questions about why we do the things we do in schools and who benefits from them. Third, it calls for us to attend to the ways in which schooling often contributes to the creation, maintenance and reproduction of inequalities, particularly along lines of race, class, gender, language, sexual orientation, and other categories, ultimately so we can construct more empowering alternatives (Hyttén, 2006:223).

The above passage illustrates that access to higher education needs to be more empowering and liberating for students so that they can critically question the status quo in order to transform it into better alternatives. Access, as theorised by the radical tradition of social justice, moves beyond the obsession with numbers to a more holistic empowerment of students so that they can make a meaningful contribution to the development of democracy. Thus access needs to be informed by the elements of social justice education.

5.3 The Elements of Social Justice Education Related to Access to Education

Since social justice is crucial and its implementation even more so, Clark argues that it can only gain impetus if it is utilised as a standard against which policies and practices can be judged (Clark, 2006:281). The tangible yet theoretical underpinnings of social justice that promise empowerment and liberation are found in the principles of social justice education, of which four key processes could bring about social justice in any educational environment. According to Bell these are:

- Dialogue;
- Democratic decision making;
- Student centred critical pedagogy; and
- The analysis of oppression and systems of power (Hackman and Rauscher, 2004:4).

In addition to the above, social justice education possesses five components that lead to more equitable learning and critical learning environments:

- Content mastery – factual information;
- Tools for action and social change;
- Tools for personal reflection;
- An awareness of multicultural group dynamics; and

- Tools for critical analysis (of systems of oppression) (Hackman, 2005: 103 - 104).

The abovementioned components enable learners to experience learning in a more holistic manner and empower them to interact with others from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, it enables them to relate their learning experiences to wider and broader socio-economic issues with the purpose of making the world a more just and better place for everyone.

Another educational trend that also encompasses certain theoretical underpinnings of social justice education is Universal Instructional Design (Hackman and Rauscher, 2004:118). Although UID has its origin in architectural and building science with the objective that construction building structures are accessible to all people, when applied to education it means utilising instructional strategies which ensure that the diverse body of students in any one institution can be accommodated (Silver, n.d.:1). Several institutions of higher education around the world have latched on to the notion of UID. The following principles devised at the University of Guelph are instructive:

- Accessible and fair use;
- Flexibility in the use of participation and presentation;
- Straightforwardness and consistency;
- Information is explicitly presented and readily perceived;
- Supportive learning environment;
- Minimise or eliminate unnecessary physical effort or requirement; and
- Learning space accommodates both students and method (University of Guelph, 2003:1-4).

According to Silver, one of the proponents of the theory and practice of UID, the theory thereof is important to higher education because, currently, such institutions receive students from diverse backgrounds with regards to race, gender, class, ethnicity and disability, and in order to accommodate this diverse body of students, they need policies

that support full integration informed by universal social justice (Silver, n.d.:1). In other words, higher education needs to be informed by the theory of inclusion, and social justice, in order to meet the needs of the diverse body of students:

More specifically, UID focuses on educational equity like multicultural education and social justice education, UID is designed to meet the needs of students who have historically been underrepresented, disempowered and oppressed within educational institutions. Furthermore, UID, multicultural education and social justice education call for educational reform as a means for actively engaging all students in the learning process by placing students at the core of educational planning (Pliner & Johnson, 2004:108).

A similar trend or educational theory that promises social justice is inclusive education. In principle, in an inclusive institution, diversity is celebrated and valued, the curriculum and delivery process accommodates all students and conscious steps are taken to ensure that institutional resources are accessed and used equally by all (Nunan et al., 2000:72-73). The main objective of inclusive education at all levels of schooling is to reinforce social good as well as individual benefit by opening up access and further creating an environment that promotes the capabilities of all, culturally and economically (Nunan, 2000:87-86). As noted, advocates of inclusive education are aware that it is a contested terrain which is perceived as unachievable and undesirable by opponents but they maintain that, for the sake of promoting social justice, inclusive education is a more appropriate standard of excellence.

The theoretical underpinnings of social justice and other related educational trends and philosophies such as social justice education, inclusive education, critical pedagogy and universal instruction design, though originating from diverse backgrounds, are united in promoting and opening up access and encouraging the success of all students, regardless of race, class, gender or ethnic origin. The diagram below attempts to sketch this connection.

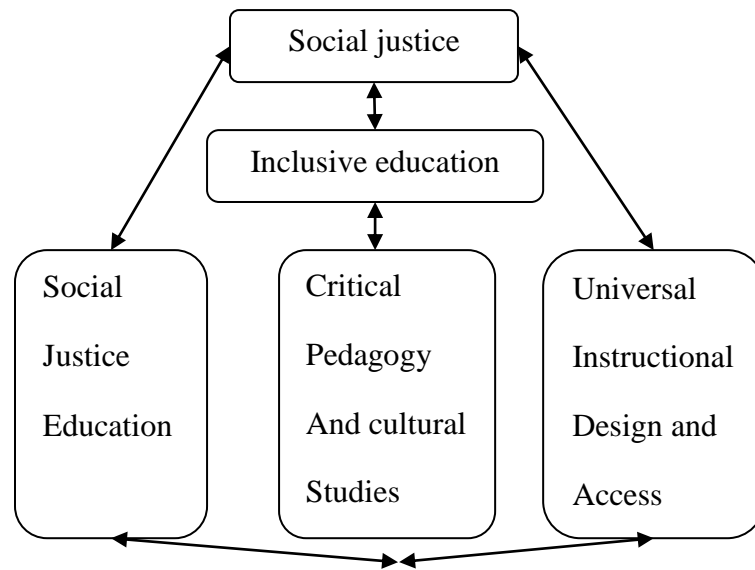


Figure 5.1 – Social justice and related educational theories

In Figure 5.1 I develop a representation of the elements of social justice education which have the potential for facilitating access and the success of students from diverse backgrounds in higher education. The elements encompass inclusivity as opposed to exclusion, and a critical pedagogy, as opposed to the compliance pedagogy associated with conservative traditional education. All these aim to provide empowering and liberating educational encounters while advocating an engaged citizenry and democracy.

Figure 5.1 is also an attempt to illustrate that teaching for social justice must be embedded in teaching and learning encounters in order to promote democracy and overcome oppression at all levels of society, institutional and global, because in contemporary society, both in the West and in the developing world, certain groups are privileged more than others, leading to widespread oppression and some form of complacency on the part of the oppressed and oppressors. In the contexts of these injustices it is imperative for teaching to advance social justice. Teaching for social justice means recognising marginalisation, exclusion and discrimination in their multiple forms and then taking action to interrupt the cycle of oppression so as to foster the quest for social democratic futures for all. This implies infusing social justice into

every aspect of teaching and learning – curriculum, pedagogy and learning as illustrated in Figure 5.1 – in an interconnected manner showing the continuous link between and interrelatedness of the various aspects of teaching for social justice. The position of teaching for social justice that this study supports is in close affinity with the position of leftist scholars such as Freire (1997) and McLaren (2003). In this regard, Freire in the seminal book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1979), written thirty years ago, is still relevant today in arguing that the goal of teaching is to focus on conscientising students to be activists against all forms of oppression and promote social justice. McLaren (2005) in similar vein stressed that teaching for social justice entails the education of students to counteract the oppressive nature of capitalism and advance radical social change.

In this study, I argue that for social justice to be genuinely implemented, the principles of teaching for social justice need to frame the total teaching and learning encounters. Thus the concept of inclusion as prescribed in Figure 2 is to be adopted as a social justice strategy of achieving access and success for all students from diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, inclusion entails utilising UID so that students with diverse learning abilities are accommodated. Social justice education not only entails inclusion but also crucial elements of critical consciousness and awareness of systems of oppression and exclusion, with the goal of emancipation and freedom for all. In this manner, the project of the Enlightenment is furthered through critical consciousness and the quest for freedom. Social justice education is also grounded in the intellectual ancestry of critical theory as discussed in chapter two.

Social justice calls for equity in terms of access, participation and success rates, which has universally formed part of reform efforts in higher education, although to varying degrees. Among the various motivating factors for this call, a prominent one in the context of globalisation is the increased importance of the role of higher education in producing skills for the global economy – furnishing both human and social capital while meeting the social justice mandate of accommodating marginalised groups.

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degrees. Among the various motivating factors for this call, as mentioned a prominent one in the context of globalisation is the increased importance of the role of higher education in producing skills for the global economy – furnishing both human and social capital while meeting the social justice mandate of accommodating marginalised groups.

In response to this call, diverse strategies or programmes emerged in an attempt to mainstream diverse students from marginalised backgrounds. Throughout the world, widening participation in higher education is central to education policies. It involves different types of interventions which Osborne (2003) classifies into three types: in-reach, out-reach and flexible programmes. In-reach access refers to those programmes that focus on recruiting potential students into higher education, for example female learners and learners from disadvantaged and marginalised communities and backgrounds. Out-reach programmes concentrate on partnerships with employers and the community. Flexible programmes refer to access through distance learning, recognition of prior learning and usage of information and computer technologies (Osborne, 2003:43). Other studies on access and participation in higher education refer to the three approaches to access: firstly, the academic trend which seeks to attract gifted and talented young people to traditional higher education, and secondly the utilitarian strand which is influenced by the needs of the market and employers and requires higher education in order to effect change that would meet these needs. Thirdly, the transformative trend calls for higher education to create a transformed and progressive institutional culture that focuses on long-term, institution-wide (not atomised pockets of excellence) access initiatives that value diversity and difference as strong points (Jones & Thomas, 2005: 619).

The transformative approach to access possesses impressive credentials for promoting social justice as envisaged in the current research. However, institutions that have adopted this approach are scarce. One example of a reform strategy that has adopted the transformative approach is the University of Queensland's 2010 Strategy in Australia. This strategy has been praised by proponents of the transformative approach such as Taylor (2003) because according to her analysis it considers and prioritises investment in human capital and social capital equally while employing diverse teaching

approaches to meet the needs of diverse communities. The strategy explicitly adopts an inclusive approach to access: “Building success together” (Taylor & Henry, 2003:350). Furthermore, this approach offers an important lesson for South Africa in its pursuit of increasing access and broadening participation as a transformation pillar of higher education.

In order for an access programme to fulfil the mandate of social justice as theorised in the present study and demonstrated in the literature section as being one of progressive and radical action, it needs to be eclectic with a variety of credentials as illustrated in figure 1 above. The main discourse that informs these credentials is social justice education as it seeks to promote holistic learning experiences that seek to transform the classroom while it critically questions practices and conceptions in society that are contrary to transformation. Accordingly, for institutions of learning to meet the criteria set for social justice, access programmes, no matter what their scale, have been important. The question remaining is whether these programmes fulfil all the criteria set for social justice. The section that follows is an attempt to critically discuss the extent to which the UPFY programme does so.

5.4 University of Pretoria Foundation Year Programme – UPFY

The UPFY as an access programme to mathematics and science at the University of Pretoria is located in the Science Faculty. It was founded in 2000 as a response to the national imperative to increase access and participation, and the increased national demand for skills in these fields. These are regarded as priority skills in South Africa because of a double imbalance in the South African labour market that led to an undersupply of skilled labour in the fields of mathematics, science and engineering and an oversupply in the social sciences (Woolard et al., 2003:459). The national and general scarcity of mathematics and science skills was also particularly reflected among disadvantaged communities, owing to national trends and their marginalisation during the apartheid era. During that era, African students did not meet the entrance requirements to study in the mathematics and science related fields at university because of the sub-standard schooling they received (Howie, 2003:2).

The South African state responded to this economic and labour crisis by instituting policies that aimed at transforming higher education institutions into being socially relevant to the country's needs, particularly with regards to the scarce skills. These institutions responded to this call by developing policies, programmes and practices that allowed students from disadvantaged and marginalised backgrounds access to the said disciplines. Increased access to higher education has been supported as a response to social, political and economic imperatives in many countries. The 1997 White Paper on Higher Education Transformation addressed these concerns as discussed in chapters two and three. In 2001 the National Plan on Higher Education – NPHE, a follow-up policy document – was produced by the government with a view to enhancing the transformation agendas initiated by the White Paper 1997 and drawing attention to the importance of equipping all graduates with skills and qualities required for participation as citizens in a democracy (NPHE, 2001; Waghid, 2002:94). The NPHE produced six broad goals based on previous policy documents regarding higher education transformation. The national plan then further accentuates the importance of the transformation project that higher education is supposed to fulfil, and thereby become relevant to socio-economic imperatives of the country. The NPHE specifically targets skills development for democracy in the global context. For instance, with reference to economic concerns and the scarce skills imperative, the NPHE focused on changes in enrolment in terms of the field of study. This implied an emphasis on increased enrolment in the science, engineering and technology fields and a decrease of student numbers in the humanities, business and commerce fields (NPHE, 2001; Waghid, 2002:93). An equally important target of the NPHE is the enhancement of the cognitive skills of graduates required for participation as citizens in a democratic society and as workers and professionals in the knowledge economy (Waghid, 2002:93). Thus, in order to be socially and globally relevant, the NPHE made provisions for technical and cognitive skills that would enable graduates to function and be relevant in the competitive global context, while being informed by democratic principles.

The context in which UPFY was created was informed by an earlier transformation policy and the following-up of the NPHE. The various aspects of the programme, such as the profile of the manner in which students are taught and of the curriculum, reflect this context and the policy imperatives that were created by it. The environment in

which the UPFY was devised was also informed by debates on the relevance of higher education to the socio-economic needs of the society. This was illustrated in the position of Bawa (2000) in which he argues that against the background of the need to meet the demands of globalisation, South African higher education must create a social contract between the institutions and the public. Bawa suggests that the purpose of the contract would be to build the intellectual foundations of society by focusing on both graduate and undergraduate education, research, industrial partnerships, governance, effectiveness and efficiency. The aspect of the social contract that is of particular interest to this study and the UPFY is undergraduate education. According to Bawa,

Undergraduate education has a vital role of building the foundations for the development of a broad-based indigenous intellectual culture, steeped in a critical democratic ethos. It is a function which, with the State, the higher education sector must maximally and actively widens access to increase participation. It must therefore ensure that it is delivered in the most cost effective ways (Bawa, 2000:7).

The undergraduate education referred to above represents the 18-24 age cohorts. The majority of the students at the UPFY fall into this group, the importance of which, Bawa asserts, lies in the foundations of national development. Some aspects of this social contract are also reflected in the NPHE, in particular, the broad goal of enhancing the cognitive skills of university graduates and of building democracy. The UPFY plays an important role in fulfilling some of the positions advanced in the NPHE and Bawa's social contract. Hence, even though it is small in scale, it plays an important part in fulfilling the political and economic role of higher education.

The overall objective of UPFY is to increase the quality and quantity of mathematics and science students at the University of Pretoria. The UPFY was designed to prepare students from disadvantaged backgrounds, the majority being black, for careers in science, mathematics and technology. The UPFY is an alternative to the historically standard pathway of progression from high school to university with matriculation exemption. The entrance requirements into the UPFY are lower than those of normal university programmes because the programme supplements and improves students' matriculation performance so that there is parity between a university entrance matriculation pass and the UPFY (De Beer & Golpalraj, 2005:1). The duration of the

course is one year: it is designed to allow progression into higher education mathematics and science fields as stipulated in the table below.

The UPFY students are required to write a selection test developed particularly to evaluate a student's propensity towards the subjects mentioned.

Table 5.1 – The UPFY programme

Access courses at UPFY	Admission requirements as per science faculty	
Mathematics	Faculty	Admission requirements
Biology	Natural and Agricultural Sciences	UPFY pass
Chemistry		
Physics	Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology	UPFY pass and a minimum of 65% in chemistry, physics and mathematics
English and Study Skills		
Computer Literacy	Health Sciences and Dentistry	UPFY pass and propensity for the medical profession

Source: (UPFY: www.up.ac.za/academic/upfy/programme.html. Accessed on 2/20/2005).

The table above shows the mathematics and science subjects offered at the UPFY and the mathematics and science requirements as per the science faculty. It illustrates the different faculties into which UPFY graduates feed on completion of the bridging course. An UPFY pass refers to a 60% pass in the basic mathematics and science subjects offered at the UPFY.

The UPFY as an access programme that exists in the current era of progressive teaching and learning methodologies displays certain elements of cooperative teaching and learning techniques. For instance, in a newsletter, the director of the centre expressed these by saying that:

This is new physics; making science accessible to students who did not have the opportunity before, assisting teachers in developing deeper insights in the subject hand in hand with developing better teaching

methods, and sharing the intellectual joy with colleagues has been the leitmotiv throughout my career (UPFY Director, 2005).

The UPFY Programme attempts to correct the teaching and learning deficiencies of apartheid education by using progressive teaching and learning methods which attempt to address the needs of the students as a whole — fostering holistic development while attempting to develop the student’s positive self-esteem (UPFY Programme, 2005:3). The assessment and teaching methods are student centred and practical, and relate to the student’s daily life. The assessment practices are based on Outcomes Based Education and are informed by current research on best practices in assessment (UPFY Programme, 2005:4). Other positive features are the small group/class size, about 25 in each group, the employment of mentoring sessions, career talks and the provision of accommodation by the university (4) (UPFY Programme, 2005:5).²

The nature of the UPFY Programme accomplishes some of the elements of student centred pedagogy at the academic level while also fulfilling the political and economic mandate of affirmative action that seeks to redress the imbalances of the past. The motive of the UPFY, to redress previous injustices, bears similarities with access programmes that seek to broaden the participation of the previously disadvantaged in Western countries (Bibbings, 2006:83). The aspects of affirmative action are contained in the admission policy that requires lower grades and the exclusive admission of black students – “positive discrimination” (Bibbings).

Another related positive attribute of the UPFY is evident in that it accomplishes goals of the transformation and redress agenda in the anti-elitism it signifies. At a glance UPFY can be seen to address elitism because it adds diversity to a historically conservative institution whose dominant culture was based on elitist principles of exclusion. The issue of access as an antidote for elitism in higher education has been researched in the South African context and found to possess positive attributes such as promoting social inclusion and diversity (Ntshoe, 2003:381).

² UPFY students were initially provided with fully sponsored board and lodging at the university residences and were to be fully integrated into the social life of students at the university. But due to financial constraints some of them commute from neighbourhoods around Pretoria and surrounding black townships.

UPFY as an access programme can be viewed as a human rights project. Global research indicates that increased access to higher education has been informed by the human rights discourse (Bibbings, 2006:87). In South Africa, the present educational policy and legislative framework conveys the centrality of human rights standards and intentions by which institutions can inform their educational principles (Keet, 2002:30). This implies that UPFY fulfils the human rights mandate by extending the educational rights of the participants so that they are granted the opportunity to fully develop their potential.

5.5 Policy Implementation

This section presents the results of the study in three sections: key findings, the findings as they relate to each research question, and additional findings not anticipated in the original design. In many parts of this section, the researcher includes actual statements from the interviews with participants in order to illustrate significant themes or connections.

The main finding with reference to the theme of policy implementation is that UPFY plays a crucial role in fulfilling the access mandate of the state, particularly since it focuses on enhancing the disadvantaged student's skills in mathematics and science. Furthermore, the responses obtained from the interview data share a common feature, that of characterising UPFY as a redressing of the apartheid educational legacy. The interpretation below reflects the sentiments illustrating UPFY as an access and redress programme.

At management level, the director of UPFY argued that the project's aim is to redress apartheid and fulfil the access mandate of the government, particularly in the engineering, science and technology fields. This illustrates that the broader policy of increasing access to higher education is owned and supported by people at management level.

At implementation level, the statements of all the six facilitators were in harmony with the management sentiments. The main purpose of the UPFY, as indicated, is to address the needs of disadvantaged students by opening up access to the mathematics, science,

engineering and technology fields. The following digest of responses obtained from five of the facilitators is illustrative.

- UPFY mainstreams disadvantaged students into mathematics and science — Physics
- UPFY increases the number of blacks at UP: as regards access and success — Chemistry
- UPFY bridges the gap between schooling and varsity — Mathematics
- UPFY helps previously disadvantaged students — Biology
- UPFY empowers previously disadvantaged students — Life skills.

The above statements further reflect an understanding of radical social justice and social justice education (Hackman & Raucher, 2001). For example, inclusion as an element of such education is highlighted by the emphasis on opening up access to those that have been previously disadvantaged.

5.6 Role of Project Managers

This section reports on the analysis of the responses to the question, “*What is your role in the broader mission of UPFY?*” The question regarding the role of each facilitator or project manager revealed how each of them had personalised their contribution to the broader mandate of contributing to the access and success of students at UPFY. An examination of the vertical line or row of learning facilitation revealed that the word “teach” was the dominant action word used by most facilitators in describing what they do with reference to their respective subjects. This response made it appear as if the dominant mode of classroom interaction is the traditional instruction paradigm of teaching, as opposed to the learning paradigm that evidences elements of progressive teaching. It would have been of great concern if their responses had ended there.

However, a number of facilitators further qualified their teaching role with phrases such as, “teaching for understanding”, “designing a bridging curriculum”, “enhancing student’s knowledge in mathematics and science”, “making use of a constructivist approach to teaching and learning” and “encouraging critical reasoning in students”.

There is little doubt that the participants consider themselves as teachers first and foremost, but of interest are the qualifications they ascribed to their teaching roles. The descriptive roles illustrate that their role is to help students learn – focusing on learning. These roles have characteristics similar to the OBE methodologies that have been adopted in the country since 2000 (Lubisi, 2000). With reference to the teaching methodologies used at UPFY, adopting a constructivist approach to learning and teaching was also prominent. This further resembles certain aspects of the OBE teaching and learning methodologies.

The facilitation of the student's involvement in academic development emerged as a role that is common to most facilitators. In this regard, they viewed themselves as mentors, role models in the "rare" field of mathematics and science whereby they guide the student on a path to success. In this role they provide motivation sessions as a means of empowering students for success in the field. They also facilitate the bursary application process so that those who do not enjoy financial support can obtain assistance from sponsors.

As a result of the three roles, the enhancement of the student's holistic development is clearly evident. The facilitators develop the cognitive, emotional and material needs of the students; hence, at UPFY, most learning facilitators are more than merely teachers; their role is extensive.

However, in their statements most of the facilitators did not make reference to their roles as intellectuals who are aiming at the goal of questioning the context of their teaching and transforming it. From the perspective of radical social justice, this is a crucial function because intellectuals have a dynamic role to play in this regard, in the process broadening democratic possibilities. What is missing is Giroux's position with regards to radical intellectuals:

On the one hand, radical intellectuals earn a living within institutions that play a role in producing a dominant culture. On the other hand, radical intellectuals define their political terrain by offering students forms of oppositional discourse and critical social practice at odds with the hegemonic role of the university and the society which it supports (Giroux, 1988:151).

Giroux further develops the notion of radical and transformative intellectuals who may emerge from any social class, with the goals of resisting the suffocating knowledge and practices of capitalist conditions of oppression (Giroux, 1988: 152); therefore, in terms of the perspective of radical social justice, the roles of the facilitator are presented as being neutral and fulfilling the agenda of the hegemonic ruling class. In order for the state of affairs to be more conducive to radical social justice, there is a need for the re-education of facilitators in the dynamics of critical pedagogy and the role of transformative intellectuals.

However, some of the input of most of the facilitators regarding their role in the facilitation of learning reveals certain elements of social justice education, though to a limited extent. In their utterances, there are aspects of student-centred critical pedagogy (Hackman & Rauscher, 2000). They express a sense of putting the students first in the learning process and guiding them in the mathematics and science fields. In this regard, aspects of social justice education which are dominant and clearly evident are student-centredness and critical thinking. This illustrates that while the facilitators may possess some understanding of progressive teaching methods; this understanding does not go beyond student-centredness and critical thinking to include aspects such as an awareness of oppression and systems of power, and engaging with diversity and dispositions to transform oppression so as to promote a socially just world. Given this state of affairs, it would be of great benefit for the future if UPFY were to explore the possibilities of familiarising facilitators with other aspects of social justice education.

In spite of the above, not all facilitators are alike in adopting the indicated neutral or apolitical stance towards classroom experiences. Only one discerning voice reflected elements of resistance, and the political nature of classroom encounters and a university learning environment as a whole, by indicating that the UPFY course has been “buggered” for profit making (Mathematics Facilitator). Since most facilitators operate in a university context, by virtue of their being intellectuals, their role falls short of fulfilling the radical social justice agenda. Most of their utterances were silent with regards to the role of engaging and changing the lives of the students and the society in which they live. The position of critical pedagogy on this matter is that teachers and students should become the chief mechanism for social change and that this can only

take place when the subjective positions of students are taken seriously (Giroux, 1988:152).

