AN AFROCENTRIC EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES CONFRONTED BY AFRICAN STUDENTS IN HISTORICALLY DISADVANTAGED UNIVERSITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH, 1970-1994

BY

PHAKISO LEKGAU

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS (HISTORY)

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL STUDIES

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

SUPERVISOR: DR CLARE LARKIN

CO-SUPERVISOR: MR LUCKY

VUMA

2022

DECLARATION

I declare that this study titled "***AN AFROCENTRIC EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES CONFRONTED BY AFRICAN STUDENTS IN HISTORICALLY DISADVANTAGED UNIVERSITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH, 1970-1994***" is my own work. I have cited and referenced the sources. This work was not submitted to any committee before. Ethical considerations were followed throughout the study.

I CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE STATEMENT IS CORRECT

_____

PHAKISO LEKGAU (CANDIDATE)

_____

DR CLARE LARKIN (SUPERVISOR)

DATE: OCTOBER 2021

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to myself, my supervisor, Dr Clare Larkin, my mother, Hildah Ramogale Malatjie and all my family who have been there throughout my studies. Your words of motivation have been quite helpful, and they ensured that I do not give up despite my hopelessness. I thank you for your courageous words.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am truly thankful to: Dr Clare Larkin, Dr A.V Dhliwayo, Mr S.L Vuma and Dr T Mahunele for assisting me through this study, and a special thanks to my main supervisor, Dr Clare Larkin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AZAPO	: Azanian People's Organisation
COSAS	: Congress of South African Students
HBUs	: Historically Black Universities
HWUs	: Historically White Universities
NP	: National Party
NUSAS	: National Union of South African Students
SADF	: South African Defence Force
SASO	: South African Students Organisation
SANSCO	: South African National Students' Congress
AZASO	: Azanian Students Organisation
UNIN	: University of the North
ANC	: African National Congress
UDF	: United Democratic Front
BCM	: Black Consciousness Movement
UCM	: University Christian Movement
HBCUs	: Historically Black Colleges & Universities
USA	: United States of America
RSA	: Republic of South Africa
SAP	: South African Police
UNISA	: University of South Africa
USA	: United States of America

ABSTRACT

This study explores the socio-cultural experiences of students at the University of the North (UNIN) in the period between 1970 and 1994. The sampling of the study was purposive and involved thirteen (13) participants who were students at UNIN in the 1970s, 80s and 1990-1994. Data was collected using an interview guide and was analysed using the Thematic Content Analysis as outlined by Braun and Clark (2011). To make sense of the study aim and objectives, this study adopted a qualitative approach wearing an Afrocentric pair of lenses. As shown by literature and the study's findings, Historically Black Universities (HBUs) in South Africa were established by the apartheid government with the aim of serving Black students excluded from attending segregated White-only universities. Some of the study findings are that former UNIN students were subjected to a racialised institutional autonomy, racialised educational curriculum as well as an unfriendly academic setting for both African students and staff. The study therefore argues for inclusive and Africanised institutions of higher learning in Africa and perhaps elsewhere in the world. This study also recommends that institutional autonomy and educational curricula should be in line with an Africanised value system.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES CONFRONTED BY AFRICAN STUDENTS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK UNIVERSITIES (HBUs): GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Research indicates that the Historically Black Universities (HBUs) in South Africa were established by the apartheid government with the aim of providing higher education to Black students excluded from attending segregated White-only universities (Mojapelo, 2018:415; Swartz, Ivancheva, Czerniewicz and Morris, 2019: 570 & Rensburg, 2020:24). As found by Rensburg (2020:26), these universities were poorly funded compared to the Whites-only universities. Moreover, low funding is a classic problem that affected these HBUs' output and negatively impacted on students' performances in the areas of postgraduate study and research (Langa, Ndelu, Edwin, & Vilakazi, 2017:153). However, with the abolition of apartheid and university segregation, the HBUs experiencve other problems in addition to the legacy of the apartheid years (Hendricks, 2018:18). They are still underfunded and many of the incoming students still come from mainly rural and economically disadvantaged areas.

Mawasha (2006:65) states that HBUs have their roots in the National Party (NP) victory with its separate development (apartheid) policy of 1948. That is when segregation policies were formalised and were enforced by the government of D. F Malan, J. G Strijdom and H. F. Verwoerd. Education was to be used as the central tool in achieving the goal of separate development. It was used to perpetuate its aims and objectives. By the Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959, Black students were banned from entering White universities and separate colleges were set up on an ethnic-linguistic basis. The above-mentioned Act made it a criminal offence for a Black student to register at a Whites-only university without a written permission of the Minister of Internal Affairs (Extension University Education Act, 1959).

HBUs were established under the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959. Four new ethnic universities were built, namely, the University College of the North (later changed to the University of the North (UNIN), now the University of Limpopo), University College of Zululand, University of Western Cape and Salisbury

Island, Durban (later changed to Durban-Westville). These universities were to cater for the Sotho, Venda and Tsonga ethnic groups; Zulu and Swazi ethnic groups; Coloureds, and Indians respectively. Each university was to be restricted to its designated ethnic group (Mawasha, 2006:68). Following the Soweto Uprising, the government embarked on a programme to reform apartheid and recognised that urban Africans were permanent residents in the urban areas and not of the Bantustans (O' Meara: 1996, 273). In accordance with this change in policy, Vista University was established in 1981. This multi-campus institution aimed to provide urban black South Africans with tertiary education in urban townships rather than at universities in the Bantustans reserved for specific population groups (Vista: 2004). It could be surmised that the university experience of Vista students at their ethnically undifferentiated urban campuses would be different to those of students at the ethnic, predomininantly rural, residential Black universities established in the immediate aftermath of the 1959 Extension of University Education Act. Therefore, Vista university branches do not form part of this study and the study focuses on the original four ethnic universities.