5.7 Conceptualisation of Social Justice

Social justice as conceived by the participants from the UPFY reveals the complexity of the concept in theory and practice. However, points of commonality were displayed by them. These were concerned with social justice being fulfilled by the UPFY mandate to ensure access and the success of previously marginalised groups. The overall meaning attached to this process has to do with correcting the educational injustices of the past with respect to policies and practices. Succinctly, social justice could be viewed as “getting learning right”.

According to the director, the UPFY focuses on addressing the access problem by:

Admitting students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The Programme provides quality training with the best trained teachers in the best available facilities and resources. It is an ideal Programme addressing the needs of disadvantaged students (2004).

The director further added a critique of social justice. According to him, the concepts “disadvantaged and social justice” need to be re-assessed because the status of being disadvantaged has changed during the 14 years of democracy.

The conceptualisation of social justice by the five facilitators added an illustrative dimension that relates more to the practice of social justice and “getting learning right”. These goals would involve “empowering students with a humane culture, empowering students through the enhancement of their knowledge, promoting diversity tolerance by making the University of Pretoria more culturally and demographically representative, and making transformation a real lived experience of everyone”. Added to these responses was the mention of re-educating the whites about teaching black students, addressing white cultural dominance and dealing with the conservative Afrikaner culture. In facilitating the process of learning about other cultures, the UPFY could benefit by using the mechanism for creating a multicultural and social justice organisation suggested by Anner (2000). In this regard, a mechanism that would be

appropriate is to build personal relationships between members from different backgrounds.

The language and discourse of empowerment and transformation permeated most of the responses. According to the physics facilitator, social justice is complex to define and practise; upgrading the socio-economic status of the marginalised and turning their disadvantaged status into that of being advantaged could be viewed as social justice. In the educational arena, social justice would entail a re-education of the African child by broadening her/his knowledge of career choices and encouraging him/her to take up careers in rare fields such as mathematics and science (Physics Facilitator). This implies that social justice education promotes the demystification of science by making it popular and accessible to more students, particularly those from marginalised communities. This position is in line with the inclusive nature and broadened knowledge conception of social justice advanced by Odora-Hoppers (2001).

Related to the above, the Chemistry and the Life Skills facilitators expanded on the social and personal dimension of social justice. The chemistry facilitator used another educational and practical example of social justice in referring to building the confidence of African children: addressing their false inferiority complexes and enabling them to perceive that their worth is equal to that of any other student. Social justice would also entail educating black students with regards to diversity and survival skills on campus. The life skills facilitator views social justice as a process that would lead to inculcating the values of good citizenship in African children. Empowering African children and assisting them would also constitute social justice. While the personal and social dimensions mentioned above contained some relevant aspects such as empowerment and good citizenship, they fall short of the liberatory and emancipatory possibilities of radical social justice.

The mathematics facilitator provided an illustrative account of social justice relating to education transformation — promoting participatory and democratic curriculum planning:

So it is pointless by saying that I transform my unit by including the majority of blacks, when the majority of that staff have no effect on the policy, no effect on the direction of the course (2005).

Although the mathematics facilitator mentioned the relevant elements of social justice, there were contradictions in his statement. This emerged in the mention of transformation being pointless because of the lack of decision making powers on the part of black staff and the difficulty in paying fees experienced by the UPFY students. His statements illustrate the manifestation of powerlessness as a face of oppression, in Young's (2002) terms. This implies that although the majority of staff at the UPFY are black graduates, they still lack decision making powers with regard to policy and financial issues and are therefore marginalised. Furthermore, this practice indicates the intentionally limited commitment to change. Instead, UPFY is more committed to the culture of compliance although the experiences of some of the staff members do not reflect any transformation. In terms of institutional cultures, the sentiments reveal Higgins' (n.d.) description of the institutional culture of higher education as being one of white dominance, as experienced by most blacks. What can be deduced from this is that the mathematics facilitator is situated in a contradictory position, with a disposition that is counter to the dominant white and Western culture.

According to this facilitator, social justice is reflected in the ethos and dynamics of the UP but requires further transformation and "letting go" of the apartheid past, particularly the practices that counteract social justice and promoting those that encourage it. According to him, qualities that foster it include:

- cultural recognition;
- uplifting the socio-economic status of the marginalised and disadvantaged;
- adopting ideas and practices of progressivism;
- teaching with compassion;
- democratic curriculum planning; and
- addressing the commercialisation of higher education.

The sentiments of the five facilitators reflect a variety of conceptions of social justice. Some strands of the conservative tradition are apparent in the emphasis on social justice as being redistributive of socio-economic benefits to the marginalised, while at the same time; certain elements of the radical conception of social justice are evident in the emphasis on democratic curriculum planning, adoption of progressive ideals and empowering the African child with principles of good citizenship. These ideals are similar to those of radical educators, such as Giroux's position that education should be for the public good informed by principles of democracy and social justice (Giroux, 2004). Subsequently, it can be inferred that the facilitators at the UPFY are a mixed group who evidence sentiments of progressive social justice, even though this is in its infancy here. Hence, in order for this form of justice to be nurtured, much work is required in this regard.

5.8 Intended Outcomes of the UPFY

The general responses of the participants to the question on the outcomes of the UPFY further reflect the broad policy intentions, noted earlier, of increasing access and the success of previously marginalised groups in the mathematics and science fields. Some of the responses relate the outcomes to macro issues such as contributing to the socio-economic development of the country and the promotion of South Africa's self-reliance in certain scarce skills.

The responses further revealed the broad nature of the programme, in the mention of cultural transformation and the equal ownership of the University of Pretoria by all stakeholders, the adoption of an inclusive culture, the promotion of openness and transparency. Such outcomes were identified by progressive facilitators who identified with the constructivist approach to teaching and learning. At the micro and programme levels, the responses indicated that the educational outcomes include the enhancement of students' study skills, and knowledge in the four fields mentioned. Once the student's knowledge is enriched so as to facilitate her/his success at the university, most participants indicated the following as part of the long-term outcomes of the programme:

- increased numbers of black mathematics and science graduates;

- mainstreaming disadvantaged students in the field of mathematics and science; and
- the enhancement of cultural transformation.

The overall image presented regarding the outcomes of the UPFY ensures positive solutions to the past and current situation of a deficient education system. The intentions of the project, according to the facilitators, are to rise to the scarce skills challenge as revealed by South African research (Woodlard, Kneebone and Lee, 2003). In addition, certain political outcomes are linked to the transformation agenda of higher education in South Africa, for instance, the intention to be accommodative and inclusive of all cultural groups, even the minority cultures. Although this is mentioned in passing, it is a project that the UPFY needs to pursue in future so that it avoids being stigmatised as a “black only” project. In terms of radical social justice, the UPFY as such a project would become a problem because it perpetuates positive discrimination, appears exclusionist and therefore runs counter to certain of the concepts of inclusion. Some of the outcomes of the UPFY stand the chance of perpetuating affirmative action — a new form of apartheid. In terms of the radical position of social justice, this is problematic because any developmental and empowerment initiative needs to target everyone.

5.9 Research

Research as an important function of all the facilitators of the UPFY did not emerge as a concern in the interviews with the majority of them. However, the physics facilitator communicated the following research passion:

- Performance of children in science and technology in the SADC region;
- Demystification of science;
- Simplification of complex concepts in science;
- Teaching physics from the African perspective;
- Making science accessible to African children; and
- Challenging the bias towards social science and humanities in Africa.

The position of the said facilitator with regards to research is broad and focused on the African and Southern African context – that in which the University of Pretoria operates. An important point that he raises is the demystification of science and making it more accessible to African students. This position addresses the commonly held position, influenced by Bantu Education, that mathematics and science are not good for African students.

Addressing the bias towards natural sciences versus the human sciences presents a further important concern which is international in nature. On this issue, radical scholars such as Giroux raise the important issue that the humanities in higher education are being eroded by the emphasis on sciences and business and management sciences (Giroux, 2006). This trend has contributed to the production of higher education graduates that are out of touch with the common good of higher education with reference to democracy and good citizenship.

At the time of the interview, one facilitator indicated that there was no tracer study of the UPFY students once they have entered the mainstream. This is one research area on which the programme could focus.

The research agenda that emerges from the UPFY data indicates that there is great potential for the UPFY to make a meaningful contribution to the field of inclusive education and indigenous knowledge systems as an aspect of social justice (Odora-Hoppers, 2001), a field that the UPFY could latch on to in order to be socially relevant to the South African society. The sentiments of the physics facilitator also reflect the positions of other researchers with regards to research in higher education in a transformed context. For example, Waghid states that:

Transformation in higher education involves a process of new knowledge production, reflexive action, which means seeing new problems and imagining new ways of approaching old problems, and deconstruction or reconstruction or constant exploration beneath surface appearance “to respond to a future that cannot be imagined” (Waghid, 2002:459).

What is evident in the above quotation is a broad research agenda that seeks to address new ways of doing things. In this context, there is room for unlimited exploration and discovery of diverse research topics such as inclusive education and social justice education.

5.10 Challenges

The data point to inadequate financial resources as the most overwhelming challenge, which inhibits the full implementation of the UPFY access programme. Financial inadequacies manifest themselves as poverty at the societal level. For example, the poverty stricken background of students was frequently mentioned as a major problem. At the institutional level, the centre is also experiencing financial difficulties. The centre attempts to address these financial issues by assisting students to acquire sponsorship; but sponsors are hard to come by.

A further challenge was related to the management of the University of Pretoria: This was identified as a lack of proper vision and the misinterpretation of employment equity.

... if they continue to disguise empowerment by continuing to employ more white women, which fits employment affirmative action criteria and say this is our actual employment figures this year... But also when you look at the staff that we have now, we have 32% of black staff. Is that staff happy? Do they feel part of this University; do they feel welcomed in this university? And by and large the wealth and the resource that it has, the real property is not the buildings, it is the intellectual property that it has. It is the people that it has and it is the staff members, and if the staff is unhappy, the productivity will be negative. So these are the challenges, the challenges of the people who do not want to change which means the university will not change (Mathematics Facilitator, 2005).

It can be deduced from the above quote that most black staff at the UPFY are generally not happy with the pace of transformation and the implementation of policies such as the Employment Equity policies. They experience the negative impact of an organisational culture that is hostile to transformation and to fully correcting the injustices of the past. As valuable assets and intellectuals they perceive the proclaimed change as non-change. The sentiments in the quote also reflect their view that the institutional culture of

universities in South Africa mirrors white dominance and the concomitant lack of power that blacks possess to change the state of affairs.

Their experiences further reflect the issue of the mismatch between policy outcomes and expectations: that is, among the outcomes of the transformation policy are pockets of resistance to change and ethnocentricity which clash with the expectations of a united democratic rainbow nation. This scenario is manifest in a number of settings in the country.

The common educational challenges mentioned were the lack of preparedness of learners for tertiary education by the schooling system. This problem, according to most of the facilitators, manifests itself in other challenges such as the students' inadequate background in mathematics and science, lack of exposure to the field and very low academic literacy. As far as the director of the centre is concerned, the challenges that face the UPFY, in this regard, can be classified in terms of financial need, English proficiency, and family issues. All these factors affect the skills that are needed by students in order to cope with the tertiary learning environment.

The cultural integration challenge also emerged as a significant factor. This was to be expected, given the fact that the UPFY is a programme in a historically conservative white institution which evidences traces of segregationist ideology as opposed to that of "multiculturalism" or the "melting pot" metaphor. This challenge is evident in the persistent culture of white entitlement, resistance to change and the marginalisation of black staff members from policy making.

In other words, although the UPFY is attempting to be a microcosm of a transformed democratic society, the "rainbow-nisation" process continues to meet with major problems. The experiences of most of the facilitators, especially those who are black, indicate that white conservative Afrikaners still wish to maintain the core and dominance of their culture.

The challenges that the UPFY faces as it implements the access and success mandate of the government are manifold and interrelated. These illustrate the magnitude of the

socio-economic injustices that continue to plague the marginalised and disadvantaged communities, even fourteen years after the start of the democratic dispensation. At the educational level, the challenges seriously compromise the teaching and learning culture and are most likely to compromise the access and success mandate.

In further explaining the challenges that the UPFY faces, it is useful to employ McLaughlin's (1998) concept of an implementation problem, which refers to a situation where policies are not being implemented as planned (McLaughlin, 1998:81). In the case of the UPFY, for instance, the original plan was to offer full sponsorship for all the students, but as time passed, this became a problem: full sponsorship could not be sustained. Once again, the financial commitment of the university towards redress is placed under question. It also illustrates another important development in higher education (see chapter four) regarding the impact of market logic or the commodification of higher education services (Apple, 2005). It appears that the university has been affected by this to such an extent that it has lost touch with the needs of the students from poverty stricken backgrounds. This could explain the dwindling financial contribution of the university management to the UPFY programme.

5.11 Addressing Challenges

Policy outcomes are far from matching educational expectations, mainly because of insufficient or no implementation. The reason most education policies are not implemented is that they are vaguely stated and the financing implications are not always worked out (Psacharopoulos, 1989).

The above statement was made 20 years ago and it still applies today even in the case of the UPFY. As has been indicated, the main challenges regarding the full implementation of the UPFY are financial. Therefore, making a strong financial commitment to the programme would contribute to its smooth and full implementation. This solution was included in the responses of most of the participants.

Educational reform policies in South Africa have been dominated by attempts to meet a high level of needs for "person power" and to employ the discourse of transformation to

fulfil the other needs of the new democracy. At institutional level, these reform efforts as reflected in various projects, like the UPFY, encountered various challenges that exerted a negative impact on their full implementation.

In addressing these challenges various solutions have been suggested by the facilitators. Most of the solutions are on the lines of reinforcing the UPFY mission so that it continues to fulfil its mandate of providing access to the previously disadvantaged students in the given fields.

Since respondents identified the issue that the lack of financial resources presents the greatest challenges, obtaining finance for all the UPFY activities, particularly student bursaries, was suggested as a solution. The main strategies of the director are to acquire funds to address these critical financial needs. Since UPFY is an access programme that is a response to the national mandate to increase access as a social justice imperative, the director argues that there is a need to re-conceptualise both access and social justice since the terms are not clearly defined. According to him, it is through their clear conceptualisation that the programme will be able to meet its outcomes.

It was suggested that the solution to the educational and pedagogical challenges lies in the development of the curriculum and the student as regards academic skills. With reference to curriculum concerns, two aspects emerged, firstly the design of a proper curriculum that is contextualised and is able to increase the student's knowledge quantitatively and qualitatively. Secondly, another interesting point that emerged in connection with the curriculum was that it needs to be informed by the African perspective. The reformed mode of delivering the curriculum emerged as an important solution. In this regard, most of the facilitators suggested that adopting progressive educational strategies on a broader scale would enable students to learn much more. Also of note is the mention of the deployment of constructivist learning theory.

With reference to the academic development of students, most facilitators felt that this programme needs to be reinforced so as to treat the students holistically and to provide the following services:

- Career guidance;
- Aptitude testing;
- Empowerment and motivational programmes;
- HIV AIDS counselling;
- Drug counselling;
- Preparation for the world of work and the world of self-employment; and
- Engaging in research on the performance of African children in mathematics and science.

The above activities are in place at the UPFY and form part and parcel of its normal operations. However, since they have been highlighted they need to be reinforced and a task force assigned so that they can receive proper attention.

The challenges listed by the UPFY staff reflect the broader issues of implementing social justice in a context that is employing a conservative form of social justice. Since the institution as a whole is a neo-conservative liberal university it could be inferred that the conception of social justice dominant at the UP is one that is liberal and reformist. This view does not advocate the transformation of the capitalist status quo as the radical conception does; therefore, perceiving it through a liberal lens, the UPFY is an exemplary project, par excellence. But in terms of a radical social justice perspective, the UPFY still needs to address other challenges such as re-educating the African child about the social relevance of mathematics and science and their role in contributing to a socially just world in a more holistic manner.

5.12 The Uniqueness of the UPFY – Other Emergent Factors

The director of the UPFY stressed that contrary to the common experiences of other centres and programmes on campus, the UPFY is not marginalised. The programme enjoys full management support and is fully integrated into the faculty of science. The success factor of the UPFY during its short experience has been to produce students that are on a par with mainstream students. However, despite the positive attributes above,

the problems of financial needs of the UPFY students remain both consistent and persistent.

5.13 Critical Appraisal of the UPFY

The problems of the UPFY will be treated according to the critical tradition that informs this study. When it is viewed through the lens of the critical theory tradition, a number of contradictions and gaps are apparent in the programme, for example, the danger of stigmatisation, and the mathematics and science bias.

In terms of the philosophy and logic that informs the UPFY as regards the redressing of apartheid educational injustices, there is evidence of certain elements of social justice education as theorised in the current research. For instance, the programme employs individualised instruction responsive to the needs and problems of the student and follows a holistic and inter-disciplinary approach to the curriculum (De Beer & Golpalraj, 2005:1). Individualised instruction is used in conjunction with a student centred approach together with certain aspects of dialogue. These two strategies reflect the sentiment of social justice discussed above (Hackman & Rauscher, 2000). However, the use of progressive education techniques does not entail other aspects such as a critical analysis of systems of oppression and power and the ability of students to act as change agents (Hackman & Rauscher). This implies that students at the UPFY need to be provided with contextualised information that critically engages the dynamics of capitalism and neo-liberalism so as to create better solutions to current problems. For instance, an awareness of how societal, economic, moral and religious values suppress many groups so as to maintain the status quo of the privilege of the advantaged groups, as compared to the disadvantaged groups, constitutes one element of combating the systems of oppression. This would go a long way towards empowering students to question even the very existence of the UPFY. Although there are some pockets of social justice in the UPFY, in order to promote genuine social justice education, it would be advantageous for the programme to explore the possibility of broadening its mandate to include contextualised information with regards to the political economy of capitalism and neo-liberalism and the quest for alternatives to the status quo.

The UPFY project is a microcosm of the wider South African higher education scenario. By addressing the access mandate, the UPFY erects the broad transformation pillar, increased and broadened participation, which is crucial for the relevance of higher education to societal needs. However, the UPFY could also make practical contributions to the enhancement of transformation and to creating an educational institution informed by social justice by adopting some of the mechanisms required to build a successful multicultural and socially just organisation: such as encouraging relationships between members from different groups, fostering social justice activism together with community organisations and confronting white privilege and nationalism (Anner, 2000:494). While the mechanisms stem from a western and American context, it is useful for the UPFY to adapt some of its provisions because they are relevant to addressing the conservative organisational culture of the University of Pretoria that perpetuates marginality, and exclusion from power, of people from disadvantaged communities. In brief, the mechanisms suggest that the university needs some form of re-education to learn about dealing with introducing an organisational culture that is conducive to social justice and inclusion. In this regard, undergoing the process of re-culturing, as suggested by Fullan (1998), would also go a long way towards building a campus climate conducive for the promotion of social justice.

Furthermore, in terms of critical theory and pedagogy, the intellectuals, activists and facilitators at the UPFY need to be explicit about their role if they perceive it as liberating the consciousness and learning of the student, the curriculum, research and all other activities performed by the UPFY. They need to broaden their activity to the wider university context so as to address instances of white dominance in an institutional culture. There must be a critique of this in most of their activities, as well as a critical questioning of the context of their teaching and learning and the extent to which the status quo is liberatory or confirmatory. What has emerged from the data analysis is the limited critique of the context of the university. By critique, the study does not imply the encouragement of a culture of complaint, but the interrogation of dominant practices, hidden and obvious, that threaten to undermine genuine inclusion and the agenda of radical social justice.

5.14 Conclusion

The UPFY Programme is informed by the transformation agenda that advances non-sexism, non-racism, integration and inclusion. By admitting exclusively black students, the UPFY is perpetuating segregation on racial grounds. For this reason, it is in danger of being stigmatised because it is associated with a population group that is perceived as experiencing deficiencies and needing remediation. Instead of being perceived as a developmental programme with a long term impact, it might be viewed as a remedial programme that only exerts a short term impact. Furthermore, there is also the related problem of negative labels accorded to the UPFY candidates that might lead to the programme being a breeding ground for racism, social intolerance, and an extremist culture. Consequently, in the long run, owing to stigmatisation, the UPFY may actually exacerbate the access problem it originally sought to alleviate.

Although the UPFY was created or set up to deal with the problem of scarcity of skills in the natural sciences, a goal which it is fulfilling, the curriculum of the programme communicates a bias towards the natural sciences at the expense of other skills that are essential for the youth to make a meaningful contribution to democracy. The scale and focus of the UPFY Programme are also problematic. A significant difficulty is that it is not an institution-wide programme but can be described as a minimalist model designed and confined to the faculty of natural sciences.

The UPFY can be seen as an access programme that is driven by a mixture of philosophical rationales, from progressive social justice education to economic imperatives and development of skills in science, engineering and technology. These rationales inform the educational institutions of most countries, particularly in the global context where there is a growing need for skills in the said fields. At face value, the programme can also be said to be fulfilling utilitarian needs because it specifically contributes to the production of graduates in mathematics, science and engineering and technology, areas that are earmarked by the market and industry as being important and of value only to the human capital market.

The crucial question to ask is whether the UPFY's rationale is one of social justice and of dealing with the nature of the challenges faced in advancing it. It has been shown

above that the responses reveal that the UPFY has potential for fulfilling the mandate of some elements of social justice. The chapter that follow focused on the case of IGWS and social justice.

CHAPTER 6 – IGWS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

“In theory women’s position in society has been greatly improved – in reality this does not seem to be happening” (Sharita Samuel, 2001).

6.1 Introduction

The central question addressed in this chapter is whether the IGWS fulfils the higher education transformation mandate of fostering social justice through the promotion of gender equality. It is my contention that such equality in South Africa can become socially relevant if guided by radical social policies which promote gender justice. It is also my contention that gender equality, if framed in the language of radical social justice, boasts extremely impressive credentials for promoting human beings from circumstances that enslave them – those of domination and oppression. Its emphasis on human beings as self-creating producers of their own history is remarkable. This point will be argued by locating gender within the broader global developments leading to gender mainstreaming. This is done so as to provide a conceptualisation of gender equality and its links with radical social justice. A consideration of the role of IGWS will be provided to illustrate an appropriate setting and context. This will be followed by a report on the analysis of data that seeks to address the central research question.

6.2 Gender Equality in the Global Debate

The quest for gender equity has been one of the leading priorities on the agenda of nation states and international organizations such as the United Nations during the 20th and 21st centuries. In this search, gender equality activists and feminist scholars have also played a crucial role in trying to advance gender equality and transformation of institutions at national and international level – particularly regarding processes of marginalisation and exclusion. Informed by the human rights culture and the dominant egalitarian and liberal ideologies, most nation states adopted the United Nations’ internationally agreed strategies, standards, programmes and goals to advance the equal status of women and women worldwide (CEDAW 2003:3). The specific examples are found in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1967 and 1979, the United Nations Women’s Decade 1976-1985

and the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995. Social researchers and feminist theorists were also influenced by the United Nations in promoting gender equity, as is evident in the feminist and social theorists' increasing interest in the need to overcome gender based injustices. Research indicates that the quest for gender equality was advanced by various feminist theorists, ranging from liberal to post-modernist. Each of these theories enhanced the understanding of the search for gender equality and made a major contribution to the nation state in promoting equality of this sort (Connelly, 2000; IGWS, 2004; Mannathoko 1999). The uniting concern of most feminist theorists is the promotion of women's equality. They differ only in their strategies regarding how to do so.

The dominant feminist theory which was one of the forerunners of the gender equality movement is that of liberal feminism, which emphasised the equal opportunity of women before the law. It is informed by liberal political theory which is grounded in the twin principles of universal and human rights guaranteed by the rule of law (Molyneaux, 2000:11). 'For liberal feminism, the ideal gender arrangement has tended to be the one in which an individual acting as a free and moral agent chooses the lifestyle most suitable for him or her... Liberal feminism has always had a reformist orientation (IGWS, 2004:25; Connelly, 2000:41) In most nation states, this position has been utilised as a framework for creating machinery and government departments that promote gender equality within the capitalist socio-economic system (Connelly, 2000: 42). For instance, liberal feminists were in the forefront in creating Women in Development – WID (Connelly).

6.3 The Women in Development Agenda – WID

The Women in Development movement (WID) was popular in the 1960s and was informed by the liberal modernisation paradigm which advocated individual rights, freedom of choice, and equality of opportunities for men and women (Gordon, 1996:13). Its main purpose was to reform the position of women by promoting equal opportunities for them in all aspects of the socio-economic and political arena, thus elevating them from the margins to the mainstream of policy (Razavi & Miller, 1995:1) At its height, in the 1970s, the WID movement sought simply to insert women's issues into economic and agricultural development by initiating special projects that focused

on women (True, 2003:370; El-Bushra 2000:55). This agenda also exerted an impact on Africa and the developing world, as evident in liberal socio-economic reforms that attempted to emulate the Western characteristics of the liberal modernisation paradigm (Connelly, 2000: 33). The WID accepted capitalism as a panacea for redressing women's inequality without questioning it. A number of criticisms were levelled against its agenda. For instance, social researchers from Africa criticised it for not adequately accommodating the African context where pre-capitalist formations existed that were not promoting women and development. Socialist feminists critiqued it for contributing to the perpetuation of a cheap labour force in its uncritical acceptance of capitalism (Gordon, 1996:14). Kabeer critiques the WID agenda as pragmatic, non-ideological and pro the capitalist status quo (Kabeer, 1994: 12). WID has also been faulted for being influenced by the modernisation paradigm which does not apply to all contexts, and for being limited to the economic level and not the social aspects of inequality (Parpart, Connelly, and Barriteau 2000:57; Mannathoko, 1999:450).

Due to the limitations of the liberal feminist position, some feminists sought answers for a more nuanced theory of women's development in Marxism, because it had developed a thorough critique of liberalism and capitalism. The primary Marxist position on women and gender inequalities was that these were due to capitalist forms of domination, so that the removal of oppression and domination and the establishment of gender equality would be achieved on the demise of the capitalist system (Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau, 2000:45). However, this approach did not fully address the concerns of women since it regarded the elimination of capitalism as a prerequisite for their liberation. This dissatisfaction with both the liberal and Marxist strands of feminism led to the emergence of radical feminism, which argued that patriarchal domination was the process that had hindered women from development and therefore suggested separate projects for women, thus protecting them from being integrated into the patriarchal world. The extreme radical position was not popular even though it continued to operate in a context in which WID was losing ground, due to its reformist nature.

6.4 The Women and Development – WAD Agenda

The emergence of the Women and Development school of thought was due to the inadequacies of the WID agenda. It was initiated by radical feminist disillusionment with the latter and stemmed from the position of Marxist feminists who insisted that the emancipation of women needed to be preceded by the elimination of the capitalist system and the introduction of socialism (Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau, 2000:59). WAD stressed the distinctiveness of women's knowledge, work goals and responsibilities (Parpart, Connelly and Barriteau 2000: 60). However, WAD was marginalised and did not display much transformative potential due to its smallness in scale and its exclusion of men. It has also been criticised for its inability to challenge the male dominated power structures.

The agendas of WID and WAD have also been faulted by other feminists for being inadequate, particularly in meeting the needs of African and third world women. The WID agenda has been censured for being compatible with liberal capitalism that expresses the sentiments of white western middle class women. It fails to address third world women's economic exploitation through imperialism, racism and poverty (Gordon, 1996:78- 79).

The WAD agenda has been criticised for leaving men out of the development process. Consequently, scholars who advocate African development argue that for genuine gender equality in the third world and Africa, there must be diversity within feminism in order to respond to different women's needs (Gordon, 1996:78- 79). This implies that in the third world, there is a need for a variety of feminist schools of thought ranging from liberal to radical feminism. Such scholars argue that, for African women, gender equality alone is not enough: "Women need justice not only at the household level, but also in the local, national and world economic order... Feminism for the Third world women involves not only women's equal participation in society but a movement for social justice that is inclusive of the entire community and addresses the racism, economic exploitation and imperialism ..." (Johnson-Odim, 1991, cited in Gordon, 1996:79).

6.5 Gender and Development – GAD

Research has demonstrated that during the 1980s political and economic conservatism dominated Western government and donor agencies, which resulted in high debt and increased poverty and gender inequality (Walby, 2000:21), owing to the inadequacies of modernisation as a development paradigm that informed gender equality. The projects of gender equality that had been initiated by the WID and the WAD did not alleviate women's inequality; this led to some feminist and development theorists losing confidence in the two approaches. In turn this lack of faith led to the emergence of the Gender and Development agendas: GAD. This framework is referred to as the empowerment approach. It was founded by an organisation called Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era – DAWN – in 1985. GAD was the brainchild of third world feminists who focused on gender empowerment on the local and global arena (Parpart and Connelly, 2000: 62), but the Gender and Development paradigm was more transformative because it sought to incorporate the gender perspective and to transform the broader socio-and institutional context so as to promote gender justice (True, 2003:370). GAD focused on patriarchal domination and the social construction of gender. Its agenda was broad and holistic in that it focused on the interconnectedness of class, race and gender (True, 2003:370).

In addition to the influence of third world feminism, the GAD approach was also heavily influenced by the experiences of Western socialist feminists. The latter's main argument is that class subordination and the patriarchal system are of equal importance and need to be challenged at the same time (Connelly, 2000:50). The socialist feminists do not isolate gender oppression from political-economic and patriarchal domination in explaining the position of women (IGWS, 2004: 30). Informed by both radical and socialist feminisms, "GAD adopts a two-pronged approach to the study of women and development, investigating women's material conditions and class position, as well as the patriarchal structures and ideas that define and maintain women's subordination." (Connelly, 2000:33)

However, GAD suffers from certain limitations in the sense that it does not engage fully with gender equality on a global scale (True, 2003:370). Because the GAD strategy was informed by socialist feminism, it can be said that other socialist feminists called for

global feminism, in particular Young and “the five faces of oppression”. Young’s position is a more comprehensive analysis of women’s oppression across the globe and applies to most contexts – in the west and in the south. Young calls for the elimination of all forms of oppression in order to achieve true gender justice on a global scale.

In South Africa, the struggle for women’s equality and emancipation was more pronounced in the ANC liberation movement than other circles. South African women were also experiencing similar injustices to those of other women from the rest of the world but their case was unique because of the apartheid regime. According to Bozzoli, “...all women suffered from some form of discrimination on the basis of sex. Black women carry the burden of a triple oppression of race, class and gender” (Bozzoli, 1983:139). For the emancipation of women, the ANC in the 1990 advanced the view that “experiences of other societies have shown us that the emancipation of women is not a by product of the struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism. It has to be addressed in its own right within our organisations, the mass democratic movement and in our society as a whole” (ANC, 1990).

In South Africa, the feminist discourse that played a large role in formulating the agendas of the WID, WAD and GAD was initially treated with suspicion, particularly by some black progressives, because they perceived it as a white, middle class bourgeois import offering very little hope for black women (Karamarae & Spencer, 2000:230). Another factor that contributed to the downplaying of feminist discourse was the fact that owing to the urgency of the liberation movement, inequalities in terms of gender were obscured (Karamarae & Spencer, 2000:239). However, the ANC continued to promote gender equality as important.

6.6 Gender Mainstreaming

The end of the 20th century and the dawn of the 21st century ushered in new socio-economic dynamics in the process of globalisation that led to the re-emergence of the gender mainstreaming agenda. The concepts take their origins from international texts of the United Nations Third International Conference on women in 1985, when the debate on women in the role of development was discussed. It was adopted during the United Nations Fourth International Conference on women in 1995 as the Beijing

Platform for Action. Currently, gender mainstreaming is the main strategy used for achieving gender equality nationally and globally (Moser & Moser, 2005:11). In this strategy, there are strands of both the dominant paradigms of WID and GAD, particularly in the focus on gender equality. Gender mainstreaming does not aim at replacing the existing policies that were informed by the WID and GAD agenda but aims to complement them. It operates hand in hand with other policies to reach the goal of gender equality (The Council of Europe, 2003:2). The most widely used definition of gender mainstreaming is that of The Council of Europe: “gender mainstreaming is the (re) organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes so that gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making” (The Council of Europe, 2003:2): a process of productive engagement.

The gender mainstreaming paradigm attempts to promote gender justice by establishing a gender equality perspective across all areas of policy. According to True:

...it is a strategy to reinvent the process of policy design; implementation and evaluation by taking into account the gender specific and often diverse interests and values of differently situated women and men. Every policy or piece of legislation should be evaluated from the perspective of whether or not it reduces or increases gender inequalities (True, 2003:371).

Gender mainstreaming as a strategy was adopted and used to inform policies of international organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union and national governments such as that of the newly democratic South Africa (Woodward, 2001:7; CDE, 2004).

Gender mainstreaming is also perceived as a new form of political practice and theory. It chimes with the gender equality project of feminist discourses owing to its progressiveness. According to Walby, “gender mainstreaming is a new development in feminist practice that seeks to normalize policies for gender equality... it is also a feminist strategy that draws on and can inform feminist theory” (Walby, 2005:466). Its novelty lies in its focus on transnational and global processes and transformations of the discourse of universal human rights (Walby, 2005:453). According to Walby, “it is

situated within the development of transnational global politics, of multilateral forms of governance such as the United Nations and trans-national polity of the European Union, as well as the development of a diverse global discourse of human rights that transcend country boundaries, each of which have disparate outcomes when in articulation with country differences” (2005: 339). Even progressive African feminists identify with the sentiments of gender equality and mainstreaming projects, particularly in their critique of neo-liberalism, neo-colonialism and globalisation (Riandriamaro, 2003:44 and Tripp, 2003:233).

Gender mainstreaming is an essentially progressive norm, but it is contested in theory and practice due to its enormous scale (Hannan, 2000, cited in Woodward, 2001:7; Perrons, 2005:390; Walby, 2005:321; Gottfried & Reese, 2003:3). However, its impressive credentials are limited because research shows that there have been challenges such as inconsistency in implementation and lack of consensus as regards assessing the impact of gender mainstreaming (Moser, & Moser, 2005:11). Hence there is a great need for research evaluating such an impact.

The attractiveness of gender mainstreaming inheres in its holistic approach to gender equality: in proposing to introduce a gender equality perspective to all policies at all levels of governance. This does not signify that the targeted gender equality policies and state mechanisms for delivering them are to disappear, but it does mean that an overarching gender mainstreaming strategy is intended to complement domestic policy approaches to gender equality that are in place. Hence the significant role that independent and autonomous woman and gender studies programmes play in promoting gender mainstreaming, as will be shown in the sections that follow.

6.7 Gender Mainstreaming Strategy in South Africa

The approach that South African policy makers have adopted with reference to gender mainstreaming is based on the South African Constitution. In South Africa, mainstreaming initiatives have sought to create a focal point for gender in the form of the Commission for Gender Equality: CGE. The mandate of the CGE is based on the constitution and its brief is to promote gender equality.

The functions of the Commission are to:

- Monitor all organs of society to ensure that gender equity is safeguarded and promoted;
- Assess all legislation from a gender perspective;
- Commission research and make recommendations to parliament and other authorities;
- Educate and inform the public;
- Investigate complaints on gender-related issues;
- Monitor South Africans' progress towards gender equality in relation to international norms.

(Commission for Gender Equality 2006:1)

The establishment of the Commission offers an indication that South Africa is concerned about and committed to promoting gender equality. Established in 1997, the CGE was timely, following the 1995 UN Beijing conference on women. The CGE sought to highlight the importance of mainstreaming or integrating gender equality in all spheres of society. In South Africa it has integrated mainstreaming policies and strategies into all sectors of the economy and continues to oversee the compliance of all sectors with this policy imperative.

The following analysis is illustrative of the contribution that the adoption of the gender mainstreaming paradigm has recently made to South African society:

Ten years after democracy in South Africa, it is possible to point to significant strides that have been made socially, economically and politically in terms of gender equity. The constitution, the Bill of Rights, legislation in all departments and use of quotas as a mechanism to improve gender inclusivity reflect the commitment to gender equality and non-sexism in government and civil society organizations (Chisholm & September, 2004:1).

Gender mainstreaming in South African education also gained its momentum after the adoption of the 1995 Beijing platform of action. In the same year the Ministry of Education appointed a Gender Equity Task Team: GETT. Its main aim was to advise the government with respect to the establishment of a permanent gender equity unit. The results of the recommendations of GETT led to the Ministry of Education adopting three principles that advanced gender equity:

- Mainstreaming gender;
- Capacity building for gender equity implementation;
- Reduction of gender based violence and harassment in education (Pandor, 2004: 10).

The concerted attention given to gender equality in the education arena indicates the heightened visibility of women's issues in general as well as the promotion of the human capital discourse and its philosophy of investment in education as a key to socio-economic development. Furthermore, it demonstrates that concerns with gender equality are (by now) well-charted territory because these do not end at national (state) level but trickle down to all state departments, and, with reference to education, also to all institutions of learning and other educational stakeholders such as community organisations. This is particularly pertinent at tertiary level, since these institutions contribute to women's quantitative and qualitative participation as part of building human capital.

As a result of the new democratic dispensation in South Africa, the state has adopted a comprehensive reform of social policy with reference to gender, informed by the principles of democracy, human dignity, political, economic and social justice. This prompted a variety of progressive scholars to devote their attention to analyzing and explaining the extent to which government social policies are promoting the transformation agenda of the democratic dispensation in general and the gender equity agenda in particular. This impetus came from varying scholars locally and globally whose sentiments identified with the anti-apartheid and the feminist movements (Siedman, 1999:289). Social research reveals both the contributions and contradictions

which the state and feminist driven gender equity and mainstreaming agenda have produced. The positive aspects are evident in a number of theoretical and concrete developments. According to Siedman, South African feminist activists constructed a broad picture of women's interests, informed by their participation in the grassroots and mass democratic movement and the discourse of international feminism (Siedman, 1999: 290). In similar vein, Meer asserted that South African women used the non-sexist stance of the liberation struggle era to ensure that gender equity was enshrined in the constitution and promoted gender mainstreaming in the new state (Meer, 2005:44). This sentiment towards gender equality indicated that South Africa is embracing a more holistic view of women's issues.

The positive fruits of promoting gender equality are even seen as inspirational and exemplary for other countries.

South Africa is a stellar example of what women can achieve during a democratic transition. South Africa's dramatic and impressive achievements have been an inspiration to activists and feminist scholars... New to parliament, they nevertheless accomplished much: the government approved the highest of international women's rights standards available, women's constitutional equality and reproductive rights were enhanced, new attention was paid to gender equality in the economy, and new institutional forums were established to ensure government accountability on gender issues (Walsh, 2006: 85).

Hence the gender equity and mainstreaming paradigm resulted in women's voices and influence having an impact at the highest levels of government, thus championing the fight for gender justice.

Another positive aspect is the contribution made by a vibrant South African feminist movement, as evident in the publication of the feminist journal *Agenda*.

Agenda has always attempted, through the copy, to contribute towards the development of a South African feminism. In the early years, reacting against the perception that feminism was only relevant to white western and middle class women the first 10 issues were deliberately focused on the socio-political and economic reality of being a black woman in South Africa. The copy was selected to demonstrate that all aspects of life were influenced by gender (in relation to other social

dynamics) and not only those traditionally identified as “women issues” such as contraception, abortion and rape, domestic violence and sexuality (Friedman, 2004:11).

Agenda’s focus in promoting South African feminism is evidenced by the calibre and intellectual status of its contributors. For instance, Professor Amina Mama, one of Africa’s leading contemporary feminist activist scholars, views engagement with gender mainstreaming as a tool that empowers women to stop intellectual and epistemic violence against women (Mama, 2001: 63).

The presence of a vibrant critical feminist discourse and publications such as *Agenda* created an environment for developing networks and interest groups. This environment facilitated the roles of the CGE at national level, the GETT at departmental level and that of various institutes for gender and women at certain institutions of higher learning, for instance the IGWS at the University of Pretoria. Thus the significance of the liberatory nature of the intellectual work that women came to be engaged in was elevated and shifted from the margins to the mainstream. Consequently, from the perspective of Mama (2001) the intellectual space was transformed and made to serve the collective interests of women and gender equity.

However, some scholars warn that the process of democratisation during the liberal moment in South Africa offers its own challenges.

...democratisation, even at its pinnacle is full of opportunities and stumbling blocks for women. Although South Africa is indeed an example of woman’s breakthrough to state power and the public sphere, analysis reveals the extraordinary challenges women face in attempting to participate fully in public life even at an ideal moment in the most celebrated case. South Africa serves thus as a sobering reminder that democratisation in the best circumstances presents serious limits for those hoping to enter, speak, and be heard in the newly opened public sphere (Walsh, 2006:106).

Women equally face challenges as regards the process of democratisation and gender mainstreaming. Although gender mainstreaming has been hailed as an impressive strategy for achieving gender equality, it faces a fair amount of criticism emanating from the West, but applicable to most contexts. Researchers point to the fact that while

it has created impressive guidelines, no single blueprint is available for best practices. An equally important shortcoming is the fact that gender mainstreaming does not promote any substantive equality because it focuses on integrating women into existing policies without informing these policies by means of current feminist or gender theories (Guerrina, 2002: 1). It has also been critiqued for being overly rhetorical, displaying the following features:

- A method without any specific outcome and funding;
- Contradictory objectives;
- Targets – does not always address the most important gender problems;
- No sanctions – efforts to solve gender problems dependent on the political priorities in the member state (Mosesdottir, 2005:10).

6.8 Evaluating South African Performance in Gender Equality

The South African state meets the criteria for evaluating gender mainstreaming progress 10 years after Beijing which were developed by Moser, one of the forefront gender scholars and activists. These consist of the following four stages:

- Adopting the terminology of gender;
- Putting a gender mainstream policy in place;
- Implementing gender mainstreaming;
- Evaluating or auditing the practice of gender mainstreaming (Moser & Moser, 2005:11; Moser, 2005:5).

According to international research, the evidence to date suggests that there have been greater advances in some stages than others. Thus widespread consensus exists with respect to stage one, embracing the terminology, as well as stage two, putting a gender policy in place. Progress has been less where stage three is concerned, implementing gender mainstreaming, or stage four, evaluating or auditing the practice in institutions (Moser, 2005:585). South Africa as a signatory to the Beijing platform of action has

performed fairly well. The South African Constitution and the work of the CGE illustrate the state's positive acceptance of the gender mainstreaming terminology and development of a gender policy. Progress is slow in realising stage number four: that of evaluating and auditing gender in practice.

Table 6.2 – Summary of South African gender statistics

INDICATORS	RATIO/ (YEAR)	RATIO/ (YEAR)	2015 MDG TARGET	PROGRESS TOWARDS TARGET
Ratio of girls to boys (girls per 100 boys) in:				
Primary education	98:100 (1994)	96:100 (2001)	Equal access to primary education for boys and girls	Have already attained
Secondary education	118:100 (1994)	112:100 (2001)		Have already attained target
Tertiary education	92:100 (1994)	116:100 (2001)	Equal access to secondary education for boys and girls	Have already attained target
Ratio of literate females to males (15-24 years)	111:100 (1996)	109:100 (2003)	Equal female to male ratio	Have already attained target
Share of women in wage employment in non-agricultural sector	41% (1996)	43% (2001)	Equal access to employment	Slow
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	26 (1994)	33 (2004)	Equal access to public office	Potentially should reach target

United Nations (2005:20).

South Africa's performance with regard to the promotion of the Millennium Development goal of promoting gender equality by 2015 is also illustrative of the country's remarkable achievement in the realisation of some of Moser's stages. The country's performance in this regard is important because the MD goals were a target set for members of the United Nations to address pertinent global problems stemming from issues of education, health social development and environmental sustainability, and any country's positive performance is illustrative of meeting appropriate global targets. With reference to gender, the goal is the elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary school by 2005 and at all levels by 2015 (United Nations 2005).

Hence, in the context of a higher education transformation agenda informed by the broad social justice mandate of redressing gender inequalities and all discriminatory tendencies, meeting these goals is important for the country.

On the basis of this country's performance with regard to meeting the MDG of gender equity, by means of the gender equity strategy of the DOE and the government through the work of the CGE, South Africa is progressing well in addressing gender imbalances in education and the country as a whole. Furthermore, social science research into the country's performance indicates that in meeting the MDG target of gender equity, South Africa stands a greater chance of experiencing improved economic growth, and a reduction in fertility and infant mortality and malnutrition. This is an added advantage because when gender equity is enhanced there are high economic returns in investing in women and girls (Ghadia & Klasen, 2004:19).

The exemplary performance of South Africa in implementing gender equity, when interpreted using the resources approach, is worth discussion. The said approach proposes that gender equality is defined as gender parity, in numbers, within all the different levels of education. Its definition of gender is primarily descriptive and biological (Unterhalter, 2004: 1). There is nothing wrong with equalising the participation rates of male and females in the system, but it would be wrong if other aspects of gender equality are not considered. The structuralist approach is an improvement: it looks at gender as being more than a number parity issue but perceives it as a social construct with inequalities shaped by social relations, institutions and cultural forms. For its proponents, the achievement of gender equality is not limited to participation parity but should include the removal of gender-discriminatory institutional or cultural formations (Unterhalter, 2004:2). Therefore, according to the structuralist approach, numbers only address gender equity superficially: for countries really to advance gender equity there must be transformation of other aspects of schooling and the socio-economic arena, through holistic gender mainstreaming. South Africa still has a long way to go in this regard.

Unterhalter's explanation of the structuralist approach also evidences certain similarities with the progressive agenda of leftist feminists who perceive gender inequalities as

socially constructed by the capitalist system's division of labour. For these feminists, gender equity can be achieved by the promotion of the GAD agenda: challenging the neo-liberal paradigm and promoting radical gender justice. Furthermore, the structuralist approach contains strands of Young's theory of change in the elimination of the five faces of oppression discussed earlier, particularly the exploitative division of labour in capitalism and its impact on gender injustice. Applying the said approach to South Africa's performance in terms of the MDG reveals that there is still work that has to be done, because the structural and institutional practices that have contributed to gender inequality are still left intact. Leftist feminists defend the MDG because they view these goals as an opportunity to think widely about how gender equity can be achieved in education so as to transform society. However, within the feminist movement, there are groups that perceive the MDG in a negative light. This critical group regards the MDG as an ambitious project with an inadequate conceptualisation of gender exploitation (Unterhalter, 2005:122). With regard to this dismissal of the MDG, this study concurs with Unterhalter that it is crucial to affirm the contributions to the MDG as one step towards the achievement of gender equity.

A further reading of the South African performance with regard to the MDG shows that while the figures in the table above indicate that there is a sizeable number of women with seats in parliament, progress towards achieving gender parity in employment is slow nationally. With reference to education, Unterhalter asserts that "women comprise a lower proportion of head teachers and my guess is that because women employed as teachers are clustered at the lower grading levels the ratio of women to men's earned income in the education as in formal employment is generally lower" (Unterhalter, 2004:11).

At institutional level, while the gender participation rates are impressive, the picture of gender disparity is glaring in terms of the percentage of women in decision making positions and the ratio of estimated women's earnings to those of men. For instance, women record lower educational attainments than men at school level – causing throughput rates to continue as male-dominated (Moleke, 2005:7). At tertiary level, there continues to be a low proportion of female students in professional study fields and science. Even in parliament, research shows that the revolution remains incomplete

while women are excluded from full participation in political life due to the continued dominance of gender stereotyping, patriarchal norms and conservatism (Britton, 2002). This is clear in the mismatch between written legislation and practice and this also needs to be addressed (Samuel, 2001:21). A major force that gender activists and women in general have to reckon with is neo-liberalism and globalisation which has entrenched the phenomenon of the feminisation of global labour, contrary to the promise of economic prosperity and poverty alleviation (Benjamin, 2001:68). Equally important is the HIV and AIDS pandemic that has reached crisis proportions for women in South Africa, with them being the hardest hit (Jobson & Wyckoff-Wheeler, 2003:7). The list of issues that are still hindering the quest for a complete revolution in or transformation of gender equality is not exhaustive. However, it has highlighted those that are pertinent and appear in local research publications. What is of interest about the list is also that it consists of issues which are high on the agenda of the IGWS at the University of Pretoria.