The intended purpose of the HBUs was to perpetuate the racially defined and divided social order. Their principal function was to provide personnel for the separate homelands' civil service structures. Thus, the government wanted to get capital accumulation based on cheap unskilled Black labour. Accordingly, they assumed particular institutional characteristics and academic cultures in which an overwhelming emphasis was largely on undergraduate teaching concentrated in a narrow range of fields associated with the racial division of labour under apartheid. The fields included health, education, social work, law, and public administration. The vast majority of HBUs' student enrolment was comprised of underprepared Black students. Thus, under the discriminatory and repressive conditions of apartheid, HBUs were subjected to severe socio-cultural challenges and other disadvantages resulting in generally poor institutional infrastructures (Behr, 1988:1663).

In creating HBUs, the government inspired by the concepts of Dr H. F. Verwoerd and the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission, insisted that it was necessary to create these Black institutions to preserve and transmit the Bantu heritage while preparing Blacks for service to their communities as distinct from the White communities (Badat, 1994:1972). The development of the Bantu and their homelands was to be firmly rooted in their cultural institutions and customs. However, there were

2

problems with the way that this policy was implemented. Firstly, the majority of White lecturers employed at these universities did not speak an African language. They were also ignorant of African culture, the culture of their students and also had very little respect for this culture either.

To support the above statement, Dr H. F. Verwoerd stated that "…if the native in South Africa in any kind of school in existence, is being taught to expect that he will lead his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake" (*Pretoria News*, 3 March 1960). This condition alone might be considered sufficient to defeat the policy's stated purpose. Second, although students were able to study African languages, most of the academic offerings at these ethnic universities were the same as those at Historically White Universities (HWUs). Thus these new ethnic universities offered nothing unique for Black students. In addition, the locations of these Black universities were mostly in remote rural areas, which fitted with the National Party's (NP) objectives for the Bantustans where Black graduates were expected to work. According to Verwoerd in a speech delivered in 1954, Black higher education institutions were not preferred in urban areas, they should be situated far away from the urban areas and be located in the Native environments, the "Bantustans". This became the policy of the NP (Kallaway, 1984:17).

If African culture is to be understood, it must be studied with attention to its historical dimension (Mazama, & Lundy, 2015:172). The above statement is an assertion from the writer, of how things were and are supposed to be because accordingly, courses in African History should be included in the syllabi. The absence of this subject with the minor exception of some work on modern European imperialism in Africa since 1870 seemed to be due mainly to an unwillingness to recognise African history as an academically respectable subject. The researcher is of the view that the government feared that the study of African History, especially in its continental dimension, would have inspired a common Black pride and identity. This would perhaps have countered the official emphasis on ethnic differences and apartheid. Moreover, an appreciation of their common heritage would enable Africans to overcome the widely propagated myth that their ancestors stagnated in barbarism before the White intrusion. From the background, one can realise that various challenges were attached to Black institutions. And in this study, the researcher sought to explore and root out the socio-cultural challenges which were faced by Black students in HBUs.

3

This study starts in 1970 with the emergence of SASO. The emergence of SASO marked a break with the previous quiet decade of student politics and inaugurated two decades of anti-apartheid student activism. The study concludes in 1994 with the demise of apartheid and the onset of a democratic government. The inauguration of the new government marked the end of specifically anti-apartheid student activism.

Exploration of socio-cultural challenges confronted by African students in HBUs is an indispensable study in South Africa. One of the main concerns of the study was that HBUs are faced with many socio-cultural challenges. This is particularly true for the University of Limpopo (DHET, 2018,20). According to the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET 2018,20), there are still barriers to students' education at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. The academic support that is offered to postgraduate African students is not enough in comparison to HWUs. This is why research outputs (publications) are comparatively low, and even graduation rates are low at HBUs. Recent research analysis of South African universities indicates that in terms of research publications (2016), the University of Limpopo was standing at 271.92 units and Wits at 1821.39 units. This is a huge difference. In order to understand these contemporary challenges, the researcher decided to re-visit the past and explore data in relation to students' socio-cultural challenges. To look back in time is very important in that it will allow students and the government to realize the injustices that may have continued to the present. This would allow them to rethink policies and take informed decisions regarding future educational reforms for HBUs (DHET, 2018,32).

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

African students and Blacks in particular are confronted by socio-cultural challenges at Historically Black Universities (HBUs). The researcher postulates that there is a dearth of knowledge about the socio-cultural challenges of African students at UNIN. Scholars such as Mawasha (2006:70), Mojapelo, (2018:417) and Rensburg, (2020:25) have mentioned the problems of the dearth of knowledge in passing. However, scholars such as Langa, Ndelu, Edwin, and Vilakazi, (2017:155) and Swartz, et al. (2019:569) argue that these challenges have persisted to date. The researcher posits that this is a problem because the little information that exists on the socio-cultural

4

challenges of African students from 1970 to 1994 might narrow the solutions needed to deal with them. Literature indicates that it is globally known that governments steer education using policies, and thus, they need full detailed accounts on the socio-cultural challenges of students to fully provide solutions and better their conditions (Hendricks, 2018:19; Rensburg, 2020:28 & Pillay and Nyandeni, 2021:150).