6.9 Women's Studies Programmes in the Global Debate

The role of women's studies programmes in higher education has been commended throughout the world as playing an important role in advancing critical feminist thought while maintaining high academic standards (Moghadam, 2001:5). Women's studies programmes have made tremendous contributions in developing feminist conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches that have challenged the conventional approaches (Stromquist, 2001:373.) The mandate of such programmes is to equip students with the discourse of feminism and broadly related discourses (Rosenfelt, 1984:170). These programmes proliferated enormously in the 1990s, partly due to the impact of the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action and its call for gender mainstreaming policy and practice. In this context, there have been renewed efforts in the negotiation of the recognition of women's studies as a new body of knowledge and theory in higher education. Programmes of this nature play such an important role in the academic field that its advocates argue that without them, feminist scholarship and teaching would completely disappear (Rosenfelt, 1984:171). Consequently ground that has been won towards mainstreaming women's issues and gender equality in pursuit of economic and social justice would be lost. Furthermore, the critical feminist discourse that has added value to the academic and social arena by advancing social justice concerns would also

disappear. Hence it is no surprise that in the Western world and in African contexts, women's studies programmes continue to exist and to advance gender equality despite criticism and financial challenges. For instance, "It is said that women's studies lack academic rigor, evince ideological biases, and are insular and isolated" (Moghadam, 2001:5), and they have been obliged to struggle for scarce financial support from higher education managements (Stromquist, 2000:373).

However, while these programmes continue to fight for academic legitimacy and complete acceptance, the case that is made in support of them in universities outweighs these criticisms by a large margin. Most such programmes that house critical feminists play a crucial role in taking nation states and international organisations to task when gender justice is breached in any form. Therefore, these programmes will continue to play an important role in advancing gender justice and a socially just economic order. The IGWS at the University of Pretoria is one such.

6.10 Background to the Institute of Gender and Women Studies

The IGWS was established in the 1990s. This occurred in a context in which there was a renewed focus on gender equity on the global scale, as a result of the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action and owing to South Africa's new democratic dispensation, with the call to emancipate women from all forms of oppression and transform higher education as stated by former president Mandela.

The impetus for the establishment of this institute stemmed not only from global and national action, but also from Western financial support, ideological and theoretical models. The financial support in the case of IGWS originated from Germany, which was responding to the European Union's adoption of gender mainstreaming policy in general, and specifically to the local focus on promoting international academic networks in higher education. The German body responsible for implementing this is the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), through the programme called "Exporting German Academic Courses" (IGWS, 2002:1).

A German university directly involved in the DAAD programme is the University of Applied Sciences in Kiel, which entered into a collaborative agreement with the

University of Pretoria in 2001. As a result of the agreement, the IGWS was born; it was modelled on the structure and content of the Institute for Women's Research and Gender Studies at the University of Kiel. Thus the IGWS at Pretoria adopted a research business model based on that of the University of Kiel (IGWS, 2000).

6.10.1 The Mandate

The institute is mandated by the University to be a trans-disciplinary institute, which achieves its objectives through research, support of formal and informal academic programmes and community awareness and involvement that is historically and socially contextualised and critical (Constitution of IGWS, 2004:1).

6.10.2 Vision

The vision of the institute is that of a society in which women and men are free from sex and gender based discrimination and are able to interact with each other in a manner that allows them to realise their full potential. Such a society will be an equitable and just one and will encourage the flourishing of both women and men (Constitution of IGWS, 2004:1).

6.10.3 The objectives of the institute are:

- To conduct critical research on sex, gender and sexuality;
- To promote excellent teaching in formal and informal programmes on sex, gender and sexuality;
- To engage critically with international human and women's rights conventions and national legislation;
- To raise critical issues relating to sex, gender and sexuality for debate and discussion that could contribute to a continuous reshaping of Southern African society;
- To promote and support sex and gender equality and equity across the university as well as the broader Southern African society (Constitution of IGWS, 2004:2).

The overall objectives of the IGWS and its approach to gender equality and empowerment are informed not only by developments on the African continent but also by international best practices. This is explicitly stated in the objective of engaging critically with international conventions on gender equality. Since the IGWS is locally committed to the goal of promoting gender equality at the University of Pretoria and the wider South African society, to this end, it conducts critical research on gender, promotes teaching excellence in gender and continuously contributes to the building of a society that celebrates gender equality.

The vision and mission of the IGWS are couched in the neutral language of liberal theory and feminism. This is evident in the kind of society it envisages: a just, equitable society where women and men will flourish free from gender based discrimination. Such a society is not very different from the one envisioned by liberal feminists – particularly the notion of equality in society. The mission and vision appear to be more reformist than transformational and do not appear to be informed by the socialist or even the African feminist perspective. The IGWS emerges more as a unit that supports the current status quo of neo-liberalism in the South African context because it makes limited reference to socio-economic transformation informed by socialist feminists.

The IGWS supports the integration of gender into the curriculum across faculties, focuses on gender research, non-formal training and outreach, gender advocacy and networking globally and locally (IGWS, 2003 annual report: 1-4). These activities are undertaken by university personnel and external experts on gender issues since the institute employs no permanent staff. This emerged as a crucial shortcoming because it implies that there is no central person who will facilitate the continuity of the programmes and the attempts to mainstream gender. From the perspective of the critique of current trends towards the marketisation of higher education (Apple2005), the absence of permanent staff is also an indication of the casualisation of academic labour and academic capitalism explained by (Slaughter and Leslie 2001). This implies that gender equality training sessions are packaged with a price label in order to make a profit and the facilitators are hired with the profit motive in mind.

The IGWS is housed within the faculty of humanities and functions as an interdisciplinary, independent, interfaculty unit for the promotion of gender equity. The positive aspects of the institute lie in its independent status because it is able to represent the full scope, complexity and vitality of gender and women's studies, without much domination from a controlling body or faculty. Consequently, the institute is able to bring to the fore issues of gender equality and women's studies, locating them within local and global debates informed by higher education transformation and the social justice mandate. Since 1994, these concerns have been evident in the activities of the institute as it began to grapple with gender equity and equality in post independence and democratic South Africa. Like its counterparts in the West, the institute looks through a critical feminist lens in analysing progress towards gender equity and mainstreaming in policy and practice.

The existence of the IGWS at the University of Pretoria illustrates one of the positive achievements in the implementation of gender equity, and accordingly in fulfilling the national mandate in this respect. As this is a positive step, it is useful to indicate the extent of its conformity to this national policy imperative. This step can be characterised as integrationist: implying an integration of gender issues with the purpose of reforming gender relations. This step is supported by liberal feminists who perceive public institutions as crucial in promoting gender equity, even if the measures are small. The optimistic liberal feminists regard this as a starting point even if it is piecemeal and the status quo is left unchanged (Razavi and Miller, 1995: ii). It is useful to employ the analysis of radical feminist critique as well, in positioning the role of the institution as regards implementing gender equity. A radical feminist approach is agenda setting, and attempts to transform the thrust of policy as it brings women's concerns into the mainstream (Razavi and Miller, 1995: ii). In the South African context, the gender equality agenda has been set at national level and institutional level. Illustrations of this process are evident firstly in the constitution informed by human rights and gender rights, and the national higher education transformation agenda. Secondly, at institutional level, the adopting of the transformation agenda by higher learning institutions and the formulation of institutional policies that promote gender equity represent instances. Hence an institution of higher learning like the University of Pretoria has little choice but to prioritise gender equity in its policies and practices

through adopting the transformation agenda that encapsulate gender equity as a priority – in its Innovation Generation document, and by establishing the IGWS. Agenda setting for gender equity was implemented through these processes and consequently the University of Pretoria was taking a stance in advancing gender and social justice. The process of agenda setting at the University of Pretoria can be described as exemplary at the rhetorical level and in terms of complying with the national policy requirements. However, when it comes to an examination of the tone and content of the documents that are intended at guiding gender equity, most of them are informed by the integrationist approach. Most are couched in the language of liberal feminism that suggests incremental change. As a result, they tend not to adequately address the movement towards gender transformation. Consequently, in order for the institution to promote genuine gender equality, it needs to be cautious and guard against the trend of routinely marginalising good gender intentions and not translating them into meaningful social action.

According to international research on the institutionalisation of gender equity, there are three factors that are useful in conditioning an organisational response in this respect. They are the organisation's degree of independence from external pressures; the organisational mandate, the ideological mandate and the existence and capacity of internal policy advocates (Razavi and Miller, 1995:6). While the above factors were used to analyse international public organisations, an attempt will be made to employ them in the case of IGWS. When the three factors are used to provide an illustration of the university's response to gender equality, a great deal is revealed. The factors of external pressure and influences involve issues of accountability and, as a public institution; the University of Pretoria is accountable to the government and needs to promote the mandate of the latter. Since it does not depend on government funding alone, it is also responsible to other external stakeholders such as funders and donors. As has been indicated above, the South African government has been an avid supporter of gender equality owing to the new democratic dispensation. Educational institutions too must follow suit and they are accountable to the Department of Education which has also put gender equity mechanisms in place within its policies and practices as all levels of schooling. Gender equity has been one of the key focuses and performance indicators in the educational arena and is therefore a top policy priority. Therefore, with such an

array of external pressures and influences, the University of Pretoria has been required to institutionalise gender equity through the establishment of the said institute and to aim at meeting one of the transformation pillars of higher education: increased and broadened participation, by increasing the rate at which females participate in higher education. With regard to donors and funders, in the case of the IGWS, the German academic exchange service is one of the main financiers. So the institute as a whole must reflect the gender equity and mainstreaming discourse that the donor agency promotes. IGWS has performed exceedingly well in this area, as evidenced in the content of the courses offered and the international calibre of the gender and feminist facilitators invited.

The second factor of the internal policy advocates and refers to gender entrepreneurs, proponents of innovation within the organisation: “An important factor conditioning response of staff members willing and able to promote a new issue and equipped with skills ranging from the more advanced and analytical, to brokering and bargaining with different actors to line up support” (Resave and Miller, 1995:5). Gender entrepreneurs have been required to provide convincing justifications for the relevance of gender to their organisations. At the operational level, this is seen in the progressive calibre of the personnel at IGWS and their activities. However, while there are gender entrepreneurs within the Institute and the university community at large, the former faces a major challenge since it is operating without a head and permanent staff, as indicated earlier. The fact that it lacks important leadership is an illustration of the marginalisation of the social justice agenda through the casualisation of academic work. This phenomenon, described in Chapter 4, needs to be addressed by gender entrepreneurs so as to further the agenda of social justice.

The third factor of the organisational mandate, ideological and procedural, involves the way in which the objectives of the organisations fit with the issue of gender equity. “Institutionalizing a new concern is facilitated if it has an easy fit with the organizational mandate” (Razavi and Miller, 1995:6). The University of Pretoria mandate is informed by the broad transformation agenda of the democratic dispensation, which has been discussed earlier in the form of three transformation pillars: 1. Increased and broadened participation; 2. Responsiveness to societal needs and 3. Cooperation

and governance. The three pillars are interrelated, and all of them provide room for gender equity. However, the first two more explicitly offer fertile ground for the promotion of gender equity because they encapsulate gender parity and gender mainstreaming as conceptualised by the state and state machinery that is in place for the promotion of gender equity. At institutional level, gender equity is encapsulated in the strategic document regarding the “innovation generation” and more directly through the activities of the IGWS. The role of its staff is to provide a convincing justification for the relevance of gender equality in theory and practice. They are up to date with the current issues and debates in this respect.

6.11 Implementation of Gender Equality at the University of Pretoria

The above sections have furnished an analysis of the establishment of the IGWS in a context influenced by feminist movements from WID to GAD and currently by gender mainstreaming. In the section that follows an analysis and interpretation of participants’ experiences at IGWS is provided.

The responses to the question, regarding what the institute does, indicate that its focus falls on training informed by gender equality, research and service to the community. Below, it is suggested that the Institute has made a number of contributions in terms of promoting gender equality at the University of Pretoria and the society at large. The noble contribution of the Institute has occurred alongside a number of challenges.

With regard to training, all three participants indicated that the IGWS focuses on offering informal gender and sexuality training to both internal and external community members. In terms of training, it disseminates information to the university community and the general public on gender related debates, as stipulated in its constitution. This is distributed via informal and formal training workshops, forums and information seminars with a focus on gender, equality and sexuality. IGWS makes use of a cadre of gender experts from the academic pool and relevant external professionals, depending on the nature and scope of its workshops.

The commitment of the IGWS to gender equality and related concerns is reflected in most of its activities and programmes which in turn are a modified translation of the broader national mandate, encapsulated in the transformation pillars of increased and broadened access and responsiveness to societal needs and challenges. The data gained from the IGWS participants reiterate these broad policy intentions. For instance the 2005 Business Plan of IGWS stated the following with regard to teaching and training:

Objective - To promote critical teaching in formal and informal programmes

Action Plan:

Teaching

- Develop a generic module in feminist and gender theory for post graduate research purposes
- Develop web-based course on feminist and gender theory

Training

- Develop generic short courses in gender mainstreaming

A further reading of the responses related to the issue of teaching and training indicates that the Institute is focused more on informal training than on the academic teaching of gender issues. The role of training is couched in the language of commercialisation that is intended more for profit than for the common good. Related to this, the training presupposed a limited and biased position as to the various intricacies of the promotion of gender equality. The limited nature of this role has been identified as a challenge that needs to be addressed.

Research is the main activity of the Institute, which concentrates on research into current issues in gender and other related areas such as race, class and HIV/AIDS prevention. In focusing on research, the centre fulfils the universal mission of teaching, research and service to the community of higher education. But its task does not end

there; it has re-invented and added relevancy to the research mission by putting gender at the centre of its research.

Objective – To conduct critical research

Action plan

- Identify UP research team willing to publish in collaboration with IGWS on gender and related issues
- Initiate collaborative international projects e.g. gender and engineering
- Host a monthly gender seminar focused on critical gender issues
- Host international expertise to present academic papers
- Publish a collection of presentations delivered at the gender seminars (IGWS Business Plan, 2005:1).

The institute's additional objective is to conduct critical research: a positive attribute. The inference that can be deduced is that research is informed by the language of the four dimensions of critical thinking, namely identifying and challenging assumptions, challenging the importance of context, imagining and exploring alternatives and developing reflective scepticism (Scott, 2000:3-4).

According to the director, the main focal point of the centre is research into gender and women's issues in all contexts: rural and urban. In this area, an example of this focus is research on women's access to water and land. Improving gender equality at top management level is also a strong research area, because the university management is still predominantly male dominated. Although at the time of the interview, the centre was still to hold its strategic planning workshop, the facilitator pointed out that the centre plays a crucial role in gender research and training. The elements of this focus are to be found in solid research, the capacity building of women at tertiary level and

developing a substantive theoretical framework so as to remove the perception that the institute is a woman's complaints centre.

The emphasis on interdisciplinary research stood out as a valuable feature in terms of the perspectives of the facilitators. The director further indicated that the merit of the centre is found in difference, which implies that the centre attempts to positively do things differently, while contributing to the core business of the university. Her sentiments regarding research illustrate that the production of research by the centre is not conditioned by the traditional research agenda characteristic of the University of Pretoria. The results have been that the said agenda attempts to address relevant issues concerning gender transformation in particular and institutional transformation in general that are conducive to gender justice.

The overall research agenda of the institution displays strands of both the liberal reformist and transformational approaches to feminism. However, the liberal one is more dominant as evidenced by the critical research position of the centre. Less central is the transformative approach although topics display attempts to break with conventional research, for example the focus on *Ubuntu* – questions of humanness and polygamy. This alternative research agenda is espoused by the director of the Institute. Moving away from the traditional mainstream research agenda would therefore be a positive step for it. The success of this endeavour needs to be accompanied by the use of critical feminist discourse that holds to a more inclusive and holistic conceptualisation of gender equality. However, given the challenges that the Institute has been required to address, it is in danger of being affected by issues of power that may dictate the research agenda and sway it to the demands of conventional research that supports the status quo.

Hence, what appears to be marginalised, in terms of the responses of the participants, is any consideration of some important aspects of critical research and critical teaching since these are not pronounced explicitly:

- Studying marginalised oppressed groups who are not given the authority to speak;

- Approaching inquiry in ways that are interpretative of social practices which are taken for granted;
- Locating meaning in broader social, cultural and political spheres;
- Developing themes problematically and as being open to interrogation;
- Editing the researcher into the text and not presuming that she/he is a neutral character in the research;
- Being reflexive of its own limitations, distortions and agendas;
- Being concerned about the impact of the research in producing more equitable and just social relationships (Shacklock and Smyth, 1998:3).

Service to the community is a third focus of the Institute. It is perceived as important in so far as it makes the university more responsive to the community and relevant to the context in which it operates. With specific reference to the academic community of women at the University of Pretoria and surrounding communities, the data highlighted that the Institute has provided the much needed additional space for them to work on issues that are of importance and relevance to women in a supportive environment. However, community development was only mentioned in passing during the interviews, without many further details being provided by the second facilitator. For participants that are located in higher education it is expected that they would be aware of the goals of higher education: teaching, research and service to the community. That the participants from the IGWS hardly mentioned community involvement may indicate that the centre devotes scant attention to this matter. Its marginalisation may impact negatively on the attempts of the centre to be relevant to its stakeholders, particularly the broader community. Consequently, for the institute to adequately contribute to the broader role of the university, it needs to take community outreach seriously, since it is important for the University of Pretoria to be socially relevant to the needs of the country.

In most of the Institute participants' sentiments with reference to issues of research and training, there is an entrenched, reserved and liberal tone. Hence the implementation of the mission and objective of the institute can be described as policy compliant and not

as critical engagement with policy. The neutral nature is also reflected in the role of the facilitators, described below.

6.12 The Role of Facilitators at IGWS

Asked what their roles are in the broader mission of the institute, the facilitators' responses revealed the following: research capacity building for gender equality; training on gender specific workshops and life skills; disseminating information on gender equality and forging networks for the centre. The research capacity building role mentioned by one facilitator is in line with the broader mission of the Institute and other institutes in other universities, but it falls short of indicating the nature of the research that is undertaken. There is a disjuncture in this instance because the Institute explicitly states that it is promoting critical research, but the facilitators do not qualify the research in explicit terms. In this manner, the critical research role appears to be downplayed in practice: this is a crucial issue because it also impacts on the marginalisation of radical social justice and the agenda of the IGWS appears to be compromised. It needs to state the nature of the research it undertakes explicitly, without being apologetic about its gender activist role.

6.13 Conceptualisation of Social Justice

The main project of transformation runs through all the participants' conceptualisations of social justice and the role of the IGWS in it.

According to the director, genuine social justice in the South African context is based on the South African Constitution, the foundation of which is equality for all. Other important characteristics of social justice are socio-economic rights and equality, as well as racial and gender equality. For the director, social justice and its broad notion is proposed as a framework to be adopted because of its impressive credentials.

I will start off by giving you a more general definition. I think social justice in the context of South Africa is a kind of social justice given in the preamble of our constitution (which) refers to a society where we have equality... racial but also sex and gender equality. So the understanding of social justice would be an approach or even a programme where we have upliftment, socio-economic upliftment and policies that address the injustices of the past. So I think the university as

an institution of higher education should accept these broad notion of social justice and I think this kind of understanding should be the same in the whole university context (IGWS 1).

The sentiments of the director are expressed in a similar tone to the congratulatory one accorded to the South African Constitution by gender researchers in terms of making provision for the promoting of gender equality based on human rights (Walsh, 2006). Social justice is provided for by the constitution; the director further mentions socio-economic upliftment as an element of social justice, but expresses this more in liberal terms which fall short of the radical social justice of socio-economic transformation. It appears, then, that the kind of social justice that is proposed by the director is a reformist one. This is a trend that is also displayed in the sentiments of the other facilitators:

Several policies that the university has established in terms of social justice. I am sure you are aware of all of them... There is one on code of conduct, there is one on discrimination, and there is one on equal opportunity, the one of sexual harassment. And there is also the transformation forum (Facilitator 1).

The neutral and reformist language of social justice is also displayed in the above utterances. This indicates that the existence of policies that are framed to promote equality and the elimination of oppressive circumstances constitutes an element of social justice. In principle this might seem appropriate, but in terms of the radical social justice that informs this study, the existing policies still fall short of achieving such justice since they are framed in the language of liberalism. However, despite the reformist language, there was an instance of an alternative radical stance in the other facilitator's position:

I don't think the university is committed to gender studies – building women's capacities at the university. ...I don't think the university has placed a good policy. But you should know from looking at the composition of staff. There is very little change in terms of race and class. I think there doesn't seem to be much commitment to bring gender to the fore. If you take one instance, the fact that there is no woman at top management at the university. I mean this illustrates to you the problem we have. So I think there is a big discrepancy in terms of social

justice concerns and real concrete implementation on the ground (Facilitator 2).

According to this facilitator, concern with social justice is of crucial importance if gender justice is to be achieved. However, the promotion of both social justice and gender justice is hindered by inadequate transformation in terms of staff composition at the institution. Another inhibiting feature of gender justice consists of the policy implementation discrepancies, evident in a lack of transformation. The facilitator is candid about her lived experiences, as a counter to the emphasis on social justice that practically promotes just practices for every member of the university community.

At IGWS management level, the important role that it is playing in gender equity is also acknowledged. According to the director of the institute, the university as a whole displays a principled response to the national mandate of social justice and the IGWS translates this into its various activities and programmes.

The director conceptualises social justice as an element of the broad national transformation agenda of higher education in South Africa. She further provided concrete examples of social justice criteria, such as a transformed and representative student body, the adoption and implementation of employment equity and the work that the institute is doing in terms of gender justice. For instance, the agenda of projects that illustrate matters of social / gender justice at the institute includes issues like gender and socio-economic upliftment of women as regards rural women, a biannual gender mainstreaming workshop, and training on sexuality

The director further indicated that there are impediments to the full realisation of the social justice mandate in general and gender mainstreaming in particular. The most pressing one was the interim phase of the institute: operating in limbo and uncertainty surrounding the director's and coordinator's position. Both the positions are part-time, which affects the implementation of the policy of IGWS. Another challenge is that the institute does not offer academic courses related to gender and women's studies. It is only permitted to offer non-credit bearing developmental courses on such issues. This implies that the knowledge produced and disseminated by the institute is limited to only the participants on the courses offered and is not available to other areas of the

academic community that could benefit from an injection of gender mainstreaming into the activities. The challenges illustrate the marginalisation and downplaying of the important role that this institute plays and, more importantly, of the intellectuals and feminists that are housed in this institute. This state of affairs leads to the institute operating with limited potential capacity as far as intellectuals and gender activists are concerned, which in the long run would leave the University of Pretoria community with impoverished and biased research and training as regards gender equality and social justice.

The conceptualisation of social justice by the institute is located rather in the distributive paradigm of liberal social justice than in the transformative one of radical social justice, discussed in chapter two. Although mention is made of transformation as an aspect of social justice, the crux of its members' argument is the advancement of social justice by redistributing socio-economic resources while maintaining the status quo of a capitalist socio-economic and political system. As has been mentioned in the literature, this conceptualisation is limited because it leaves the broader macro-economic system of capitalism and neo-liberalism intact, consequently perpetuating current social injustices. I am aware that it is next to impossible for the Institute to single-handedly change the status quo. What can be done is the forging of links and networks with progressive activists and intellectuals, like the radical left whose struggle against capitalism and neo-liberalism is consistent. For the IGWS to be more fully relevant to the agenda of progressive social justice, it needs to be informed by a more thorough transformative agenda that is attentive to forms of social justice and gender justice which are more holistic and inclusive, as in Young's five faces of oppression that advance utopian socio-economic liberty.

6.14 Conceptualisation of Gender

The common feature that identifies gender, according to the two facilitators, is gender mainstreaming in more progressive terms. As a rider to this, one facilitator proposes adopting an activist and vocal stance in support of gender equality throughout the university.

In addition to gender mainstreaming, the two facilitators indicate that the other focus of the institute falls on equity in general, with a special emphasis being placed on class and racial equality: for instance, in the project on building the capacity of women – growing its own timber. In other words, the centre provides a space for women to make a positive contribution to gender equality. Thus the way gender is conceptualised by this member is that it is informed by equality and empowerment, while being cognisant of issues of race and class. Furthermore, the contribution that the gender researcher needs to make should build capacity and not just end with creating knowledge.

The sentiments of the facilitators display a conceptualisation of gender that is informed by social justice. However, these participants further make the observation that the institution's conceptualisation of gender is still very limited. The dominant view of gender at the institutional level is informed by the traditional or conventional paradigm, with the following characteristics, as mentioned earlier: no women in top management and inadequate commitment to gender equality. It appears that there is inconsistency and limited commitment in this respect. One facilitator revealed that another disturbing feature of the university management is the obsession with the commercialisation of gender research: it appears to hold profit in higher regard than gender equality. This may be attributed to the global trend towards commodification of higher education and academic capitalism that is explained by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004). The impact of academic capitalism stands a chance of diluting the focus on gender equality, thus promoting the status quo of the marginalisation of gender.

The conceptualisation of gender by the participants reveals two approaches: liberal integrationist and leftist agenda setting. One project manager displayed the simplistic liberal approach characteristic of the WID agenda. However, the majority of participants reflected the more sophisticated theory of critical feminist discourse. For instance, these participants are opposed to the commercialisation of gender research by the university, which indicates that while the project of commercialisation (as is characteristic of modern universities) has infiltrated deep into every aspect of university life, there is resistance to practices like these. Even though the centre might succumb to this move in order to guard against closure, the resistant stance towards commercialisation is an important social justice move. In their reference to gender, most

of the participants from IGWS did not explicitly pronounce a preference for any form of feminism discussed in the earlier section. This occurrence may be an indication that feminism is treated with suspicion in some circles, as shown by Bozzoli (1999).

6.15 IGWS External Programmes and Linkages

The institute does not operate in isolation. It maintains both national and international linkages that advance the cause of gender equality. Of particular note is that already mentioned, with the University of Kiel in Germany. Continentally, the institute works with similar organisations in the SADC region, especially in Zimbabwe. Nationally the IGWS is affiliated to Gender Network – GENNET – and the government gender desk. In its local and global linkages, the Institute performs the objectives listed below:

Objectives

- To engage critically with international human and women's rights conventions and national legislation
- To raise critical issues relating to sex, gender and sexuality for debate and discussion that could contribute to a continuous reshaping of Southern African society
- To promote and support sex and gender equality across the university as well as the broader southern African society. (IGWS Business Plan, 2005:3)

Some of the merits of IGWS lie in its linkages with counterparts in Europe and Africa. However, the institute's activities are limited in that staff do not make mention of international agencies such as the United Nations and the World Bank agenda on gender equality. While these two organisations themselves have been criticised for furthering a neo-liberal agenda that is opposed to social justice, their merit lies in putting the gender equity item on the global agenda and in taking nations to task for not meeting gender equity targets and indicators. For instance, the United Nations MDG of gender equity is considered as an important milestone towards the achievement of gender equality. It

would be advantageous for IGWS to be informed by the discourse of the MDG so as to be locally and globally relevant.

6.16 Challenges Facing IGWS

The generally pessimistic tone of most of the responses reflects the continued undermining of the institute by the university community as a whole, particularly those members that are resistant to change and women's empowerment. The compelling challenge that the institute faces is lack of funding, which contributes to its marginalisation. This is similar to the reason advanced by Psachoropoulos (1989): that educational reforms fail because of lack of financial commitment.

The negative attitudes of some members of the university community towards gender activism are visible in the perceptions held by some members of the university community regarding activism of this kind. According to the facilitator, gender activists are seen as troublemakers and rattlers of people's comfort zones. The dominance of patriarchal ways, as reflected and imbedded in the institutional culture that is described as "whiteism", is the main factor working against the spread of gender activism. Therefore it seems as if some members of the university community would rather support the status quo than embrace a shift to gender equality. For people living in comfort zones, such equality is not regarded as an urgent matter.

The project manager further made the observation that most of the policies that are in place at the institution are impressive because they are informed by the South African Constitution. However, problems arise when the policy is translated into practice. The policy intentions do not match the policy outcomes and this results in a situation where change is lacking, thereby maintaining the status quo that marginalises gender equality. For instance, with reference to the objective which states that critical teaching on gender equality is a mission of the institute, the facilitators' responses are neutral and do not explicitly indicate the critical nature of the training.

According to the facilitators, due to its marginalised status, the institute furthermore finds it difficult to find a core of women – particularly black – to reinforce it. Related to this is the difficulty of attracting new ideas to facilitate the process of re-inventing the

institute and making it profitable. The marginalised status of IGWS is reflected by the part-time status of the current coordinator position. Once again this state of affairs is a reflection of a mismatch between policy and outcome. In this instance, although the broad goal of increased and broadened participation as a transformation goal has been met by the University of Pretoria in terms of gender parity, it seems that among the cadre of graduates there are not enough gender activists. Another possible explanation of this situation may be the current trend in prioritising the natural sciences and business sciences at the expense of the human sciences and social sciences, coupled with the paucity of attempts at training the youth in a culture of human rights, democracy and the public good of higher education (Waghid, 2004).

At management level, the director identified the lack of identity, sense of belonging and interim status of the institute as a major challenge. Another huge challenge is the university management's half-hearted commitment to and hesitancy towards gender equality. This is translated into the inadequate funding with which the institute has had to live so that it must relentlessly and continuously look for finance. In doing so, the institute must also contend with competition from NGOs that are also searching for funds. This makes funding opportunities scarcer. The issue of scarcity of money is not only a problem faced by the institute alone but also by the other centres and institutes in the university. The competition for funds by the different units in general and the institute in particular reflects the global trend of the commodification and marketisation of higher education as eloquently described by Giroux in his article on higher education under siege (Giroux, 2004; Apple, 2005: 382). Regarding this matter, the institute has to re-invent its objectives and find ways of surviving in a context that is hostile to gender equality by unremittingly pursuing financial assistance from a variety of sources.

The overall challenge is that the IGWS has been obliged to operate in an environment that is heavily influenced by the current conservative and patriarchal organisational culture of the University of Pretoria. This scenario resonates with experiences of other women's studies centres in higher education in the West. According to Stromquist, patriarchy and other conservative forces continue to deviate from the path of genuine social justice as advocated by the feminist movement (Stromquist, 2001: 382). Coupled

with this are the dominant logic of neo-liberalism and the global trends already mentioned.

6.17 Dealing with Challenges

In addressing the challenges, the director indicated that the institute will continue to seek management support, particularly in terms of finance, and ensure that the policy obligation of gender equity as stipulated in the transformation agendas of higher education is fulfilled. Even though this situation is complex, all the participants indicated that adopting an optimistic outlook is a strategy for addressing the challenges: “Hoping for the best”. This attitude reflects the radical social agenda for the 21st century. This agenda involves searching for the social justice inherent in capitalism even though the latter might be antithetical to social justice (Muller, 2000; Lebowitz, 2001). Related to this is looking for the possible in what is perceived as impossible, in the same manner that Davis (2004) suggests.

Another strategy that is common to all participants at IGWS is to educate the university community about gender by disseminating relevant information through publications, newsletters, forums, workshops and adopting a gender activist role, while lobbying for gender equity. For example, the annual workshops on gender mainstreaming and other scheduled workshops that deal with topical issues on gender equality such as HIV/AIDS and the feminisation of poverty.

In the said context which is hostile to gender equity, resulting in the state of fluidity and uncertainty at IGWS, the participants reveal that it is difficult to provide a more concrete and positive response to the challenges described above. Hence in dealing with the challenge, the facilitator has adopted a wait and see attitude, while uncompromisingly advocating gender equity in theory and practice. It is important that the facilitators continue to advance the quest for gender equality, but it would be even more crucial if they were to take a position that is in line with that of the radical social justice advanced in this study. As members of the academic community and progressive thinkers, in a context that is hostile to radical social justice, they stand the danger of being ostracised and silenced by the dominant powers of conservative neo-liberalism.

But they possess within them a voice and agency that they can use as an instrument of liberation from the dominant systems described.

6.18 Other Emergent Factors

Issues that emerged as of concern are the problems of implementation and the conflict between official views and actual change in terms of putting policies into practice. An interesting observation which was made was that the university had reached change saturation; therefore there is no further need for change. According to this, the policies and relevant systems are in place and they comply with the transformation mandate and the requirements of the government. So as far as management is concerned, the required transformation has been achieved. Any other change that is marginal to the university's commitment to excellence and unsettles the comfort zone is not welcomed and, as a result, some members of the academic community and gender activists are in a state of uncertainty:

We are not sure of where our main task should fall. Should it be academic research in terms of going to books and finding new theory that kind of stuff? As a lecturer I teach my Jurisprudence students theories and the theories of social justice, is that enough or where should we be... should we be part of a creative practical project and so on. Those are the kind of tensions that academics have (Director).

The uncertainty surrounding the task of the institute remains an issue of concern, both as a challenge that needs to be addressed and as representing an inadequate commitment towards gender from the position of management. Consequently a strong and vocal group is essential: it needs to lobby for repositioning the institute within a relevant academic department so that it can exert an influence. Another issue of interest is the director's admiration of the notion of social justice. According to her, the university should work towards injecting social justice concerns into the content of all its courses.

An attempt should be made to make the principled and theoretical commitment to social justice that many academics display more concrete and practical. As it stands it is more like a "pie in the sky" affair.

The issues that the facilitator raised include contradictions in policy that compromise the ideals of social justice when put into practice. It appears that compliance with policy, even if it is informed by the ideology of white conservatism, serves the interests of those in power while those of the marginalised and oppressed are downplayed. In the case of South Africa, those in economic power are the white minority and some members of the liberal centre. In this regard, continued critical engagement by radical progressives with the matters of marginalisation of gender equality is suggested.

According to the facilitator, the university is living in the past with reference to gender and women's issues. For instance, the majority of the university community does not take the institute seriously and advocates of gender equity are regarded as loudmouths in the various departments. This observation seems to indicate that some circles in the university are out of touch with global movements such as the MDG and their target of gender equality. They seem to be informed by the Enlightenment and traditional rationality that is out of tune with the current era. Related to the issue of being "out of sync" is the silence on the triple oppression that is being experienced by women in South Africa and the attempts to counter it. There is a lack of concern with the class and race struggle that is part and parcel of an understanding of the nature of South African struggle for gender equality.

In this bleak context for the advancement of gender equity, one facilitator singled out the faculty of education as exemplary in promoting and advancing the principles of social justice and gender justice by matching policy and practice (Facilitator 2).

6.19 The Potency of the Oppositional Voice

The quest for social justice principles such as gender equity as an element of social justice may be canonised in policy declarations, but is peripheral to policy enactment and implementation at the University of Pretoria, as evident in the data analysis above. For social justice to be inserted into the centre of policy, the voice of leftist intellectuals must be brought to the centre. The proposals of the IGWS participants contain features of the oppositional voice to the mainstream.

For social justice and gender justice to be genuine, it needs to go beyond the façade of legislature and political rhetoric. The conceptualisation of gender as social justice appears to be repressed and ridiculed by some groups in the university. There are consequently important lessons for the promotion of gender equality to be learned by the University of Pretoria, especially the IGWS. For instance, the latter would benefit a great deal by engaging with diversity-building relationships between members from different communities and by addressing the patriarchal conservative organisational culture of the university so as to facilitate progress towards gender mainstreaming and gender equality. .

6.20 Conclusion

The narratives above have attempted to illustrate that attempting to achieve gender justice as an element of social justice on a global and local scale is fraught with complex dynamics and, though a noble ideal, it faces the danger of being an elusive quest if advocates of gender equity succumb to the overwhelming forces of neo-liberalism and globalisation. However, in the South African case, the picture is more positive because of the political will of the state and the fervent activism of feminist and radical scholars who are supporting gender justice despite a socio-economic environment that is not tolerant of it. Public higher education institutions, as in the case of IGWS, play an important role in utilising global feminist discourses and contextualising gender issues while addressing the ensuing challenges. However, there are limitations to the extent to which the university, through the IGWS, can realise a gender equity agenda of a critical feminist type owing to the ideological traditions that are still evident at management level.

In the following chapter the contribution of the Centre for the Study of AIDS at the University to social justice will be considered.

CHAPTER 7 – THE CASE OF CSA AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In spite of recent advances in treatment and care available in most developed countries, the HIV/AIDS pandemic continues to spread throughout the developing world. Structural inequalities continue to fuel the epidemic in all societies, and HIV infections have increasingly been concentrated in the poorest, most marginalised sectors of society in all countries. The relationship between HIV/AIDS and social and economic development has therefore become a central point in policy discussion about the most effective response to the pandemic (Parker, 2002).

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with how the IGWS addresses gender as a social justice imperative. This chapter focuses on the way in which CSA addresses HIV/AIDS as a social justice concern. This will be carried out by discussing the HIV/AIDS pandemic, followed by the South African response in dealing with it: that represented by CSA in particular. This section provides a brief background to global and local concerns on the HIV/AIDS epidemic and locates the role and goals of the Centre for the Study of AIDS – CSA – at the University of Pretoria within that debate. This is achieved by furnishing a broad overview of the pandemic and of how the global powers and the South African government have responded to it at a macro level. At the micro level, this chapter considers the strategic response of the Ministry of Education to the pandemic as well as that of the higher education sector. Finally it looks at the role and goals of the CSA and considers how they fulfil both the global and national mandates to alleviate the high prevalence of the HIV and HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country. The rationale is to critique the position of CSA and arrive at an appreciation of its position on HIV/AIDS as a social justice concern.

7.2 Overview of HIV/AIDS

The HIV and AIDS epidemic started in the mid '80s with a few reported cases across the world and since then, hardly 20 years later, it has developed into a global crisis. It has been described as the most devastating pandemic in the history of modern civilisation. Its spread across the globe has been rapid and its impact profound. According to the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS — UNAIDS, close to 40 million people in the world were living with HIV/AIDS in 2005 and over 20 million

have died. The largest proportions of those infected reside in sub-Saharan Africa, and the highest prevalence in this region is found in South Africa (United Nations, 2006; Saint, 2004; Otaala, 2004).

Originally, the pandemic was regarded as a health issue only. However, it is increasingly recognised as having much wider and broader implications for all levels of society. In some 20 years, the view of the pandemic has shifted from being a simple medical matter to a complex socio-economic problem on a global scale. The economic consequences are dramatic since the portion of the population that is of a productive age is most severely affected by the epidemic. In effect, currently, the pandemic attacks each component of the Human Development Index. It reduces life expectancy, lowers educational attainment, and reduces income per capita. It undermines the very concept of human development (African Development Forum, 2000:2).

In order to appreciate its global impact, it can be described as a humanitarian crisis undermining the realisation of all the millennium development goals. Hence, the United Nations describes it as a global emergency. In the same light as the UN analysis, several analyses of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in its 25 years of existence around the globe regard it as a global threat. It undermines socio-economic freedom, particularly since the large majority of people infected and affected by it are found in the South – the poorest regions of the world, already fraught with serious socio-economic and political problems of underdevelopment (Parker, 2002:343, Barnett, nd.:30). It undermines democracy and human rights because groups that are already vulnerable to human rights violations – such as women, children, sex workers, and those living in poverty – are unable to realise their rights (CSA, 2004:1). It undermines gender equality: research indicates that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is higher among women, “... because women’s vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is rooted in inequality in sexual, social and economic terms. It is at the intersection of power, gender, inequality, poverty and destructive social norms that HIV hits hardest. Furthermore, it has a negative impact on educational development because the highest prevalence of HIV is found among the youth that are still educationally active in tertiary education” (Otaala, 2005; Saint, 2004). The above analysis of HIV/AIDS reflects some of the elements of the strand of analysis which focuses on political economy. This view situates HIV/AIDS within

broad socioeconomic issues and links its spread, impact and governance to globalisation because it explains globalisation and its diverse meanings (Altman, 1999:560).

In keeping with the critical tradition that informs this study, HIV/AIDS can also be regarded as a global emergency that prevents people from experiencing social justice. It can be inferred that it exacerbates the five faces of oppression which people experience because of its magnitude and some forms of the exclusion and stigmatisation it perpetuates (Young, 2000:35). People living with HIV/AIDS and those affected by it experience marginalisation, which is defined as the exclusion of a whole category of people from useful participation in social life. HIV/AIDS renders societies powerless against it. This situation could describe the experiences of the majority of women in sub-Saharan Africa (Young, 2000:36). The status of powerlessness could also describe the position of the global community vis-à-vis the pandemic because to date a cure for the disease has not yet been discovered. Recognising its global impact and working to transform this impact is an important part of social justice. In this regard, it is useful to employ Young's social connection model for responsibility and global justice, in which she contends that "... all agents who contribute by their actions to the structural processes that produce injustices have responsibilities to work to remedy these injustices" (Young 2004:42). HIV / AIDS has reached a stage where it is a global responsibility, and the global community therefore urgently needs to find ways to correct the injustices caused by it. It is no longer the responsibility of nation states alone but, rather, that of the global community.

The above analysis using Young's five faces of oppression also displays certain similarities with the politico-economic approach to HIV/AIDS. This approach explains the shape of the pandemic in terms of broad historical processes in the economy and society that have contributed to a range of structural inequalities such as race, class, ethnicity and gender, which in turn have conditioned the vulnerability of different individuals and groups to HIV/ AIDS infections.

Most of these factors can be grouped into three analytically distinct, but interconnected categories; (i) economic (under) development and poverty; (ii) mobility, including migration, seasonal work, and social disruptions due to war and political instability; and (iii) gender inequality. This research reveals that despite the uniqueness of each local

HIV/AIDS epidemic, the same general structural processes are at work in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean (Parker, et al., 2000:S23).

With the dawn of the new millennium, the impact of HIV had reached such catastrophic proportions that the international community responded by establishing UNAIDS in 2001 as an international body to provide appropriate world policy guidelines to halt and reverse the spread of HIV and AIDS as one of the Millennium Development Goals. The UNAIDS acknowledges HIV as a

... Global emergency and one of the most formidable challenges to human life and dignity and is committed to strengthening support to nationally owned and led responses. UNAIDS has five focus areas including: leadership and advocacy, strategic information and technical support, tracking monitoring and evaluation, civil society engagement and mobilization of resources (<http://www.unaids.org>).

As a global emergency, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has been associated with the broader impact of globalisation, both negative and positive. While the field of political economy informed the conceptualisation of the pandemic, it also highlights that a feminist conception of equality is also relevant. From the feminist perspective, HIV/AIDS is regarded in the following manner:

AIDS is a socially constructed disease and much of the response and attitudes towards HIV-infected individuals centre around the pre-existing concepts, paradigms and societal construction of those affected. Social construction theory is concerned with the way in which societies interpret, judge and ascribe meaning to groups, conditions, and events (Berger and Luckman 1996), interpretations that may or may not reflect reality (Gilbert and Wright, 2003:1).

In order to realise a more holistic view, the analysis of the political economy also needs to be combined with the feminist position with regards to HIV/AIDS as a socially constructed disease or pandemic. The merits of this perspective lie in privileging the voices of groups that are most affected, in the process making a valuable contribution to research that is often overlooked.

7.3 The South African State's HIV/AIDS Agenda

National governments have also conceptualised the pandemic in similar terms to those of the global community and have also aligned their existing HIV and AIDS strategies with the world agenda, establishing appropriate policies and research bodies informed by the global mandate of alleviating it. In South Africa, HIV/AIDS strategies have been in place since 1994. In 1992, the National AIDS Coordinating Committee of South Africa (NACOSA) was formed; in 1994 it prepared the South Africa AIDS Strategy and Implementation Plan which was designed to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS, to reduce its impact and to harness existing potential resources for this purpose (Coombe, 2000:19). The main goal was to address the HIV/AIDS issue by means of a multidisciplinary, multi-sectoral and holistic mainstreaming approach. Through it, the following broad structures were established:

- The Inter-Ministerial Committee on HIV/AIDS (IMC);
- The Inter-Departmental Committee on HIV/AIDS (IDC);
- The South African National AIDS Council (SANAC);
- The National AIDS Coordinating Committee of South Africa (NACOSA), now an independent NGO focusing on lobbying for advocacy at national level; and
- Education, health and welfare programmes in general
- (Coombe, 2000: 24-25).

Thus at formulation level, relevant policies were set up together with appropriate structures and processes to support their implementation and evaluation. However, despite the commitment of the government to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic, researchers show that the scale and magnitude of its efforts have not been sufficient to deflect it. South Africa is still the HIV/ AIDS epicentre in the 2000s.

Table 7.1 – The Consequences of the Pandemic: Projections to 2010

	1999	2005	2010
Percentage of SA workforce HIV positive	11.5%	20%	22.5%
Percentage of SA workforce with AIDS	0.4%	1.65%	2.7%
New AIDS cases per annum	145,256	466,365	625,180
Number of AIDS orphans	153,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
Life expectancy of SA females (years)	54	43	37
Life expectancy of SA males (years)	50	43	38

(Coombe, 2001:3)

Data regarding AIDS prevalence levels in sub-Saharan Africa represent a cause for alarm and purposeful action. The figures present a picture that is so powerful and unarguable that the only way to change the situation is to engage in purposeful action which will result in further changes. However, the statistics regarding the impact of HIV/AIDS mask more than they reveal because they do not indicate the intricacies of where the problem lies.

The 2000 AIDS review suggests that the implementation of the 1994 plan has been impeded principally by problems with regards to the mismatch between policy and implementation. These were identified as being insufficient political commitment and capacity on the part of the government at all levels, provincial and local, as well as misinformation and inability on the part of leadership to grapple with the complex dynamics of the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Coombe, 2000:25-27).

The above problems indicate that in the South African context, during the 1990s, the government was ill-informed concerning the urgency of the situation, leading to non-implementation. The ensuing difficulties indicate that there was a need for a renewed strategy in this regard, together with a global approach and a recognition of the national emergency, such as that by UNAIDS. As a result, from 2000 onwards there was a more concerted effort by the government to reinforce existing strategies and approaches, with

the main goal of promoting an HIV/AIDS-free society in line with the UN and the millennium development goal of eradicating it by 2015. The renewed political will in response to combating HIV/AIDS is evident in the increase in the National Health budget. According to Ndlovu, “the total HIV and AIDS subprogrammes budget of the strategic health programme (which includes the comprehensive HIV and AIDS grants for provinces and specific allocation for the national department) has increased nominally from R1.6 billion in 2005/6 to R2 billion in 2006/7” (Ndlovu, 2006:1).

Other government departments echoed this national goal in their quest to promote an HIV/AIDS free society. In South Africa, the department of education (DoE)’s current strategy, *Tirisano* (working together), is a commitment to the reconstruction and development of HIV/AIDS prevention and intervention measures in all phases of the system, and at every level working together with all the stakeholders across all sections of the society (Coombe, 2002:31).

Table 7.2 – The *Tirisano* (Working Together) Programme

Project	Strategic objective
Awareness, information and advocacy.	To raise awareness and the level of knowledge of HIV/AIDS among all educators, learners, to promote values, which inculcate respect for girls and women and recognise their right to free choice in sexual relations.
HIV/AIDS within the education curriculum.	To ensure that life skills and HIV/AIDS education are integrated into the curriculum at all levels.
HIV/AIDS and the education system.	To develop planning models for analysing and understanding the impact of HIV/AIDS on the education and training system.

(Coombe, 2000:31-33).

The above table indicates the government’s concerted effort to re-educate the public regarding HIV/AIDS. Since it concentrates on the education arena, it has the potential of reversing the negative impact of HIV/AIDS by reversing the high mortality rates of the youth in terms of the re-organisation of the curriculum and the planning of the education system with the view of addressing the demonisation of HIV/AIDS.

7.4 The South African Higher Education HIV/AIDS Agenda

The higher education sector also embraced the *Tirisano* strategy. It made its contribution explicit in its broad and multifaceted conceptualisation of the pandemic, couched in the language of multi-sectoral collaboration and cooperation against it. This is evidenced in the 2000 South African Universities Vice Chancellors Association (SAUVCA) report, which indicated that HIV/AIDS is of particular relevance to higher education because:

- it is a developmental issue, not just a health issue;
- it affects not only individuals, but also organisations and systems;
- it affects human resource development;
- preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and managing its impact requires knowledge; and
- successful institutions and societal responses to HIV/AIDS require leadership

(Chetty, 2000:112-13).

The follow-up to this document was a consultative national conference on HIV/AIDS and the related field of education. At this conference the higher education sector made the following declaration:

As the higher education community, we recognize the seriousness of the threat posed by HIV and AIDS to our community and to the education sector. We fully support the ministry's initiative in calling this conference and commit ourselves to supporting the coalitions against HIV and AIDS through

- Education
- Research
- Community outreach

- Management of HIV/AIDS
- Advocacy and Stimulation of Critical Debate and
- Inter and intra-sectoral collaboration (Tirisano, 2002:49-50).