This problem is worsened by the lack of evidence of an Afrocentric voice in literature on the socio-cultural challenges of African students in HBUs. This is because the knowledge available is Eurocentric. Most of the studies relating to this topic have used Eurocentric methodologies (Subotzky, 1997:502) and this is a problem because this phenomenon is African and, therefore, has to be researched using an Afrocentric theory. Therefore, it is imperative for African scholars and policy makers to continuously challenge socio-cultural problems of African students - Blacks in particular - in the HBUs and offer interventions to mitigate the inherent disadvantages of students.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theory guides our understanding of phenomena. It is the researchers' understanding that the use of theories in explaining social phenomena and societal realities is of paramount importance, particularly considering their role as a guide. This study deployed an Afrocentric theoretical framework (Self-determination) (Asante, 2007:12) to explore the socio-cultural challenges confronted by Black students in HBUs. The Afrocentric theory was adopted because of the idea that African people should re-assert a sense of agency to achieve sanity. The socio-cultural challenges of African students at HBUs are explained within the theoretical frame of the struggles by marginalised people for self-determination. It is a universal fact that any oppressed group of people that have been shut out of the opportunities and denied access to freedom and self-actualisation would organise in any form that they can to gain freedom. Numerous scholars, including King, and Swartz, (2015:11) and Bent-Goodley, Fairfax, and Carlton-LaNey (2017:4) have also applied the Afrocentric theory at the continental level and at local settings with diverse groups to study similar issues.

The history of the establishment and survival of HBUs over the period of 60 years depicts the different transitions that these institutions have undergone. Their role can be explained by segmenting the self-determination theory into educational self-

5

determination, political self-determination (or political empowerment), and cultural self-determination and awareness. When the South African Students Organisation (SASO) was established, it was established for the purposes of self-determination. The students revolted due to their discontent at their respective Black universities as a call to self-determine their education. When Abram Tiro spoke at the graduation ceremony at UNIN in 1972, his speech resonated with the self-determination theory. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) at UNIN was further fuelling change. The application of the Afrocentric theory was very important in this study because it provided an approach to be followed to conduct an all-embracing scientific study about challenges faced by black students at HBUs.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is envisaged that the findings of the study will enable socio-cultural theorists/researchers to find solutions to contemporary problems associated with socio-cultural challenges of Black students which have their roots in the past. Thus, it will help for the purpose of bringing about future reforms in education of the disadvantaged. Students and researchers will recognise and realise the unjust or misguided practices in the past which may have unknowingly continued into the present and, thus require reform. This study will further shed some light on present trends and may help in predicting future trends because if we know what socio-cultural challenges students faced in the past and what solutions they resorted to, we can predict what will happen in the future. Studying the past enables researchers to understand what is happening currently. In essence, UNIN students' experiences are an invaluable source of data for understanding the current dilemmas because, indeed governments steer higher education through policies.

The study sought also to rewrite the South African historiography using an African-centred approach to produce and promote Afrocentric knowledge to ensure that the knowledge produced is not distorted. Lastly, the study aims to liberate Africans, as it is one of the central objectives of Afrocentric studies. Indeed, culturally appropriate knowledge can serve as a means of liberation and the ending of oppression (Shujaa, 2003:181). This study is significant because it can be used to close the gaps in the research regarding challenges faced by African students in HUBs.

1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Aim

To explore the socio-cultural challenges confronted by African students at UNIN from 1970 to 1994.

1.5.2 Objectives

- To identify socio-cultural challenges students faced at UNIN.
- To describe the source of their challenges.
- To examine how the challenges manifested themselves.
- To describe the solutions the students resorted to in order to solve their problems.

1.5.3 Research Questions

- What are the socio-cultural challenges students faced at UNIN?
- What was the source of their challenges?
- How did the challenges manifest themselves?
- How did UNIN students overcome their challenges during the apartheid period?

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The period 1970-1994 is quite significant in that, in the year 1970, Black student activism began to unfold in the wake of the establishment of the South African Student Organisation (SASO). Black students began to actively oppose apartheid education at the Black universities and wanted to overthrow it. The study caps its probing in 1994 because the inauguration of a new democratic government promised students that they would be freed from their discontentment. The emergence of a democratic government, led by a Black president was the new dawn for the students. This instilled hope and positivity in their academic journeys.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study has several limitations. It was difficult to locate the relevant participants as

they have relocated to various places. Secondly, some participants seemed to have forgotten some of the most important events that took place at the university. One participant even highlighted that 1980 was quite a long time ago and he merely remembered the general challenges.

1.8 CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter one of this study encompasses the background and motivation of the study and the research problem. It also provides a brief review of the available literature review as well as a summary of the theory that was used to ground the study. It also includes the aim and objectives of the study and the research questions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter two reviews the available literature applicable to the study and discusses themes that are relevant to the research objectives. These are discussed in the context of the research topic.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter three comprises the research methodology used in the study. This includes the Afrocentric paradigm, data collection, research design, data analysis, sampling, and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Chapter four deals with presentations of data, analysis, and interpretations of empirical findings by looking at themes that emerged from the data.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Chapter five discusses the main extracted findings of this study.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter six includes the summary, recommendations, conclusion and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In line with the objectives of the study as set out in the previous chapter, chapter two systematically reviews studies undertaken on challenges faced by students firstly, in different parts of the world, secondly, on the African continent and thirdly, in South Africa. This chapter illuminates obtainable and current literature on socio-cultural challenges confronted by African students at Historically Black Universities.

2.2 Socio-cultural challenges of Black students globally

Globally, Black students have been facing various challenges in the institutions of higher learning. In the United States of America (USA), students found themselves in the midst of struggles in their Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Black students were generally denied admission to traditionally White institutions (Exkano, 2013:67). The USA Higher Education Act of 1965 defines Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as "any college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was and is the education of the Black Americans (Exkano, 2013:69). As found by Mobley (2017:1039), HBCUs existed and still exist due to the history and legacy of American racism and segregation. In almost all the cases, the problem was the contamination of the race poison within the institutions.