Concurrently, as the conference was taking place, the higher education sector was involved in the initiative of implementing the first nationally coordinated Higher Education HIV/AIDS Programme (HEAIDS). It was launched in November 2001 by the dominant higher education stakeholders: SAUVCA, CTP and the Department of Education. The programme was sponsored by the British Department of International Development (DfiD) and the Canadian Development Cooperation (CDC) (HEAIDS, 2004:215).

The goal of the HEAIDS Programme is to mobilise the higher education sector to respond sensitively, appropriately, and effectively to the HIV/AIDS epidemic through HE's core functions of teaching, research, management, and community service, through the continuum of HIV/AIDS interventions – namely prevention, treatment, and care and support (HEAIDS, 2004:214).

This signifies that higher education institutions would be regarded as having responded adequately to the HIV/AIDS pandemic if, after being assessed, they displayed the majority of the results below:

Table 7.3 – Goals and Results of the Higher Education HIV/AIDS Programme.

Results and objectives
Effective policy, leadership, advocacy and management
Effective prevention
Effective care and support
Teaching appropriate to HIV/AIDS
Appropriate research and knowledge creation
Community outreach

(HEAIDS, 2004:217).

The HEAIDS agenda to employ education to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic is in harmony with the discourse of researchers from around the globe that recognises and endorses the important role which education plays in addressing the resulting problems. Coombe and Kelly (2001) make a case for education as a vaccine for HIV/AIDS. “In the absence of a physiological vaccine against HIV infection, society has at its disposal a ‘social vaccine’: the vaccine of education”. They argue that education:

- enhances the potential to make discerning use of information;
- enhances the potential to plan for the future; and
- accelerates favourable socio-cultural changes (Coombe & Kelly, 2001:9-12).

South African higher education scholars argue that “the triad mission of higher education can be used to effectively combat the HIV and AIDS through the incorporation and integration of AIDS issues in all teaching, research and community service activities” (Mapesela, 2003:109). Crew (1999) avers that the universities need to adopt an activist role in the face of the crisis. The CSA position is that universities should not work in isolation but with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and with the world community, united collaboratively and coherently, in order to halt the said global emergency (Crew, 1999:8). In 2000, the institutional profile of the University of Pretoria with reference to its response to HIV/AIDS was as follows:

Table 7.4 – HIV/AIDS and Institutional Profile of the University of Pretoria

Item	Description
Programmes	The Centre for the Study of AIDS (CSA), first of its kind to be established in South Africa with areas of focus listed in table 11.
Services	Campus health and 24 hour counselling service.
Curriculum	Various partnerships with certain departments established aimed at curriculum development — mainstreaming HIV/AIDS.
Partnership	Universities in the SADC region, local institutions, international universities such as the Universities of Toronto, South Wales and Yale.
Outreach	Telematic education programme that carries HIV/AIDS programmes.

(Chetty, 2000: 39-40).

Since the current study is informed by the critical theory approach that perceives hope and the possible in the impossible, I concur with the position that aspires to imminent victory over the HIV/AIDS pandemic and CSA's attitude of adopting an activist stance.

Table 7.5 – Framework for a comprehensive Pretoria University response to HIV/AIDS

Item	Description	Pretoria University status
University Mission	Be responsive to the real needs of society through vision and in the knowledge domain.	Innovation Generation document.
Overarching Principle	Personally committed university leadership bringing about total management commitment, showing itself in policy development and commitment of resources.	Management team financially and structurally supports most of the HIV/AIDS mainstreaming activities of the CSA.
Fundamental Pillars	Openness, acceptance that breaks the silence. Promoting gender equity and empowerment. Adoption of a human rights approach. Inclusion at all level of PLAs. Cohesion with national policies and strategies.	Collegial institutional culture. Role of the IGWS – gender mainstreaming. Role of the CHR – promoting of human rights culture. Promotion of the HEAIDS HIV and AIDS Declaration.
Basic Strategies		
Inward-looking	Protects its own functions as an AIDS- affected institution. Links prevention to care. Tackle management-related factors.	Activities and services of the CSA
Outward-looking	Serves the needs of an AIDS-affected society. Produces highly flexible, top quality AIDS-competent graduates. Reflects vigorously on the needs and challenges of an AIDS-affected society. Places expertise at the service of an AIDS-affected society. Further develops AIDS-relevant expertise.	Research and HIV/AIDS advocacy activities of the CSA.

Adapted from Kelly, 2001:52-54.

The global community should experience the rage caused by the injustices of HIV/AIDS because people are socio-economically marginalised while women and children experience the worst effects of the pandemic.

In 2001, Kelly developed a synthesis report for the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) which contains a conceptual framework for a comprehensive response to HIV/AIDS in a university in Africa. One South African study praises this framework as being relevant in assisting universities to address the issue of HIV/AIDS in a holistic and strategically comprehensive manner (Van der Merwe & Gouws, 2005:57). This framework will be used to evaluate how the University of Pretoria has performed in its response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

It can be inferred from the table above that the University of Pretoria is creating an appropriate response to the pandemic that reflects the national and global mandate of an HIV/AIDS free society by 2015. The mission and the areas of focus of the CSA are illustrative in this regard.

The CSA is an institutional project that focuses on implementing the University of Pretoria's HIV/AIDS policy. From the outset, the CSA was established to inform the university community about the HIV/AIDS dynamics as they unfolded. The staff of the CSA consists of researchers, academics and activists who demonstrate much commitment to the HIV/AIDS research field in general and, in particular, the implementation of legal policy pronouncements and current HIV/AIDS research findings. The project staff accomplish this in a paradoxical context, a local (institutional) and national (countrywide) environment fraught with both rejection and acceptance of the HIV/AIDS phenomenon. This peculiar state of affairs is closely linked to the infringement of the social justice mandate entrusted to institutions of higher education in the country. There is a need to study the campus response to the national mandate of social justice with regard to HIV/AIDS in order to inform future policy developments; and furthermore, to gain a clearer and better understanding of how the university responds to the mandate through its treatment of the pandemic.

The CSA's mission and strategic objectives are,

...to mainstream HIV/AIDS through all aspects of the university's core business activity. The mission is to understand the complexities of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa and to develop effective ways of ensuring that all the students and staff of the university are prepared professionally and personally to deal with HIV/AIDS as it unfolds in the South African society (CSA, 2004:1).

The strategic objectives of the CSA, when translated into areas of focus, include activities that target the university community as a whole in ensuring that there is current information on the pandemic. These areas are not merely about disseminating information but are framed in terms of the human rights discourse and focus on nurturing social transformation and democracy. Most of them relate to the agenda of social justice, particularly the approach based on human rights.

The CSA focus areas involve monitoring the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS in the university's core business, community mobilisation, training, and support, and research, together with a human rights culture in the context of transformation and development (CSA, 2005:1-2). These focuses contribute to the realisation of the mandate of HEAIDS as indicated above. Furthermore, these areas are not only of local interest but are global in nature because, through collaboration in research, the CSA could possibly influence the global community.

The CSA has emerged as one of the more relevant and timely higher education HIV/AIDS programmes in the country which facilitates the realisation of the broad government mandate of providing effective responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The University of Pretoria's performance in the 2001 HEAIDS study indicates that the institution is responding to the HIV/AIDS pandemic positively. There is political will and buy-in by management as evidenced by the presence of an HIV policy and financial commitment to HIV/AIDS programmes at the management level.

With reference to effective prevention, established staff and student peer education programmes are organised and coordinated by the CSA, although much work is still necessary with regard to other items concerning effective prevention, such as the establishment of Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT). Acceptable care and support is available at the onsite campus clinic for treatment of opportunistic infections

in staff and students. However, there was no response in the area of palliative care, usage of ARVs and home based care for the university community. This indicates that the university still needs to develop in this area while working on mainstreaming and teaching with regards to HIV/AIDS since only 20% of the HODs indicated that there was a departmental policy to include HIV/AIDS in the curriculum, while the other 80% indicated that no such policy was in place (CSA, 2005:5-6).

The institution must also develop the area of research and knowledge creation since the study discovered no response to this aspect (HEAIDS, 2004: 166-167). However, evidence gathered from the institution indicates that there is relevant and constructive research in the form of CSA's yearly reviews, discussed in this section. On the basis of the HEAIDS criteria or the HIV/AIDS framework, the University of Pretoria is meeting some of the requirements while in other areas there is room for improvement.

The CSA is playing a most crucial role in disseminating information regarding the status of the pandemic to the university community and stakeholders and even further afield to the international community. An analysis of the role that the CSA is playing in using ICT in support of HIV/AIDS related research indicates that the CSA site "provide[s] current epidemiological data, bibliographic data-bases, reports, documentation, discussion forums, and the possibility of links" (Kelly, 2002:10). Thus the CSA is relevant to both the local and global community with respect to activities that promote the alleviation of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

7.5 HIV/AIDS Reviews by the CSA

The AIDS reviews are published annually by CSA in an attempt to address "... the complex question as to why, despite the comprehensive National HIV/AIDS Plan adopted in 1994, South Africa has what has been described as the fastest growing HIV epidemic in the world" (Crew, 2000:1).

Table 7.6 – HIV/AIDS Reviews Summarised

Author, title and year of publication	Synopsis and theory of change
Marais <i>Buckling</i> , (2005)	This review looks critically at how South Africa should be measuring the impact of HIV/AIDS. It highlights the sociological and politico-economic reality: "... what emerges is a nuanced but horrifying picture of a society that is being ruptured and buckled into an antithesis of the humane, just and dignifying society millions struggled for and continue to strive towards." The review argues that it is imperative that the country develops creative and innovative ways of combating the pandemic so that the ideal of a socially and economic just society is realised.
Pieterse & van Wyk, <i>What's Cooking Review</i> , 2005.	This review examines macro-economic policies and how they give rise to socio-economic conditions that exacerbate a person's vulnerability to food insecurity, HIV infection, hastening the development of AIDS and its effects on the success of treatment. The authors argue that food insecurity is as much a product of historical injustices as it is of current policy decisions.
Kometsi, K., (<i>un</i>) <i>Real Review</i> , 2004.	This review addresses the manner in which the epidemic positions men and the crucial role that they can play in the social and political responses to HIV/AIDS. It further looks at the dominant images of men in society and focuses on masculinities in the South African context
Barolsky, V., (<i>Over</i>) <i>Extended</i> (2003)	This review examines the impact of the epidemic on families and the personal relationships between family members. It addresses the question: How the (over) extended family copes with the epidemic and how social and community structures can be developed in innovative and creative ways to cope with the epidemic.
Kitson, C., Ceaser, M., and Jithoo, T., <i>Whose Right AIDS Review</i> , 2002.	What do human rights have to do with AIDS? This review looks at the connection between HIV/AIDS and human rights. It considers what constitutes the rights based approach to HIV/AIDS and the international guidelines on which such an approach is based.
Jones, T., <i>Who Cares AIDS Review</i> , 2001.	This review investigates the role the international community plays in addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa. It considers the extent of care from the African and the South African community and argues that all should care in the fight against the pandemic.
Marais, H., <i>To the Edge AIDS 2000 Review</i> .	This review seeks to address the forces that shaped the response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in 1994-1999. It examines the ideological factors, origins of the National AIDS Plan of 1994 and the dynamics and challenges that led to the country's failure to fully implement the plan.

The table above depicts only a selection of publications by the CSA that attempt to furnish the public with information related to the HIV/AIDS pandemic as it is experienced by ordinary people in various settings and contexts in the country. The focus of the AIDS reviews ranges from addressing macro socio-economic issues to micro issues such as the role of men (masculinity) and the extended family in addressing the pandemic. The reviews provide a rich and well researched perspective on how HIV/AIDS affects lives and possible ways of dealing with the pandemic. Furthermore, the brief analysis of its yearly HIV/AIDS Reviews indicates that in the area of critical research and knowledge creation, the centre is relevant to the local university community, the higher education institutions, the South African nation and the global community at large. This points to the critical role the centre is playing in addressing the global emergency through providing timely and relevant research.

The reviews further illustrate how the pandemic and its impact is closely intertwined with imbalances of power and access to resources in the South African context, in a similar manner to Bancroft's (2001) report in a global context. In the reviews, it is also evident that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is conceptualised by the CSA in its publications in politico-economic terms — a broader strand of analysis with broader categories such as the global nature of the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Altman, 1999:260). Although the HIV/AIDS reviews of the CSA cited in the current study raise pertinent issues related to the pandemic, the women's movement and the feminist perspective on HIV/AIDS appear to be downplayed. The feminist perspective seems to be subsumed under the debate of globalisation and HIV/AIDS. It is nonetheless crucial that the feminist standpoint within the South African context begin to highlight the threat the pandemic poses to women (Msimang, 2003:101).

An equally important aspect of the reviews is that they are couched in the discourse of social constructivism that privileges the voice of participants – those infected and affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In this manner, they shed light on the calamity that is often overlooked by other publications couched in the terms of scientific and medical discourse. Furthermore, the reviews speak to the human rights culture that informs most of the activity of the centre. By being informed by social constructivism and the human rights culture, each review fulfils the radical social justice mandate in

that it includes experiences of the marginalised in research as a crucial contribution to knowledge.

The Centre does not operate in a vacuum but in a context that is informed by conflicting discourses and paradigms in addressing the pandemic which exert an impact on the effectiveness of the centre in fulfilling its mandate. For instance there is a constant debate on the relationship between HIV/AIDS and poverty on the one hand and HIV/AIDS and ARV on the other (Coombe, 2000). The one camp is informed by the social justice discourse and contends that alleviating poverty will reduce the prevalence of HIV/AIDS while the other position is informed by the logic of the market and of profit, and argues that the provision of medication such as ARV will alleviate the pandemic. In this context, the CSA must find a balanced position that will present the best possible prevention and intervention strategy to the general public while taking cognisance of the conflicting positions. Since currently, as noted, the country is experiencing the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the whole world, while the hardest hit portion of the population affected and infected by it are those living in poverty and marginalisation, the social justice position on the pandemic boasts impressive credentials for alleviating the situation. On that note, it is informative to analyse and reveal how the CSA makes sense of social justice and HIV/AIDS. Judging from the artefacts and publication of the CSA considered in this section, its position on HIV/AIDS as a social justice concern is informed by the ideological and political context in which it operates. This will be addressed in the analysis of the data garnered from the interviews with participants from the CSA.

7.6 Conceptualisation of Social Justice

The CSA Deputy Director avers that social justice is a complex concept, concerning the total transformation of institutions to correct the imbalances of the past. According to him social justice aims to promote access, gender and disability equity in the institution. With regard to the wider community, social justice is aimed at increasing community participation and involvement.

I mean I am looking not only from the point of view of access of previously disadvantaged communities to higher education, but also looking at things like staffing structure in terms of gender equity, issues

of disability, relationships with communities. I mean they draw their staff from communities – but a lot of projects and research happen through communities and I would imagine issues of social justice are very important there in terms of how the university works with these communities. Perhaps initially in terms of selecting research topics, looking at issues of historical imbalances, access to services and rights I would imagine that the university has an important role in this kind of research (Deputy Director of CSA).

The CSA deputy director's perception of an institutional response to the social justice mandate reveals several characteristics. The most dominant one that is emphasised several times is the slow pace of transformation at the University of Pretoria while the second has to do with making the demographics of institutions representative of the South African population and promoting the employment of people from marginalised groups. His position on social justice reflects the liberal school which fosters equality within the existing structures (Rizvi, 1999), particularly the issue of making the demographics of the institution more representative of the historically marginalised communities. While demonstrating concern regarding the slow pace of the university in this respect, the director's sentiments reveal an aspect of an institutional culture that is conservative and locked in the past, in that the slow pace is retarding the full realisation of the government's social justice mandate. What appears to emerge from the data is that the director is operating in a context that is at odds with his ideological standpoint. He expresses a liberal position while he operates within a conservative context. There is a tension between the conservative and the liberal paradigms and thus the radical social justice advanced in this study appears to be overshadowed.

The deputy director further offered three examples of programmes that constitute a response to social justice: the UPFY Programme, the IGWS and the Centre for the study of Human Rights. Within the CSA, an exemplary project that promotes the social justice mandate is the Youth Skills Development project. This project upgrades marginalised youth by providing them with relevant skills so that they can be self-reliant and thus enhance their self-worth and dignity. Furthermore, the project utilises the "Train the Trainer" feature which ensures that the skills learned are ploughed back into the community by better trained and skilled youth. While the CSA programme is relevant and useful, it falls short of fully engaging the youth in other aspects of the HIV/AIDS

pandemic, particularly those framed by the political economy analysis and critical theory. What appears to be lacking in the youth programme is the inculcation of critical consciousness and action against systems of oppression and poverty together with their role in human emancipation as proposed by critical theory (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). Another important aspect of the youth programme is the emphasis on “skilling”; however, in terms of critical theory, skilling without an emphasis on liberatory consciousness and action is tantamount to perpetuating the status quo of oppression and marginalisation. In this regard, it would be of benefit if such programmes were infused with the language of critical pedagogy so that they serve as emancipatory systems against systems of oppression.

The experience of the deputy director, with respect to the University of Pretoria’s response to the HIV/AIDS mandate and transformation at large, illustrates the phenomenon of the mismatch between policy and practice as identified by policy analysts (McLaughlin, 1998). While the CSA’s director mentions some relevant aspects of social justice, in particular, transformation as an element of government policy, what appears to him as a disparity is the complex nature of social justice in practice, particularly the context which is controlled by a dominant discourse of conservatism and its anti-progressive form of social justice.

However, in experiencing social justice as a complex endeavour, the director is not alone; he is joined by the two project managers in this study. In recognition of its complexity, the participants shared their sentiments that social justice promoted by relevant research topics and practices is informed by the human rights culture. This framework informs most of the dispositions and activities of the CSA, including its research and training endeavours. The initial point of departure of this approach encourages activists to consider everyone, regardless of their HIV/AIDS status, as being entitled to the basic human rights enshrined in the universal declaration of human rights and the South African Constitution. This position ensures that everyone is accorded equal treatment in all areas of life and no exception should be made regarding people living with and affected by HIV/AIDS.

The issue of social justice, we are a social research organization and indeed we will always look at the sort of the social issues around the

epidemic. We have got some of the number crunchers and the bio-medical staff on board. As the team within the centre we focus on the themes on all the social issues, ranging from education to sociology, psychology, psycho-social well-being and we try to marry that with our vision or approach and linked to our approach to doing our work within the human rights framework. It is all about access and meaningful participation. Sort of ensuring access to the activities that we are doing, and sort of to the greater good of human society, but also getting all stakeholders within the constituencies to have meaningful participation in all initiatives that we are doing. I mean all of that is sort of for us the social justice element is sort of enshrined into your normal basic human rights. So because we work within ... we are a social research organisation working within the human rights approach; the social justice angle is sort of the logical entry point for us into the HIV/AIDS (CSA Project Manager 2).

In addition to the human rights framework, fulfilling social justice concerns involves employing contextualised research with the aim of improving the lives of women since they represent the portion of the population most severely affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It also involves a multi-sectoral approach, for instance, working with non profit organisations such as People against Women Abuse (POWA), and international aid agencies, such as Australian Aid. The main aim is to empower women and improve their socio-economic status.

One project manager's conceptualisation of social justice is informed by a human rights culture with a strong emphasis on gender equality. The research projects under the auspices of the project manager attempt to effect "gender justice": for example, two projects focus on the trauma and empowerment of women. The focus of this project is to empower victims of gender based violence by providing the project organisers with property (CSA Project Manager 2). Although on a small scale, such activities do constitute a building block towards achieving gender justice in the context of the pandemic that is undermining gender equality, what also emerged with reference to gender is the attempt to go beyond the provision of services to women's empowerment. In a way this is similar to the project on self-reliance which attempts to promote sustainable development that is longer lasting. The CSA's focus on gender does not merely end with the limited gender perspective that concentrates on women. There is another progressive venture that focuses on gender from a masculine perspective. As a result, a more balanced perspective regarding gender would be provided. In this

broadened perspective, there are also proponents which hold that women's rights are no less than human rights. This is a similar stance to that advocated by socialist feminists in advancing gender justice (Young, 2004; Unterhalter, 2004). In so doing, the socialist feminist also strives to represent human diversity and thus to portray inclusiveness as an element of social justice. However, the CSA's position on HIV/AIDS and gender could benefit from engaging with the Man as Partners (MAP) movement whose objective is to change men's knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours, leading to a decrease in the spread of HIV/AIDS and gender based violence (Greig & Peacock, 2005:3).

The human rights framework that the CSA adopts in dealing with the pandemic portrays the global commitment to dealing with it. It also reflects Parker et al.'s position on the rights based approach:

Ultimately, together with a new emphasis on community mobilization aimed at unleashing resistance to stigmatization and discrimination, structural interventions aimed at developing a rights-based approach to reducing HIV/AIDS-related stigmatization and discrimination should be a high priority in order to create a transformed social climate in which stigmatization and discrimination will no longer be tolerated. Within such a framework, discrimination becomes a clear breach of a basic human rights obligation — a breach that, when concretized in civil rights legislation can effectively impede and prohibit the exercise of HIV/AIDS related stigmatization and discrimination (Parker, et al., 2003:17).

The difficulty with the human rights culture/approach is that the dominant discourse that informs it at the moment is one of neo-liberalism and hence it is limited in inculcating a form of social justice that promotes collective human rights.

While the staff of the CSA perceive social justice as a complex concept to define, yet even more complex when being implemented or practised, especially given the historical legacy of the country and the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS, adopting the human rights approach emerged as pertinent for them. Implicit in this approach is the attempt to deal with the injustices suffered by those infected or affected by HIV/AIDS, for example, stigmatisation. The human rights approach also resonates with the position of socialist feminists on justice as freedom from the five faces of oppression (Young, 2000). According to Young, for every member of a given society to experience justice,

there must be humane treatment and equal recognition of all. By linking these two approaches, a socially just community could be created. For example, members of society who are marginalised because of their HIV/AIDS status could be accorded full recognition and incorporated into the social world.

Although the said framework devised by Young was written within a Western context, the present study utilises it here because it illuminates certain aspects of the oppression experienced by people affected with HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, the framework is useful for providing solutions in addressing the injustices.

7.7 The CSA's Conceptualisation of HIV/AIDS

The data analysis indicates that, in implementing the CSA's mandate, the project manager's conceptualisation of HIV/AIDS is further broadened and informed by current debates on the political economy of HIV/AIDS. The staff at the CSA perceive it as more than merely a medical issue, but more importantly, as a developmental issue since it cuts across all sectors of the economy and the social life of communities. This broad view is couched in the human rights culture which is the mainstay that informs most of the CSA activities. In addition to this, HIV/AIDS is adopted as a moral responsibility of the institution and the nation at large. This concept can be characterised as having more neutral undertones, even though it is informed by current politico-economic debates. It possesses liberal tones because its emphasis leans more towards the human rights approach that operates in the capitalist and globalised context responsible for the globalised nature and socio-economic inequalities of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The liberal undertones of this conceptualisation have merits in being couched in terms of the human rights culture, but fall short of theorising the pandemic in radical social justice terms – as a thread of global social justice. Another important omission is the downplaying of the feminist position that perceives HIV/AIDS as being socially constructed and best understood from the perspectives of the society that is affected and infected by the pandemic (Gilbert & Wright, 2003).

7.8 Leadership in HIV/AIDS

Another important attribute that emerged from the data concerns the CSA's objective to demonstrate leadership in terms of HIV/AIDS in the academic field by equipping

students with skills such as initiative, creativity, and humane skills that contribute to the enhancement of the social role of higher education. The CSA also fulfils the university's business and economic mission to produce leaders in the corporate world with relevant knowledge of HIV/AIDS. This mission is fulfilled by mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in most of the university curricula and other extracurricular activities. Of note in this attempt is the success story with respect to mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in engineering, resulting in informed engineering graduates. Equally of note is the CSA's approach to educating the UP community concerning HIV/AIDS. In this regard the CSA has embraced the flexible learning approach and thus attempts to accommodate all learners. However, while there are success stories of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in the curriculum in isolated departments, there is much resistance to mainstreaming since, as noted, only 20% of the departments are embracing it. Hence, it can safely be inferred that the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS is strongly contested in the university context, and for it to gain ground, much spadework needs to be done.