For the purpose of this study, it is important to discuss HBCUs of the USA due to commonalities with HBUs in South Africa. Scholars such as Brown (2001), Gasman, (2013:335) and Mobley Jr (2017:1037) asserted that the educational curriculum at HBCUs advocated for vocational training programs. Vocational training schemes were in the best interests of freed people. They would make them accept manual labour employment and whatever other roles were available. If they succeeded in these positions, they would prove themselves worthy of better treatment and opportunities. Moreover, the United States government believed that Black colleges should be established to train African Americans to fulfil these roles (Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995:448). Nonetheless, Jewel (2001:28), reported that Black public education was dramatically underfunded on the state and local levels. As such, most HBCUs had to function as multilevel institutions, including students at the secondary, college preparatory, and college levels, thereby serving the varied educational need of the

African American community. Consequently, these institutions have always practiced a modified form of open enrolment. They recruit the vast majority of their students from the lower socio-economic classes. These students were often unprepared for tertiary-level instruction meaning that colleges had to repair the deficiencies in their pre-tertiary level education that resulted from race and class discrimination in educational access (Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995:448).

In 1896, the idea of dual, racially divided societies in the USA became a legal reality. Although many African Americans had been denied access to various elements of White society, including most predominantly White higher education institutions, this system was not formalised until the Supreme Court ruled in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson (Johnson, 1993:1401). It has been noted by Johnson (1993:1401) that the decision made segregation constitutional by ruling that it was acceptable to develop racially divided social systems that complied with the prevailing standard of "separate but equal". Although the notion of separate but equal was the law of the land, it was not the reality for HBCUs or the students they served. HBCUs did not receive the same level of consideration or support given to other higher education institutions.

According to Cohen (1993:65) the Supreme Court's ruling in Brown v. Board of Education (1954) acknowledged that separating students solely on the basis of race was unconstitutional because separate educational facilities were essentially unequal. In assessing the ruling, Johnson (1993:1401) proclaimed, the decision was made in response to the appalling conditions in which African Americans were educated and compelled to live as a result of legalized segregation. Therefore, these issues at some stage could have disadvantaged some of black students to reach their full potentials.

Gutierrez, Rymes, and Larson (1995:448) noted that in the year of 1954, after the decision of the *Brown vs Board of Education* which rejected the separate but equal doctrine and also paved a way for university integration, the USA was abandoning the racially separate education norm. The same authors contended that this was mostly due to the 14th Amendment Act, which pushed for all individuals to have equal protection under the law, as well as Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the United States, this was the start of university integration. Individuals were protected and educational institutions were desegregated under Title VI. Simultaneously, the NP government in South Africa was entrenching racially and ethnically separated and inferior apartheid education at school and higher education level through the

10

implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959.

The researcher saw it fit to use the USA as a comparable state with the Republic of South Africa (RSA) because of their common racial education and segregation. This was because the socio-cultural challenges that the study seeks to explore are similar in South Africa and the USA. Cassimere (1975:10) illuminates that the separate and unequal educational traditions of both nations created many inequalities in academic achievement and proficiency rates, resulting in limited economic, educational, and community development. Moreover, both nations' laws, policies and practices legitimized separate educational institutions, namely, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs-US) and Historically Black Universities (HBUs- RSA), which served the educational needs of Blacks for well over a century (Exkano, 2013:67). Decades of inadequate funding of lower and post-secondary institutions in the RSA and the USA have forestalled educational access and opportunities vital to the economic progress and growth of both South Africa and the United States.

In South Africa, it is the majority that has suffered discrimination because of the then country's apartheid system of enforced racial separation (Murray, 1997:43). As noted in Kennedy's, *Jim Crow guide to the USA* (2011:73), the Black African-American minority suffered at the hands of Jim Crow systematic segregation and second-class citizenship. As a result, many of the decisions and concerns about education in both the USA and South Africa have historically been racially motivated. These decisions and concerns have favoured White students over disadvantaged Black students and other students of colour. In a nutshell, the confrontation of socio-cultural challenges is not unique to South Africa's HBUs. This then ultimately shows the importance of exploring these challenges because there are still barriers that stand in students' education at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. To look into Black history in time is very important in that it could allow students and the government to realise the injustices suffered thereof, and thus, rethink possible policies to make informed decisions regarding future educational reforms for HBUs.

Gündüz and Alakbarov (2019:1157) noted that Black students in Turkey faced challenges in universities. These ranged from the cost of university tuition fees, and

problems in securing accommodation due to racially related issues. Their Black backgrounds could have disadvantaged them. Neither the governments of the countries of which these students are citizens nor the Turkish host government have done much, if anything at all, to assist them. Their failure to do so is attributed to race prejudice. Polat (2011:55) postulates that physical conditions of universities are among the factors that affected quality education as well. According to Gündüz, and Alakbarov (2019:1157), institutions in Turkey where Black students were enrolled had insufficient or no information technology resources. When these were available, they were very outdated with the result that students could not adequately carry out their academic work and research activities. Similarly, Celik (1991:17) noted that to be able to produce information and carry out research, many different sources of information need to be readily and easily available to students. In this respect, university libraries have a very important role to play and they are more important than other units for research activities. This means that university libraries should have every kind of up to date printed and electronic resources to meet all information needs. (Polat, 2011:57).

2.3 Socio-cultural challenges in African context

Teferra and Altbach (2004:42) discussed the various challenges that African universities faced during the 20th century and are still facing in the 21st century. They contended that African higher education from the early 20th century until 2004 faced unprecedented challenges. In Africa, higher education is held to be a key means to achieve modernisation and development. Traditionally, Africa has a low rate of tertiary education enrolment. Nonetheless, the demand for access to higher education places continues to grow. Teferra and Altbach (2004:39) state that Africa's academic institutions face obstacles in providing the education, research, and service needed if the continent is to advance. The current researcher concurs with Teferra & Altbach's views because it is true that African universities functioned and still function in very difficult circumstances, both in terms of the social, economic, and political problems facing the continent and in the context of globalisation, and the road to future success will not be an easy one.

The debate on Africanising education in Africa has been, and is still, a hot one because

educational institutions established during the colonial period and after political independence followed the dominant Western curricula. There is a long history of higher education in Africa dating back to Kemet (Ancient Egypt), Ethiopia and Timbuktu (Teferra, 2014:17). Indeed, Al-Azhar in Egypt is the world's oldest university. It was founded as a seat of Islamic learning. It remains a major seat of Islamic learning and retains its founding Islamic organisational model. All other universities in Africa have adopted the Western model of academic organisation. Although Africa has an ancient academic tradition, most of its institutions of higher learning were either destroyed by colonialism or disappeared during the colonial period. Today, the continent is dominated by academic institutions shaped by colonialism and organised according to the European model. As is the case in the developing world, higher education in Africa is an "artefact" of colonial policies (Altbach, and Selvaratnam, 1989:16; Lulat 2003:596). Accordingly, then, decolonising education is one of the key challenges that students in African universities are facing.

Altbach (2004:38) argued European colonisers shaped Africa's route of development and that the legacy of colonialism affects contemporary African higher education. The most important of the colonial powers in Africa, Britain and France, have left by far the greatest lasting impact. The legacy of British and French colonialism is found in how higher educational institutions are organised in the former British and French colonies, how these institutions continued to be linked to Britain and France as well as the medium of instruction and communication used in these institutions. Colonial higher education policy had some common elements which included limiting access to higher education. The reason for this was that the colonial authorities required a few educated and skilled Africans to assist in colonial administration but as importantly they feared that widespread access to higher education would pose a threat to colonialism and drive the development of African nationalism. The Belgians were threatened by the consequences of the creation of an educated and politicised elite that they forbade any higher education in their colonies while the Spanish and the Portuguese kept enrolments in educational institutions low. The French were not keen on establishing higher educational institutions in their colonies meaning that students from the French colonies studied in France. Thus, at the time of independence from the late 1950s onwards, the academic system in Africa was very small.

Colonial policies in Africa were generally opposed to the education of the colonised. Colonial governments feared competition from the educated black population and accordingly passed legislation forbidding the colonisers from liberating themselves using education as a tool. According to the World Bank (1991:38), at independence, Africans held less than a quarter of all professional civil service posts, most trade and industry was owned by foreigners and only 3 percent of high school-age students received a secondary education. At the time of Tanzania's independence in 1961, the University of East Africa (serving Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda) graduated only 99 students from a combined population of 23 million (Eisemon, 1982:16). Moreover, on the eve of Congo's independence in 1960, there was not one Congolese doctor, lawyer or engineer (Teferra and Altbach, 2004:41). Between years of 1952 and 1963, only four agricultural graduates were produced in French-speaking Africa, while 150 were produced in English-speaking Africa.

Continentally and similar to South Africa, laws, policies and practices legitimized the foundation of separate institutions, namely Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the continent which singlehandedly served the educational needs of black Africans. Effah (2003:521) argues that the language barrier is another challenge that African students face. The researcher is in absolute agreement with Effah's contention because the language of instruction in every university in Africa was, and still is, the language of the coloniser. In some countries such as Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa, existing forms of local languages used in "higher forms of education" were replaced by the language of the colonisers" (Teferra, 2014:42).

Effah (2014:44) argues that academic freedom and institutional autonomy are limited in African universities. Limited curriculum was another challenge that African students faced. Very few professional qualifications were offered and this impinged on their goals and aspirations. The curricula of universities in Africa at the time of independence was dramatically restricted. The colonisers tended to facilitate the study of law and related fields that were not costly to implement and that would train a limited number of colonial administrators. Science and engineering were costly and were rarely offered. It is in the researcher's view that the legacy of colonialism remains a central factor in African higher education. Most African states have been independent for less than sixty years and so the ties to the former colonisers have, in general, remained strong. Bolt and Bezemer (2009:39) note that no African country has changed the language of instruction from

the colonial language. When analysing African higher education, it is critically important to factor in the legacy of colonialism and the continuing impact of the former colonial powers.

There are many challenges at African universities. These include, but are not limited to access, governance, the role of research and publishing, the academic profession, and others (Booth, Colomb, & Williams, 2003:78). While these topics do not discuss all aspects of African higher education, they are central to any understanding of the continent's higher education challenges. Altbach (2004:39) highlighted that in virtually all African countries, demand for access to higher education has since its inception, been continually growing. However, he argues that the resources required to finance this education have not kept up with the demand.

One of the biggest obstacles that African students face in reaching their goal of attending university is their poor financial background. The parents of these aspirant students are often poorly paid manual workers who are unable to pay their children's university fees. As already stated, Africa had reached the state of independence but the ties to the former colonizers have remained strong.

The current study is being carried out because despite the demolition of apartheid education by the current government by desegregating public universities and thus allowing a student to enrol in a university of his/her choice, there are still adverse factors that prevent students from HBUs having a high-quality learning experience and equal opportunities. For example, during the apartheid era inequality was racially determined, but now it is now determined by social and economic circumstances and location (Badat, 2014:1993). Altbach and Teferra (2004:41)'s findings were that the central reality for all African higher education systems since their inception in the 20th century until the present is severe financial crisis. Altbach and Teffera (2004:40) argue that higher educational institutions globally, even in wealthy industrialised states, face financial problems, but in Africa's the magnitude of these problems is greater.