With their zeal to demonstrate leadership in the HIV/AIDS field, the interviewees' responses indicate that the CSA does not operate in isolation, but embodies a strong community outreach focal point which is informed by the inclusive and broadened conceptualisation of the HIV/AIDS phenomenon. The community projects with which the CSA is involved include but are not limited to youth concerns, women/gender development, schools (through the national vaccine project) and linking academia with the community. Furthermore, the CSA places a strong focus on community development, enhancing pertinent areas such as improvement of food security and social infrastructure.

The approach of the CSA when implementing the HIV/AIDS policy is not limited to the local community but extends to the continental and global community. The project managers indicated how the magnitude of the pandemic has necessitated that the CSA does not adopt the AIDS/HIV project in terms of the isolationist and exceptionalism positions, but must, rather, cooperate and collaborate with internal and external compatible organisations. It maintains strong links with relevant local, national, regional and international activist organisation in the HIV/AIDS fields. At an institutional level, the centre enjoys strong links with other tertiary institutions in the country while at the

national level it is informed by the government HIV/AIDS Programme as it was established in response to the then vice president's call in 1999. Regional programmes are manifested in the form of the SADCC Future Leaders Programme which targets the youth and empowers them with relevant skills in the HIV/AIDS field. International links have been established through the involvement in the activities of UNESCO by one project manager and the HIV/ AIDS research project of the University of York.

The CSA has positioned itself as a socially relevant centre with a strong research function. This indicates that its role in implementing policy on HIV/AIDS is strongly informed by relevant and current research. The *AIDS Review* is evidence of this fact. The other exemplary research endeavours are those in collaboration with international institutions such as that just mentioned.

Demonstrating leadership in the HIV/AIDS fields translates into the implementation of both local and global organisational visions of mitigating and curbing HIV/AIDS. From the United Nations to the University of Pretoria, there is strong commitment to the alleviation of the pandemic. The UNAIDS's commitment, actions and goals to halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015 are reflected in the leadership, as regards HIV/AIDS activities, taken by the CSA (UNAIDS, 2007). Related to this commitment are regional issues of critical concern. For instance, the SADC identification of "the need to ensure that poverty alleviation is addressed in all SADC activities and programmes with the ultimate objective of eradicating it. HIV/AIDS is a major threat to the attainment of the objective of SADC and therefore is accorded priority in all SADC programmes and activities" (SADC, 2007). This is a pertinent concern because, according to UNAIDS figures, the SADC community records the highest prevalence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic; therefore, it is fitting that the SADC should take explicit action towards mainstreaming the latter. Demonstrating leadership in the HIV/AIDS area at local and global level, and taking into consideration HIV/AIDS as a social justice concern, reflects Young's (2002) position on justice as a global concern. Social justice can no longer be an isolated national issue, but becomes a global one.

7.9 The Role of Project Managers

The project manager's role in implementing the HIV/AIDS policy focuses on the following functions: strategic planning, fundraising, research management, staff development and “innovating and expanding CSA”, youth and gender development. Once more the CSA is socially relevant because it proposes a special portfolio for HIV/AIDS and the youth, headed and coordinated by a project management team.

My specific role I mean my primary portfolio in the centre is the Youth Projects – the Leaders at Work Project and other related links of which there is quite a few of. There is a media portfolio as well liaising with the media and so general marketing of the centre as well. Then other activities include sort of grant writing, I am one of the main grant writers of the Unit because we have to raise our own funding in the unit. Then also I am representing the centre on various bodies sort of regionally and nationally. And I am chief editor in the UNESCO Impact of HIV and AIDS clearing house in Paris (CSA Project Manager 2).

This is particularly important because global statistics indicate that the generation affected most by the pandemic comprises the youth of tertiary education age (16 – 25 years). The manner in which the CSA markets its services to the youth target market is exemplary and credit goes to the youth portfolio project manager who continually provides vibrant, popular and captivating messages regarding HIV/AIDS. The emphasis on gender is also of particular relevance to the mitigation of HIV/AIDS because women constitute a large percentage of the people affected and infected by the pandemic. In fact this focus reflects the current strategies of dealing with the phenomenon of the feminisation of poverty and HIV/AIDS. In addressing these issues, social researchers argue that increased empowerment of women globally is the key (Gahan, 2005: 5).

In sharing experiences regarding their role, the project managers revealed very little evidence of how HIV/AIDS impacts on them as social scientists and researchers. Their role is limited to issues of the development of the skills of the youth as regards HIV/AIDS gender and community development. What appears to be missing, for instance, is the interrogation of issues of socio-economic exclusion, deprivation and discrimination owing to the pandemic and the role of neo-liberalism therein. From the perspective of critical theory, the centre would be in a position to advance radical social justice if the role of the project manager were informed by critical social research and science, whose

aim is to liberate human beings — the youth and adults alike — from systems of oppression and homophobic practices of capitalism as characteristics of the global context of the pandemic (Hill, 2000:3). A related matter with respect to revitalising the role of the project in challenging neo-liberalism and its anti-democratic tendencies can be found in applying the principles of *Tirisano* and compassionate citizenship suggested by Waghid (2004). Waghid's important suggestion is that instilling compassionate citizenship in the youth cultivates values of democracy, social justice and equality, non-racism, non-sexism, *ubuntu* – human dignity, openness, accountability and respect for the rule of law. Waghid further adds that in higher education the role of university teachers in a context of global injustice such as HIV/AIDS would involve that:

[We] will need to cultivate compassion as an appropriate response to the situation of others; this is a quality that deserves recognition in the education of students and the democratisation of society. Good universities not only teach students practical reasoning, but also a sense of generosity and appropriate concern towards others Teaching university students to show compassion means instilling in them the value of learning to oppose undeserved conditions of living which affront human dignity such as socio-economic deprivation, racism, inequality and poverty – conditions which are rife in South Africa and on the African continent (Waghid, 2004:539).

Although Waghid's suggestions are expressed in general terms and refer to teaching, they could be applicable to the project managers at the CSA, as university employees involved in training the youth at the university as a place of enactment. Therefore, a consideration of teaching the CSA clientele some principles of compassionate citizenship as an aspect of democracy would go a long way towards facilitating the rights-based approach that frames most of the CSA's activities.

7.10 Outcomes of the Programmes

The CSA has enjoyed some successes in implementing the HIV/AIDS policy. The evidence provided by the project managers points to successful outcomes in the area of intervention, youth development, addressing stigma, gender and masculinity. The intervention package has been created and must be replicated nationally. Since the objective of this package is to address HIV/AIDS trauma, primarily aimed at women, again a strong gender focus is evident. In this regard, the CSA should be wary of

making a contribution to dealing with the feminisation of HIV/AIDS as referred to by Gahan (2004).

The CSA, through its various projects, particularly those that target the youth, has successfully demystified the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS. In addressing the notion of stigma, the human rights approach once again informs the conception and delivery of training material. Not only is there progress in addressing stigma, but another area that also evidences positive outcomes is the broadening of gender to include the masculinity perspective. This process, according to the project manager, represents the goal of the CSA “to invent new ways of meaningful participation of men in HIV/AIDS programmes and promote men as active agents of change”. This implies that in the battle to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS it is not only women who should be in the forefront but also men, because all genders are equally affected by the pandemic. These outcomes reflect the activity of the organisation MAP whose objective it is to build societal capacity to involve men in HIV/AIDS related prevention, care and activities related to gender based violence and the promotion of gender equality (Greig & Peacock, 2005:2).

According to the CSA director, the CSA projects are locally and regionally focused. As noted, their main agenda in promoting social justice is framed by the human rights approach while addressing the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS. One example of a regional programme that addresses social justice and HIV/AIDS is the one offered to regional parliamentarians which promotes the dignity and human rights of those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. The CSA’s involvement with these parliamentarians is another indication of the relevance of their project to the local outcomes.

7.11 Challenges of the CSA

For the two project managers, stigmatisation of HIV/AIDS remains the greatest national challenge for the CSA to address despite the fact that the centre has instituted measures to address this. Even at institutional level, HIV/AIDS continues to be demonised, which has led to the perpetuation of a taboo culture that the CSA must also address. One project manager’s position with regards to the challenges of stigma and misconceptions about the pandemic is as follows:

One of the challenges, first we are focusing on the university campus, is the diversity of the campus population. I mean there are myths and misconceptions going with that, if you are dealing with race and culture, the average white students on campus are not affected by the HIV/AIDS; they feel sometimes untouched by it. So if you are trying to have a campaign targeting them or if you are trying to get them involved into the programme, they sometimes look reluctant because they sometimes see it as a black issue and not a white issue. Some of the black students might think that well it is a drug-user issue or it is a homosexual issue (CSA Project Manager 2).

According to the project managers, the pandemic has re-invented and recreated gender and social inequalities, thus presenting a challenge of great magnitude that needs to be addressed consistently and immediately; not piecemeal.

Although there have been some positive outcomes, especially in the area of demystifying HIV/AIDS and the stigma attached to it, the project managers argue that the battle is not completely won as there continue to be further misconceptions of the HIV/AIDS pandemic influenced by race, culture and the socio-economic dynamics. These misconceptions are going to continue to exist on the global scale for as long as the statistics point to the fact that the hardest hit groups of the populations are those marginalised by poverty, gender, race and social class. The question that arises, with reference to dealing with stigma, concerns what CSA experience is also reflected in the international research field. According to Parker, HIV/AIDS related stigma and discrimination continue to plague the world even among the sectors of the world that are experiencing adverse poverty conditions and the feminisation of poverty (Parker, et al., 2003:17). They suggest that for the global community to deal more effectively with stigma and related discrimination and oppression, there is a need to:

Conceptualize stigma and stigmatization as intimately linked to the reproduction of social difference; this paper offers a new framework by which to understand HIV/AIDS-related stigma and its effects. In so doing, it highlights the manner in which stigma feeds upon, strengthens and reproduces existing inequalities of class, race, gender and sexuality. It highlights the limitations of individualistic modes of stigma alleviation and calls instead for new programmatic approaches in which the resistance of stigmatized individuals and communities is utilized as a resource for social change (Parker, et al., 2003:17).

Another challenge that the CSA has been required to deal with is the increasing demand for its services in the context of the growing numbers of those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS, particularly among the youth. As a result certain staff members have felt overwhelmed by the constant demand for their services by the university community and the nation at large.

Some of the above challenges are reiterated by the CSA director. According to him, the challenges that face the organisation stem from three sources – student related, staff related and management related. With regard to students, stigmatisation, racism and reluctance to support some of the CSA programmes are the main challenges. With regard to staff stigmatisation the challenges are coupled with limited cooperation from staff. With regard to management, there is reluctance to assist with the CSA projects in particular.

Financially, like the other two centres – the UPFY and IGWS – the CSA has had to contend with financial difficulties, perhaps due to the commodification and marketisation of higher education services as described earlier by Giroux (2002) and Apple (2001). Overall, stigmatisation emerges as being the greatest challenge in the whole university community.

7.12 Dealing with the Challenges

In dealing with the said challenges, project managers characterise the approach of the CSA as being dynamic, innovative and creative. The goal of continuously finding unique and new ways of improving the situation drives most of its activities, for example, the Future Leaders Programme that equips the youth with skills to deal with the pandemic in the corporate world. The human rights approach once again emerges as the mainstay that informs the solutions formulated by the CSA. This broad approach is coupled with encouraging people to apply a critical mind to the greatest challenges, such as stigmatisation. Even in the projects that address stigma, the CSA does not employ the “one-size-fits-all” approach but rather creates specialised interventions for specific marginalised people.

In addressing the challenges facing the UP, the CSA director refers to a concerted effort that involves most of the stakeholders, from top management to students. Educating and disseminating information regarding HIV/AIDS is the dominant strategy employed by the centre, for example, the HIV/AIDS Reviews. The nature and focus of the educational interventions are such that they appeal to different audiences that consist of most of the stakeholders of the University community.

Measures to mainstream HIV/AIDS in the curriculum promote collaborative research on HIV/AIDS and cooperation with the Centre for Human Rights Studies. All these processes are intended to address the HIV/AIDS challenge in a context where misconceptions regarding the pandemic are rife. With reference to research, the promotion of interdisciplinary research is an important strategy for the centre:

Also being placed in the university, we feel that one of the strengths is to promote interdisciplinary research. I mean in getting people from various disciplines together to do research together, to work on interventions together and do research together. And linked to that is that we believe firmly in sort of marrying theory with practice, I mean for a long time HIV and AIDS were sort of reactive, people reacted to the challenge. Throughout the years we have got so much theory in HIV/AIDS and the theory does not always influence what is happening in the field you know. Theories sometimes are always kept in library shelves and books and it does not actually feed back into the community where that theory was actually developed (CSA Project Manager 2).

By promoting interdisciplinary research, the centre is dealing with the challenges and demonstrating that it is aware of the complexity of the pandemic while forging ways of addressing it from a variety of perspectives. This is a positive disposition. However, in terms of critical theory, the research undertaken by the centre would benefit from adopting a stance that is critical of current research theories and practices with the aim of liberating knowledge and human beings (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). This is an area that the centre needs to explore in order to advance the agenda of radical social justice.

In addressing the financial difficulties, the centre continually seeks funds from different donors such as UNESCO and the Australian Aid organisation. The deputy director describes this venture in the following manner: “We raise all our funds from donor

organisations and international governments. What they [the University of Pretoria] do, give us office space and access to the university's IT network internet – we pay for usage.” (Deputy Director, CSA). From the data it is evident that fundraising, addressing stigmatisation and making use of relevant research in the centre's activities are important strategies for dealing with the challenges.

7.13 Critical Policy Engagement

The recurring question that cropped up in the researcher's mind during the visits to the centre and while she analysed the interview data, was the level and extent of any critique of the dynamics which the HIV/AIDS pandemic presents to the CSA, especially because the centre has been tasked with engaging with the highly politicised area of HIV/AIDS. Evidence of some level of critique is present in the broad politico-economic informed conceptualisation of the pandemic as opposed to the sanitised limited one. Another example of such critique is the adoption of the human rights framework in addressing the pandemic. This indicates that the centre views people living with HIV/AIDS first as human beings with rights – which is most important. Its conception of a human rights discourse does not merely end at individual rights as the liberal tradition has it, but encompasses collective human rights that deal with broader societal developmental issues. Thus HIV/AIDS is not only an individual matter, but more of a collective one. However, the issue of HIV/AIDS as a collective human rights matter is not powerfully developed but is merely mentioned in passing. This is the area that I think the CSA needs to explore in future, in order to be considered as a critically engaged centre. Consequently, for the CSA to display characteristics of critical policy engagement, it has to interrogate the current discourse of individual human rights and inform its practices with collective rights of this kind.

The question to ask in relation to this topic is: what kind of policy content / framework specifically seeks to promote or oversee social justice? Is the increasing concern with HIV/AIDS a social justice issue? Is there a strong demonstrable commitment to accountability to social justice at the CSA? If there is not, what undermines the commitment to social justice? Is the framing of HIV/AIDS in the human rights culture possible if there is no strong commitment to social justice?

An attempt has been made in the current study to depict the conceptualisation of social justice and HIV/AIDS. For all the participants, the elements of social justice include a total transformation of the institution, promoting general and disability equity, gender and human rights. HIV/AIDS is viewed as a social justice concern because it mostly affects the marginalised people, and doing justice to the pandemic is found in the human rights approach. Thus, the human rights approach / strategy that focuses on democracy, diversity, inclusion, and tolerance of differences, results in long term positive consequences in addressing the issue. Although social justice is considered to entail a focus on the utopian human condition, promotes non-sexism, non-racism, non-classism, non-ageism, non-discrimination, and is concerned with promoting an inclusive and democratic culture, nevertheless HIV/AIDS has emerged as an attack on the utopian human condition aspired to, and will require a relentless defence of strategies informed by social justice to address this pandemic.

Although the suggested utopian human condition is admirable since it accommodates the marginalised victims of HIV/AIDS, the socio-economic and political context is hostile to it. The utopian view's advocacy for the proper, humane, treatment of HIV/AIDS concerns is unambiguous. In this context, that which characterises the CSA's advocacy is not even close to the utopian perspective. It is more realistic and practical in that it is couched in the language of the human rights and democratic culture with which most South Africans can identify and have come to embrace as part of the democratic dispensation. It is troubling that the human rights and democratic culture contains one glaring exclusion: in principle, social justice is mentioned but engagement with the strategy is deficient. Hence, to shift the activities of the CSA closer to the utopian view, concerted effort must be applied to the engagement with social justice and HIV/AIDS as a matter of urgency.

One important observation concerns the dynamics of power relations and how they affect the policy process at the CSA. The power dynamics at the university are heavily influenced by the neo-liberal ideology. Studies have shown that this ideology has altered the university as well as its research policy and practice. Most universities have witnessed the introduction of market-like behaviour on a global scale and at South African universities in general, while the University of Pretoria in particular is not an

exception. South African research points to neo-liberalism and globalisation as the main culprit that seriously undermines transformative social justice (Waghid, 2001). According to progressive educators, “the major task for leftist academics is to be accountable for the ‘real world’ political implications of theory by working out ways to connect education with community struggles for social justice” (McLaren, 2003).

Another important issue with regard to that which should be in place, versus that which is actually in place, is the purpose and content of the research agenda. In the context where the latter is being made to fulfil the needs of the markets more than the needs of the community or society at large, the CSA needs to position itself strongly as a social research centre for community development – the civic good. Related to this, the CSA needs to be wary of the neo-liberal research agenda whose main purpose is to do away with cooperation and the civic good and open the door for the operations of vast corporations and the law of money. If this is left unchecked, HIV/AIDS research for community development will be held under siege by the law of the markets and thus social justice will be compromised. Community development or civic good is an important mission which the CSA aims to fulfil and, in doing so, it is aligning itself with the broader mission and vision of the University of Pretoria. Community development, and engagement, do not occur in an ideological vacuum. In societies that subscribe to neo-liberalism, community development is informed by stakeholder participation in the projects geared towards development. At the CSA, the data revealed that there are attempts to practise the principle of stakeholder participation in the various projects. While this is a noble move, particularly towards alleviating the scourge of HIV/AIDS, it will continue to be inadequate as long as the said participation is unequal and informed by the ideology of market logic. In addressing this, the CSA needs to continue in its efforts with regards to community development and go one step further to empowering them in terms of human, social and humane capital. This implies the promotion of loving communities which build bridges to connect different social sectors and classes for the common human good. In this context the relevant question to ask is: what is the imagined community on which the CSA wishes its focus to fall? This imagined community would not only consist of the ruling class who are supposedly in control of the means of production. The envisaged imagined community consists of all classes; in particular, the working classes who make it possible for academics and

community workers to speak write and teach effectively, even if their contribution may appear to be meagre. The imagined community would use popular power and dominant power to address the common threat to humankind – HIV/AIDS.

7.14 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the manner in which the CSA has addressed the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a social justice concern. It has highlighted the conceptualisation of the pandemic as a global emergency from the perspective of political economy. Furthermore it has been shown that dealing with the pandemic, in a context informed by a neo-liberal and conservative agenda, hampers strategies that address the magnitude of the issue. However, the CSA has demonstrated the use of positive strategies in dealing and engaging with HIV / AIDS, despite operating in a context that does not fully promote the pandemic as a social justice agenda. In this connection, the chapter has suggested that the CSA has the potential to contribute to the alleviation of the crisis through the deployment of the human rights framework.

CHAPTER 8 – SOCIAL JUSTICE MANDATE UNDER SIEGE

If you are seeking justice, you are struggling, consciously or unconsciously against the logic of capitalism. And that implicit in your ideal for social justice is a different economic system, one which exists nowhere in the world but which [we] hope ... will someday take shape. (Lebowitz,1998:29).

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters dealt with changes in education policy and institutional responses to the social justice mandate. In this chapter I show that despite policies, social justice mandates are marginalised and compromised because they are consistently at odds with the pervasive neo-liberal ideology within higher education institutions. However, I argue here that despite a neo-liberal and marketised global and local context, the ideals of radical social justice must be pursued. Put another way, the pursuance of a radical social justice agenda cannot stand in the wings and await the cue of ideological change.

In this chapter I examine the factors behind the marginalisation of the centres that are presented as beacons of social justice at the University of Pretoria. The guiding question in this last chapter is: “What contributes to the marginalisation of the social justice mandate in higher education and how can this situation be changed?”

This study is premised on the assumption that social justice in its enormity and complexity is an important guiding principle for policies and practices in higher education. However, the study also shows that social justice continues to be under siege owing to the overwhelming nature of the widespread global socio-economic policies of neo-liberalism. This is especially so because the quest for social justice and alternative futures is pursued in a global and local context that is hostile to the realisation of genuine social justice, because the nature of late capitalism has necessitated the move from a Keynesian welfare state to neo-liberal arrangements, as explained in Chapter One. In any nation state, the quest for social justice is embedded in the universal human rights declaration that recognises the socio-economic and political rights of all individuals regardless of race, class, gender, religion or any other form of classification. In a democracy, the state is the custodian of social justice and through its institutions such as the education system the ideals of social justice are to be realised. It has been

shown that the higher education sector has played a significant role in advancing the ideals of social justice globally and locally – particularly those of opening up access, promoting equal participation in higher education and inculcating the culture of democracy and compassionate citizenship. However, certain elements of social justice need to be highlighted because they play a pertinent role in illustrating the role of higher education in fulfilling the social justice mandate. This study has concerned itself with three aspects of social justice at the University of Pretoria: as mentioned, access to higher education in the form of UPFY, promotion of gender equality in the form of IGWS and a human rights culture in the form of HIV/AIDS and CSA projects.

8.2 Conceptualisation of Transformation

The response to the research question probing the factors behind the marginalisation of social justice initiatives in higher education is multifaceted and multidimensional. The position of this thesis is encapsulated in the quote by Lebowitz (1998) at the beginning of this chapter. In essence, elements of a socioeconomic order that would provide fertile ground for the germination of radical social justice informed by radical humanism principle appear to be an impossible ideal owing to the logic of late capitalism. Nevertheless, the quest for radical transformation that encapsulates the agenda of radical social justice as explained in Chapter Two continues to be a motivating factor even though it goes against the norm of late capitalism and the accompanying discourse of neo-liberalism that continues to marginalise social justice endeavours.

The process of marginalisation occurs at various levels of society, ranging from the broader macro socio-economic policies to micro level institutional policies that are couched in the language of social justice but continue to perpetuate social injustices by not being explicit enough about transformation. For instance, it has been stated in Chapter Four that the Innovation Generation document of the University of Pretoria underscores transformation as one of its strategic drivers. In stating the concept of transformation, it appears self-evident that the institution is transforming and this is further supported by the changing demography of students which is more representative of the South African population. But this is more of a prima-facie change. In this context, suggesting that UP's conceptualisation of transformation is couched in the liberal discourse of reform would not be far from accurate. As an illustration, the

mission of the institution proclaims the promotion of equity of access, redress and transformation, and this is further reflected in the assertions of management participants at the three centres that there is commitment to opening up access to all South Africans in their diversity. In this regard, the university appears to be a massive institution for everyone embodying an egalitarian discourse. Furthermore, in a context that is driven by reform, there are beacons of calls to transform as exemplified in the three cases discussed. However, there exists a dilemma in the tendency to the marginalisation of transformation because of the threat it poses to the status quo of reform, and to the general conservative–liberal institutional culture of the university. Another compounding illustration is the fact that the dominant institutional culture is informed by conservative libertarian ideals, which creates a possibility for the downplaying of ideals that are more communitarian as evidenced in those of radical social justice. In addition, the institutional culture may appear to be no longer that of the traditional “ivory tower” institution divorced from society but rather one of influencing and increasing the knowledge base of society within the human capital view. It is within this perspective that the crisis arises because it is couched in a liberal functionalist language that does not problematise inherent injustices and inequalities in higher education and society at large. From this position, there is societal consensus on inequality which is almost in line with the libertarian position of Nozick (1929-2002); competition serves to balance inequality. Whereas radical social justice would critique injustices and encourage the emancipation of the whole society, functionalist and liberal informed policies tend to promote the status quo of injustices, stifling genuine equal participation in higher education. In this context, for the University of Pretoria to begin to seriously position itself as a transformed institution in the language of radical social justice, there needs to be substantive engagement with issues of transformation.