This study concurs with the above-mentioned writers because indeed Black universities are faced with huge financial crises and students in turn are suffering. This is because of misallocation and poor prioritisation of available financial resources, such as the tradition of providing free or highly subsidised accommodations and food to students and maintaining a large and cumbersome non-academic personnel and infrastructure

15

and the economic problems facing many African countries that make it difficult, if not impossible, to provide increased funding for higher education among others. Not all these mentioned reasons are true for every African country because financial circumstances vary, but overall, funding issues loom very large in any analysis of African higher education.

Moreover, Zeilig and Ansell, (2008:36) provides a graphic account of the challenges affecting students in Africa's higher education institutions. These range from physical decay of buildings to cutting the budgets for purchasing library books and subscriptions to journals. Issues of major concern, as noted by Zeilig and Ansell, (2008:37) include rising student fees, high living costs on campus, overcrowded classrooms and inadequate teaching.

The above-mentioned problems are not yet dealt with in most African universities. In South Africa, for instances, people continue to witness student protests that are triggered by the same problems. For example, in 2015 in South Africa, the researcher witnessed the beginning of a huge student uprising known as #FeesMustFall. The #FeesMustFall is a student-led protest movement in response to an increase in fees at South African universities. Although the main focus of the protests was increasing tuition fees, a number of factors set the stage for the protests: lack of funds for the poorest students, high incomes for university leaders and a real decrease in funding (Booysen, 2016: 316-327).

One prominent scholar, Hanna (1975:36) did engage with the topic of this study more than 45 years ago. He explored some of the challenges faced by African students because he wanted to discover the roots of student protest in Africa. Hanna highlighted some important aspects in the socio-cultural challenges faced by African students. He noted that African states were on the whole poor economically and this had a negative impact on students. He highlighted that the depressed economic conditions of the states in Africa makes it difficult for students to study at higher institutions especially Black students. Another challenge he mentioned according to his findings is the academic quality of education that African students received. He also noted that the relationship between university staff and students posed a challenge as did the curtailment of the personal freedom of students. According to Hanna's (1975:36) findings, students at many institutions of higher learning in Africa resented the

conservative dress codes to which they were forced to adhere, the restricted visiting hours in co-educational residences as well as censorship of student publications. There were also complaints about the teaching ability of the academic staff, examinations, library holdings and the lack of Africanisation. Hanna's study is pioneering but dated. Moreover, his study does not necessarily give a rich detailed account of the challenges that students face. In addition, the voice of the students who faced these challenges in their day-to-day campus life is largely missing. The present study seeks to understand the challenges from the students themselves through interviews, so as to understand the challenges from the students' perspectives.

2.4 Socio-cultural challenges in South African Context

It is imperative to situate the study within the South African context to understand how the Black universities emerged. Before the accession to power of the National Party in 1948, the only HBU in existence was the University College of Fort Hare, founded by Scottish Board missionaries in 1916 and located in Alice, a small rural village. However, the first phase proper in the establishment of HBUs commenced with the passage of the 1959 Extension of Universities Education Act which provided for the founding of racially and ethnically divided institutions, the expropriation of Fort Hare and its transformation into an isiXhosa speaking institution and closing of the racially "open" Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand to Black students.

During 1960 and 1961, two new rural and two new urban HBUs, intended for specific ethnic groups, were founded. The University College of the North was built at Turfloop in Limpopo for the Sotho-, Tswana- Venda- and Tsonga-speaking African ethnic groups. The University College of Zululand, for Zulu- and Swazi-speaking African ethnic groups was situated at Ngoye, a rural area north of Durban which became part of the KwaZulu Bantustan. The two urban universities were Salisbury Island (later the University of Durban-Westville) in Durban Bay for those classified as "Indian" and the University of the Western Cape, located in the vicinity of Cape Town's townships, for those classified as "Coloured" or mixed-race.

Policies do affect students in multiple ways because they were implemented to govern their own education. They affect students either directly or indirectly. Beale (1998:36) wrote a thesis about the policies that governed higher education in South Africa. According to Beale (1998:36), Nationalists contended that any Black education

17

beyond the most basic was neither a political priority nor in the country's economic interests. For example, PMK le Roux, later NP Minister of Agriculture, questioned the wisdom of educating Africans beyond the level required to perform manual labour in 1954:

> *We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this, we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? ..., we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends these schools will know that to a great extent he will be the labourer in the country* (Parliamentary News 1954:317).

Similarly, another MP, SA Cilliers, said:

> *I am very anxious about the position (Academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans) unless we lay down a very sound policy regarding native education. The reason is this: if we go a little too far in respect of the suggestion made here that some of the children on the platteland should attend school, the future of South African agriculture may in my opinion drift into a very precarious position* (Parliamentary News 1954:317).

From the above quotes, the education of Black students was to be channelled in accordance with the NP ideals. It is then conceivable that an inferior education policy to black students would be the result. Most Nationalists acknowledged that the government had a responsibility to provide education, including university education, for Black students, based on the responsibilities of 'White trusteeship'. Beale (1998:37) defines "Trusteeship" as, an idea closely linked to segregation. Trusteeship originated in the inter-war English-speaking tradition of liberal thought and was based on the premise that a 'more advanced' White group was responsible for the welfare of a 'less civilized' Black population group. White 'trustees' were to take a benevolent lead in meeting the needs of their Black 'wards' (Beale (1998:39). Trusteeship implied that the government should educate more White students, so that they could take up professional, leadership and managerial positions, with responsibility for the country's entire population Beale (1998:41).

In line with Beale (1998)'s contention, Mawasha (2006:68)'s study also gave an account on the establishment of University of College of the North (UNIN). Mawasha

18

states that UNIN was first conceptualized by traditional leaders from around Turfloop Township at a meeting on 11 October 1956. These traditional leaders proposed that an agricultural school be built to instruct the young about farming and the farming industry. Among these traditional leaders was Kgoši Johannes Ramokgopa who propagated the critical requirement for the building of the school. The central aim for the school was to serve the children of traditional leaders. Mawasha contends that the National Party snatched this idea from the traditional leaders and built a Black university for the Black ethnic groups of the entire former Transvaal. (Mawasha,2006:68).

Mawasha (2006:69) went further by arguing that the rationale for the NP dividing Black Africans into separate ethnic groups was to maintain White power and rule. Similarly, Badat (1999:42) contended that a major function of the early HBUs was to create the Black bureaucrats required for the administration of the future envisaged Bantustans. The ideological task was to wean new generations of students away from African nationalist and socialist sentiments and win them to the separate development project through the appropriate mix of repressive controls and the promises of economic opportunities in the Bantustans and around the social service needs of Blacks. This is true, in that students were expected to work in the Bantustans and practice whatever little knowledge they gathered at their respective Black institutions.

Schools are reflective of the societies that develop them (i.e., a White supremacist-dominated society will develop a White supremacist educational system); therefore, African education should have been reflected within HBUs (Lavin, 1965). Schooling for Blacks was deliberately made inferior, this can be deduced from Dr H F Verwoerd's remarks in Parliament (June, 1954) when he was Minister of Native Affairs. He said that:

> *"When I have control of the education for Natives, I will reform it so that the Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them ... People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for Natives ... When my department controls the education for Natives, it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge" (Parliamentary News 1954:317).*

From the above, the socio-cultural challenges did not emerge in time but rather with the very conceptualisation and creation of the university. If the idea, despite the prevailing apartheid agenda, had remained rooted in this context, it might well have contributed to the Africanisation conceived in the 1970s, but this was not to be. The architects of apartheid took over the idea, stressing ethnicity rather than African identity, and discredited it in the process. Mawasha (2006:43) and Wolhuter (2006:125) both indicate when and why UNIN came into existence but they do not go into details about how the very creation and existence of the university affected the African student.

What was the reaction of the African student after discovering UNIN and its objectives? As this study is an Afrocentric one, it will offer an agential perspective from which to understand lived experiences of African students. Heffernan (2014:63) wrote a thesis that is very helpful to the current study. Her study focused on UNIN student activism and aimed at examining the importance of UNIN as a centre for student and youth politics in South Africa. She further explored the importance of Christianity as a tool for student mobilisation as well as how the University Christian Movement (UCM) led to the formation of South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in 1969. Although Heffernan's study focusses on student activism at UNIN, she also discusses the challenges that students faced which ultimately led to the protests at UNIN. Below is a timeline of events from 1970 to 1990, the events that consequently caused the challenges vice versa.

2.4.1 A brief discussion of the historical challenges faced by students at the Qwaqwa campus of UNIN and the University of Venda

The extension of the Bantustans formed part of the reform and Total Strategy policies pursued by the NP government after the Soweto Uprising (O' Meara: 1996, 273, 275). Two new rural ethnic university colleges were established as branches of UNIN. Venda University, situated in Thohoyandou in the newly independent Venda Bantustan and catering for Venda-speakers was established in 1981 (Rootman: 2012). UniQwa, catering for South Sotho-speakers and located at Phutaditjhaba in the self-governing Qwaqwa homeland in the Free State commenced activities in 1982 (Moffet: 2007, 16). According to Molete (in Moffett: 2007,10) UniQwa came into existence within the "constraints" of the NP government's apartheid policy. Mopeli speculates

20

that the QwaQwa homeland's refusal to bow to the Pretoria government's demand that it become politically independent was the probable reason for UniQwa never becoming an independent institution but instead remaining a branch of UNIN (Mopeli in Moffett: 2007, 5).

According to Lulat (2005, 319), segregation of higher education at Venda was not the only intent, the objective also included a strict supervisory control of all aspects of the university even at the institutional level by the state. Lulat (2005: 322) went further that it was "more fitting for a reformatory than for an academic community." This micromanagement of higher education, however, did not extend to the HWUs. As for the curriculum, it was restricted mainly to the arts and humanities and law; fields such as engineering, and medicine were absent. The campus was established as a University of the North branch on 18 February 1981. The government made no financial provisions for the erection of buildings and essential amenities for the smooth operation of the branch, as such, it opened its doors in the buildings of the Dimani Agricultural High School in the Tshivhase territory.

The SAIRR (1983: 38) report highlighted that students at Venda campus silently tolerated the discrimination, indignity, and arrogance they confronted in the university, hoping that one day it would change. Some individuals were handicapped by the psychological strain of studying professions they did not want because the university did not offer what they wanted to study. Off-campus studying was difficult, as in the case of QwaQwa campus. The living conditions of the students were also unbearable. There was no peace and quiet and students were unable to cope. Inadequate public transport to the campuses was another hinderance. Institutionalised apartheid discriminated against Black students (SAIRR, 1983: 38).