At a macro level, research shows that the global neo-liberalism and market ideology are the main culprits in the marginalisation of radical social justice (Vally, 2001; Waghid, n.d.; Rikowski, 2002; Apple, 2001; McLaren, 2001; Lebowitz, 1988; Giroux, 2002; Jansen, 2002). In Chapter Two, it has been shown that from the perspectives of radical left educators, global neo-liberalism and capitalism continue to hinder the transformative and counter hegemonic agenda of radical social justice in the 21st century. Hence the conceptualisation of transformation from the neo-liberal perspective

is intended to maintain the status quo of global capitalism and undertake necessary reforms that make it appear as if change has occurred. The adoption of a culture of reforming the socio-economic situation without overthrowing capitalism has also become a trend in developing and emerging democracies such as South Africa. In the South African context, this was reflected in the introduction of GEAR: a macro economic policy that was heavily informed by liberal market logic and which continued to perpetuate socio-economic injustices amongst the poorest and most marginalised sectors of the population. In this context, it would be a utopian ideal to await the inevitable collapse of capitalism due to the current crisis and injustices as foretold by orthodox Marxism. But the historical reality is that the capitalist socio-economic system is going to be with us for some time. Because this study is informed by critical theory and the notion of hope against all odds, and as a progressive critical educator, I advance a similar position to Freire's *Pedagogy of hope* (2004). He states that "one of the tasks of progressive educators, through a serious and correct analysis is to unveil opportunities for hope no matter what the obstacles may be..." (Freire, 2004:4). This implies that there are opportunities for social justice, liberty and freedom in neo-liberalism. As radical scholars, there is an urgent need to pursue more strongly the notion of human emancipation and endeavour to reconstruct knowledge that would promote social justice.

In the educational arena, social justice is under siege because of the global movement towards massification of higher education as a response to the growing demand for it in society. However, in this context, the role of higher education with respect to advancing democracy and acting as the custodian of social justice is declining. Instead, tertiary education is increasingly being informed and framed by the language of neo-liberalism through the process of the commodification and marketisation of higher education. This implies that the roles of higher education are being fashioned in a similar manner to those of the business world, with the prime motive of generating capital and maximising profit. Consequently the triple role of teaching, research and service to the community for the public good is replaced by a focus on the private good and corporate interest. If this trend of regarding higher education as merely another corporation continues, then society will ultimately lose a great deal because of the fluidity of the business world and the great risk of losing societal confidence in higher education. So it is incumbent upon

higher education institutions to resist, and safeguard themselves against the onslaught of, the market ideology by sustaining and protecting the tradition of democracy for all humanity.

The said assault is evident in the marginalisation of teaching as a liberatory activity, and of the role of transformative intellectuals and critical research in creating alternatives to neo-liberalism. In this context, it stands to reason that counter-hegemonic and counter-cultural strategies are marginalised so that the status quo is maintained. In pointing to the massive assault of market ideology on social justice, this study is not positioning itself in terms of mere pessimistic determinism or apocalyptic despair. Rather, I, performing the role of a transformative intellectual, firmly hope in restoring the social justice agenda, and thus claiming its rightful intellectual space in the centre of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. The hope is based on the position of radical humanism and critical theory that human beings possess the capacity to emancipate themselves from situations that are oppressive (Boshier, 1999:1). This inherent freedom is also part and parcel of the Enlightenment project and modernity akin to the argument of Habermas (1974) and the notion of a democratic public sphere. What this implies is that for social justice to be the lived experience of everyone, intellectual and ordinary citizens alike, the practice of open debate and the culture of human rights need to be promoted.

In furthering transformation projects, intellectuals in the three centres would play a pertinent role particularly in facilitating the social justice mandate of higher education. As intellectuals, they are tasked with the making a contribution to the mission of teaching, research and service to the community. For them to make a dent in the neo-liberal environment there is a need to adopt dispositions and practices informed by critical theory. This needs to be explored in the current epoch despite the hostility of neo-liberalism to the tradition of critique and emancipation promised by critical theory.

8.3 Conceptualisation of Social Justice

It has been asserted that the conceptualisation of social justice which frames this study is a radical one. The elements of radical social justice are the elimination of the five faces of oppression identified by Young (2000), the liberation of space proposed by

Ramphele (2002), the adoption of human rights and inclusive culture, and the promotion of global justice, with education playing a pivotal role. With reference to the pursuit of the mandate of access, gender equality, and the alleviation of HIV/AIDS, the study argues that they contain in them common features of alleviating the five faces of oppression and liberating space.

However, radical social justice continues to be sidelined, though in fact it has been demonstrated that the achievement of social justice is one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century, given the dominance of the conservative and liberal traditions of social justice and the resultant persistent injustices of the North and South divide and of socio-economic issues. The marginalisation of radical social justice is witnessed in the dominance of the liberal tradition's conception of social justice amongst the facilitators at UPFY, IGWS and CSA, while the radical tradition of social justice is referred to on limited occasions, for instance, an indication that one item of the research agenda of the IGWS is *Ubuntu* and the possibility of exploring indigenous knowledge systems mentioned by researchers at UPFY. Thus a paradoxical situation exists, where the missions of the centres that contain the potential to deal with human misery, oppression and discrimination and contribute to the development of humane, inclusive and human rights based culture appear to be couched in the language of limited reform and not explicitly of transformation, as provided for in radical social justice. Furthermore, even in the limited instances where the sentiments of the facilitators at the three centres express elements of radical social justice, for example, where mention is made of empowering the African child through the demystification of mathematics and science, there appears to be a silence about the emancipatory possibilities of these disciplines couched in the discourse of radical social justice. In the case of CSA, elements of radical social justice are portrayed in the adoption of the human rights framework in dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic; however, this also falls short of the possibilities of substantive emancipation as there appears to be no indication of explicitly forging ways to challenge the dominant tradition of social justice.

UPFY contributes to the social justice imperative and the alleviation of the five faces of oppression by opening up access into higher education. At UPFY, social justice involves correcting the educational injustices of the past policies and practices. At

classroom level, it involves the use of progressive teaching methodologies and of empowering students with knowledge, while re-educating students about cultural imperialism. It also embraces improving the social-economic status of the marginalised members of the community, and broadening knowledge to include indigenous knowledge systems, particularly in the context of a knowledge society. In this regard, social justice is no longer restricted to questions of redistribution but encompasses issues of recognition of identity, difference and new forms of knowledge.

There is a need to affirm and accord full recognition to the multiplicity of worlds and forms of knowledge. These are elements of radical social justice, since they advance parity between redistribution and recognition (Fraser, 1995). At the university, what has emerged is a different picture. In theory and practice, the parity between redistribution and recognition is non-existent. For example, in terms of the fact that the student numbers at the University of Pretoria are now more representative of the diverse South African population, the university is deemed to have met the measure of redistribution as social justice, but at the same time, recognition and tolerance of diversity is still an issue of great concern in the university community. The experiences of black African students that the institutional culture at this higher education institution reflects “Whiteness” as described in Chapter Four furnish evidence of lack of parity between recognition and redistribution. This indicates that there is a constant tension between policy and experience with reference to issues of social justice and that there is limited synergy and integration of redistribution and recognition. Each component is advanced in isolation as if they are not related to each other. Hence, even though it may appear as if there are concerns with recognition of identity, difference and forms of knowledge, when these are treated in isolation from redistributive features of social justice the end results still reinforce the liberal conception of social justice.

The IGWS, through its focus on gender equality and gender mainstreaming, also contributes to the elimination of the five faces of oppression. For it, social justice involves the advancement of gender equality, transformation, socio-economic equality and the advancement of a human rights culture as laid down by the South African constitution. The conceptualisation is located in the distributive paradigm of social justice. Although there are some traces of the radical paradigm in the mention of

transformation, it exists more in principle than in practice. The IGWS appears to be locked in the epoch of the distributive paradigm of social justice because it advances an egalitarian socio-economic order and seems not to have moved beyond the rhetoric of reform: for example, the implication by one facilitator that gender justice would be addressed by equalising the gender composition of staff at the university. In the distributive paradigm, the principles of liberal gender equality and social justice mutually presuppose each other and therefore appear to offer adequate remedies for global injustice. This illusionary state of affairs, characteristic of the current distributive paradigm, constitutes a comfort zone and continues to be left unchallenged, while injustices and breaches of human rights continue to rise to new levels locally and globally. There is potential in the oppositional voice of feminism. The IGWS needs to embrace, support and enact within its sphere of influence a set of core values in the areas of human rights and gender mainstreaming informed by socialist feminism in order to advance radical social justice.

The CSA, through its adoption of the human rights framework in dealing with the global HIV/AIDS pandemic, contributes to the alleviation of the five faces of oppression. For CSA, social justice endeavours would have to be framed by this framework in order to address those affected and living with HIV/AIDS. The achievement of social justice is a global project, not just the endeavour of a nation state or an individual institution. This position displays elements of radical social justice because of its global stance, indicating that the quest for social justice need not be limited to such states but should be the responsibility of the global community.

There is a need to take the cue from critical intellectuals and elevate the project of human emancipation. This process emphasises the centrality of human agency in counteracting neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism in its various forms is socially made by human beings and it will take human beings to find alternatives to it particularly in the context of global oppression and injustices. It would be detrimental to the emancipatory project to wait for the natural death of capitalism.

In the broader global context there may be an argument that the current recession is a sign of capitalism self destructing. However there is ample evidence in the form of

government bail outs and the shaky but definite reassertion of the power of capital that this is not the case. In other words capitalism is not going to destroy itself. In the South African context it may be argued that there is a strong socialist agenda evidenced in the presence of the Congress of South African trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Tripartite Alliance³. However the country is unlikely to ditch a broader capitalist economic policy despite the socialist pressures from the SACP and the COSATU.

8.4 The Dilemmas and Possibilities of Transformation

In South Africa's higher education context, the post 1994 dispensation provided a new policy framework which was based on democracy and a human rights culture. Within this setting, for higher education to be regarded as transformed, it was required to promote the three transformation pillars of 1. Increased and broadened participation, 2. Responsiveness to societal needs and 3. Co-operation and partnership in governance. By being responsive to these factors, higher education contributed to socio-economic development and the empowerment of the vast majority of South Africans. The discussion in Chapter Three has indicated that South African higher education has performed well by formulating relevant and appropriate transformation policies couched in the language of liberalism. However, due to the overwhelming logic of the market, the policies continued to facilitate a limited transformation that met the needs of the global and local markets. It has been indicated in Chapter One that the market logic when translated to the higher education context is perceptible in the commodification of higher education: academic capitalism, the trend to seek funds and forge links with the corporate sector as a way for academics to acquire funds (Slaughter and Leslie, 2001, Bundy, 2005 and Levidow, 2002). In the case of the three centres, commodification is portrayed in the demand placed upon them to acquire external funding to finance part of their operations. The university appears to be shedding its responsibility to advance transformation and social justice by not fully financing the three centres. Instead it is adopting a non-committal approach informed by academic capitalism; consequently, it is apparent that although such transformation is couched in the language of social

³ A political alliance between the ruling party, the African National Congress, the SACP and COSATU.

justice it allows only limited possibilities for advancing radical social justice because it is implemented in a framework of neo-liberalism which in a sense inhibits the right to equal access and participation in higher education.

The possibility for transformation exists in de-commodification of higher education and reinserting of the common good of higher education. This would entail changing the emphasis on economic and the profit motives to that of higher education serving the community. This position is advanced by critical scholars across the world. In sponsoring the three initiatives of social justice fully, the university would not exhaust its funds. On the contrary, it would be some form of service to the community and a way of enhancing the public role of higher education.

8.5 The University of Pretoria and Neo-Conservative and Neo-Liberal Ideology

At the University of Pretoria, its inability to shed in total its neo-conservative and liberal institutional culture has been demonstrated. Because culture defines how any institution functions, the manner in which matters operate at the university is greatly influenced by the conservative culture and ideology whose main task is to reproduce and maintain the status quo of white privilege and dominance at the expense of any other cultures, particularly the counter culture reflected in radical social justice. For example, the fact that there was virtually no female senior executive until 2007 when only one woman was appointed at senior executive level is an indication of the dominance of a conservative patriarchal culture. This served to marginalise some of the activities of the centres that aimed to promote social justice because at management level, gender representation was not enshrined. Even if gender parity at management level did exist, as is required by government policy, the overall neo-conservative and liberal institutional culture of the university would still act as a stumbling block to the realisation of radical social justice because the ideological dispositions of the change agents at management level would be informed by liberalism.

Instances educational entrepreneurialism tell part of the story about academic capitalism at the University of Pretoria. (Rhoades and Slaughter 2004) At the strategic level, there are elements of academic entrepreneurialism and cost efficiency in the tone and content of the Innovation Generation Document. For instance, in 1994, at the dawn of

the democratic dispensation in South Africa, the University of Pretoria was assessed as the best in terms of cost efficiency. This suggested that the university was managing to “do more with less “in the context of governments move to cut funding in higher education and encourage institutions to seek funds for themselves from other sources.

The common challenge that emerged from interview data from the three centres highlighted was limited financial resources as the main element and the fact that the management of the centres have to find ventures of generating money for the running each centre. For instance, at UPFY the director indicated that there are links forged with industry to acquire funding for students at UPFY as the projects goal is to address the shortage of labour supply the country with scarce skills in Math’s, Science, Engineering and Technology. In the case of the IWGS, the facilitators indicated that apart from being marginalised from the main faculties, they also had to generate funds from external sponsors and offer gender developmental workshops pitched at market prices. The failure to comply with the demands would lead to their further marginalization and possible extinction. The CSA equally indicated the concern with financial constraints and the challenge of finding means to obtain funds. The common focus on revenue seeking ventures by the three centres indicate that the university is more driven by the profit motif than consideration of issues of gender, HIV/AIDS and access as social responsibility issues for the common good.

The said neo-conservative and liberal ideology has also influenced the roles that the university employees fulfil as academics, administrators and activists. In this regard, a notable characteristic that emerged from the data with reference to the roles of most of the participants from the three centres is the description of their responsibilities in liberal language, for example, references made to “teaching for understanding” and making use of the “constructivist approach to teaching and learning” as opposed to that of radical discourse that would explicitly refer to critical consciousness-raising in the fashion of radical scholars like Freire (2005). Most of them see themselves as technocrats, educating students for their roles in the reproduction of capitalist interests. What is not being developed is the role of university employees as transformative intellectuals, with the mandate of educating the youth to call for better alternatives to neo-liberalism and to transform capitalism. Given that at the University of Pretoria,

particularly at the three centres, there are intellectuals who are not explicit about their own transformatory and emancipatory role, radical social justice will continue to be marginalised. Some of the participants focus on the upliftment of the individual student and are therefore informed by the redistributive paradigm of social justice, while others are more concerned with broader change at macro-level. Showing concern about change is not adequate. In order for radical social justice to be realised, the intellectuals need to further advance their pronounced engagement with issues of transformation toward just alternatives.

The powerful neo-liberal ideology blinds some of the university employees who perceive no alternative to it and are thus paralysed as regards transformation. It was observed that the university had reached saturation regarding change. This observation was made by participants whose framing of social justice is liberal and redistributive in nature; for instance, some facilitators at the IGWS expressed frankly the fact that the university has several policies established and informed by social justice. In this regard, the University of Pretoria has embraced elements of racial equality, gender equality and the eradication of practices of all forms of discrimination and oppression as a reform measure in order to comply with national legislative requirements. Such measures, while important to a limited extent, perpetuate the culture of compliance because they do not interrogate broader socio-economic frames but continue to operate within them. This observation is related to the issue of transformation paralysis that was discussed in chapter one. The sections of the university community that are more likely to identify with the concept of change saturation are those whose ideological position maintains the status quo of the University of Pretoria as a conservative traditional university. For this group of people, their strategy is to resist policy prescriptions that they deem as educationally inappropriate, based on their ideological framework. For example, one facilitator from the IGWS indicated that the centre is performing quite well with reference to addressing gender equality by running gender mainstreaming workshops internally and externally, to the public. I hold the position that the University of Pretoria is far from reaching change saturation: the transformation agenda still needs to be pursued more than ever before because there is a great and urgent need for the institution to consider the discourse of radical humanism and re-position itself in

promoting the public good and thereby be more responsive and relevant to the needs of the multiple and diverse citizens of South Africa, not just the privileged few.

The issue of transformation paralysis is related to the concern that there is a declining voice of criticism within South African higher education, which was raised by one of the foremost scholars in this field, Jansen, in his comment on the dwindling culture of critique in the current state of higher education (Jansen, 2004:11). The voice of criticism is crucial to the very survival of higher education staff members as stalwarts of democracy and protectors of social justice and needs to be revived so that progressive intellectuals can continue to promote the quest for a socially just future. Jansen (2004) further observes that what has replaced the voice of criticism is the voice of complaint. This study concurs with Jansen in advocating that in order to sustain and maintain higher education as relevant to the society at large, there needs to be the revival of critical intellectual engagement at universities.

This study has highlighted the merits and challenges that the three centres face in implementing the three elements of social justice: access, gender equality and alleviation of HIV/AIDS. It has been shown that these centres operate in a context that is informed by globalisation and neo-liberal ideology and that this overarching ideology affects the meaningful promotion of radical social justice as advanced by this study. In conclusion, notwithstanding the magnitude of the challenge of promoting radical social justice in a context that is opposed to it, the three centres through their substantive engagement policy can make a meaningful contribution to the enhancement of the said elements of social justice. In this process, they would be contributing to a more inclusive, equitable, respectful and tolerant society, informed by the latter.

Furthermore, the possibilities for transformation are contained in the existence of human agency. In analyzing the possible incidence of human agency in the three centres under study the following observations are pertinent. Given that from the point of view of critical theory, human agency broadly implies collective action for the collective good, there was evidence of two dominant points of view. The first was that the centres had little if any potential for agency. This was linked to the perception that change and agency for change were intimately connected to resources, financial, administrative and

executive resources. Arguably this may be associated with the hierarchical structuring of the University and the neo liberal interpretation of agency which posits that change is possible through resources and executive mandate for change. Included in this position was that the centre had reached change saturation given policy compliance at the institutional level.

The second is the belief that the centre has potential for agency. This was evidenced in the suggestion that union involvement in the centre would be beneficial to the centre and that the power of the union could be used as leverage for change. Another example was the argument, in this instance in UPFY, was the call to demystify the teaching of science. Underpinning this call was the belief that demystification would make learning more accessible to a wider group of students and this would change the perception that science was difficult and available only to a few.

8.6 Policy, Implications and Lessons

Social justice in the South African context is driven by the new democratic state but it is highly contested in principle and practice. There is a clear divide between rhetoric and practice. On the face of it, social justice is symbolic and appears to fulfil some aspects of the radical social justice agenda, but at the level of implementation is translated as an extension of neo-liberal reality.

At the University of Pretoria, the commitment to social justice is pronounced, reflected in policy documents and translated by the three centres studied. However, owing to the university's conservative institutional culture and its alignment with market ideology, social justice in the radical sense is marginalised. This result is evident in the sense that while the three centres play an important role (people who are likely to access them are disadvantaged or marginalised) this stands a chance of perpetuating social injustices for as long as the territorial core is informed by the conservative neo-liberal agenda. Only concerted efforts at mainstreaming these important social justice initiatives will bring the three major issues of such justice to the fore. That is, the university needs to build it into the curriculum and make it integral to the process of learning and teaching. This strategy could first be piloted at the centres and then be integrated at institutional level.

The process of mainstreaming these initiatives might take some time; in the meantime, the three initiatives exist as pockets of social justice and need to be sustained. Even though they appear to be isolated, their merit lies in advancing elements of social justice in a context that is hostile to it. In these three centres, there exist voices of resistance which adopt a counter-hegemonic stance that needs to be nurtured so that it can reclaim its space, advance radical social justice and thus contribute to the liberation and emancipation of higher education for democratic purposes. This would be in line with critical theory, particularly the interrogation of traditional assumptions that underlie conceptions of social injustices. That is, the culture of critiquing late capitalism with the purpose of humanising it and advancing justice of this type. Although these counter-hegemonic voices are isolated, they are valuable and useful towards constructing justice of this nature. In other words, while the creation of radical social justice often occurs in a hostile context, part of the solution lies in concerted efforts at harnessing the non hostile voices in this context, no matter how far they may be from actually implementing radical social justice. The study posits that radical social justice knows no national or cultural borders; it is a global concern that may lead to a more informed and reflective transformative agenda.

As argued above, the current context of advanced capitalism characterised by globalisation and informed by a neo-liberal agenda is hostile to radical social justice. Despite this state of affairs, in this study, I advance the view that radical social justice is still the way forward to effect change towards a more humane, inclusive and democratic socio-economic dispensation. Neo-liberalism and economic rationalism is a policy for the present, and not for the future. At an educational policy level, I suggest that the radical social justice discourse needs to be revitalised and signified at all levels of the policy cycle. In radical social justice are found both the theory and the practice of a critique of the status quo, which constitute an important strategy for counteracting complacency, one-dimensionality and global injustices which result from neo-liberal discourses. The culture of critique is an element of radical social justice and an important function of intellectuals in higher education. Therefore, the nurturing of a revitalised radical social justice agenda is a matter of urgency in the current context of higher education in South Africa.

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APPENDIX A - INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

To study this central question, the following questions (to the project managers) were addressed in the study.

- What is your specific role in the broader mission of IGWS?
- How does your involvement / engagement with IGWS activities attempt to fulfil social justice concerns?
- What are the intended outcomes of your project?
- What are the challenges you face in this project?
- How have you attempted to deal and address the challenges?
- Is there anything that I have not asked that you would like to share with me?

The research questions addressed to the director were the following:

Government has placed a high value on ‘social justice issues’ in higher education policies:

- In this context, what is your understanding of social justice?
- How has your university responded to the government’s mandate of social justice?
- Describe an exemplary project or initiative your institution has undertaken in addressing social justice concerns?
- What are the major challenges that you face in implementing the projects of your centre in relation to social justice commitments of your university?
- How have you addressed these challenges?



- How have you attempted to deal with and address the challenges?
- Is there anything that I have not asked that you would like to share with me?
- Would you like to ask me any question?



APPENDIX B - LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

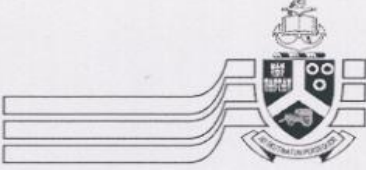
UPFY PARTICIPANTS	
1	Director
2	UPFY Biology facilitator
3	UPFY Physics facilitator
4	UPFY Chemistry facilitator
5	UPFY ESS facilitator
6	UPFY Math facilitator

IGWS PARTICIPANTS	
1	Project Manager
2	Deputy Director
3	Project Manager

CSA PARTICIPANTS	
1	Project Coordinator
2	Director
3	Project Manager and Lecturer



APPENDIX C - LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT



University of Pretoria

Pretoria 0002, Republic of South Africa
Tel (012) 420 2966, Fax (012) 420 3003
<http://www.up.ac.za>

Department of Curriculum Studies

LETTER OF CONSENT

I.....have consented to take part as a research participant in Masebala Tjabane's PhD studies. I understand that the information I provide will be used as part of the PhD dissertation. I also understand that her studies will form part be used for educational purposes.

Furthermore, I have agreed to the researcher referring to me by the position I hold at the centre.

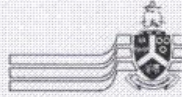
.....

Signed _____ Date _____



APPENDIX D - ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

ANNEXURE D



UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

CLEARANCE NUMBER : CS08/01/01

DEGREE AND PROJECT

PhD Education Policy Studies
Higher Education Policy and Social Justice: The case of the
University of Pretoria.

INVESTIGATOR(S)

M Tjabane - 23286254

DEPARTMENT

Curriculum Studies

DATE CONSIDERED

4 June 2008

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

APPROVED

This ethical clearance is valid for 3 years from the date of consideration and may be renewed upon application

**CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS
COMMITTEE**

Dr Salomé Human-Vogel

DATE

4 June 2008

CC

Dr V Pillay
Mrs Jeannie Beukes

This ethical clearance certificate is issued subject to the following conditions:

1. A signed personal declaration of responsibility
2. If the research question changes significantly so as to alter the nature of the study, a new application for ethical clearance must be submitted
3. It remains the students' responsibility to ensure that all the necessary forms for informed consent are kept for future queries.
4. Student should adhere to the conditions stipulated in e-mail sent on 4 June 2008 to masebala@vut.ac.za

Please quote the clearance number in all enquiries.