2.5 A Brief Historical Challenges Faced by UNIN Students

2.5.1 1970-1980 challenges

Literature indicates that one of the main challenges faced by Black students between the years of 1976 to 1980, was centered around the need for the Africanisation of the university (White, 1999:45; Nkondo, 1976:23; Heffernan, 2014:64; Booi, Vincent, Liccardo, 2017 and Gündüz & Alakbarov, 2019:501). The current study sought to rigorously detail, explore and clearly understand these challenges. One important event that triggered the demand for Africanisation was the launch of the Black South

African Student Organisation (SASO) at UNIN in July 1969. SASO subsequently adopted Black Power and formulated Black Consciousness ideology.

An important event preceding and triggering substantial student protest and resistance to challenges at UNIN was the speech delivered at the UNIN April 1972 graduation ceremony by Abraham Tiro representing the Student Representative Council (SRC). The researcher posits that Tiro's speech at the graduations showed a lot of student discontentment with the university. Tiro questioned inter alia the ideological consistency and fairness of a Black institution having a predominantly White management, a bookshop on a Black campus catering for Whites only, Whites sitting in the front of the graduation hall while many parents of Black graduates sat outside and White students taking campus vacation jobs when Black students desperately needed such jobs in order to earn enough money to pay their outstanding fee balances and avoid or reverse their financial exclusion from the university. The consequence of Tiro's speech was his expulsion from the university, mass student protests demanding his return and ultimately, the closure of the university. Another incident that triggered conflict between university management and students was the Viva-Frelimo rally. This is discussed in detail by Julian Brown (2016, 131-149). Brown notes the unprecedentedly angry and insurrectionary disposition of UNIN students during the events surrounding the Viva Frelimo rally (Brown, 2016: 149). This great anger and desire for radical change was surely a consequence of the major challenges faced by UNIN students inside and outside the campus. All of these events had tremendous consequences which affected students negatively. The present study is interested in those negativities that came about by the incidences.

Heffernan (2014:64) discusses other challenges faced by UNIN students. The South Africa Students Organisation (SASO) was banned from the campus because its Black Consciousness ideals were too popular with the student body. Further, the dissolution of the SRC posed a problem for students in that there was no channel of communication between the student body and the UNIN management needed for voicing grievances. A graduation ceremony boycott followed in 1973 and eventually an internal commission of inquiry, the Wright Commission, was appointed to investigate the reasons for students' protests. Some of the recommendations of the report were implemented, including the reinstatement of the SRC but many challenges

remained, including those relating to accommodation (Heffernan 2014:64). Although Heffernan mentions some of the most important challenges that students were faced with, she does not necessarily go into details because her aim was not necessarily to focus on the challenges but to mention those challenges that resulted in the university politics and link the UNIN politics with the national politics. The current study elaborated in detail the challenges that students faced throughout the period of 1970-1994.

2.5.2 1980-1994 challenges

Booi et al. (2017:11) reported that violence was one of the key characteristics of the 1980s at UNIN and the surrounding communities in Limpopo. For example, beginning in August 1985 with the proclamation of the state of emergency, the South African and Lebowa police forces continuously raided the campus, assaulted, arrested and detained students and seized documents.

These incidences point to the increasing violence at UNIN during the mid-1980s. Violence almost erupted in relations between different student organisations and between students and the UNIN staff. Heffernan's study mentions the immediate challenges that led to the protests and not the challenges that came about as a consequence of the protests. She was interested in the political activities at UNIN and thus she had to mention events that triggered the protests at UNIN. The current study will supplement Heffernan's study (2014) by examining how students dealt with the many university closures during the 1970s and 80s; how closures affected students' studies and the quality of their education and their motivation to return to campus to complete their studies. This study will also look at issues of funding and how closures affected students with regard to funding. As already stated, this study is embarked on to understand the contemporary challenges because indeed the past experience of anything or anyone, is an invaluable source of data for understanding the current dilemmas.

Ruth (2000:25) wrote a paper on an investigation into the institutional culture of the University of the North. One of the aims of the study was that there was an immediate concern that UNIN, one the most volatile campuses in the country in the struggle against apartheid, was still in a state of crisis well into the post 1994 democratic era. In trying to locate the reasons for this situation, Ruth offered a brief history of UNIN

where he mentioned the various challenges faced by students on the campus. In 1969 the various Black university colleges were proclaimed autonomous by acts of parliament. But, as Nkondo (1976:3) pointed out, "the initial pattern of power

relationships between Black and White in the control of affairs was not altered. They remained White-controlled Black universities, they also remained ethnic universities integral to the overall national framework of separate development".

Badat (2016:23) argued that for Blacks the Autonomy Act stipulating that the University of the North shall serve specific national units (i.e. Sotho, Venda and Tsonga) was insulting. It implied he believed that Blacks "were too young and immature to manage their own affairs, let alone to be involved with their White compatriots in the all-too difficult machinery of responsible government. So here was a university meant for 'non-Whites' but controlled entirely by Whites,".

Nkondo (1982:53) pointed out that there were two competing conceptions of the nature of the university at play in South Africa: An Afrikaner Nationalist one and a universalist, liberal one. However, because Black people had no political power, there was no Black perspective or conception of the university. Nkondo (1982:53) argued that the English medium universities understood the university to be a community of scholars and students who were dedicated to the pursuit of truth. They thus held high the ideals of academic freedom and academic autonomy. Afrikaner nationalists held that the university had to conform to national policy and the social order. Thus, the primary aim of the university was to serve the community in which it was situated.

White (1997:1291) uses the idea of political versus educational necessity to explain the contradictory nature of UNIN. He claimed that UNIN was created as a political necessity and thus the activities of research, teaching and learning were a secondary importance. UNIN thus lacked legitimacy amongst the masses it was meant to serve. This lack of legitimacy was to have a negative influence on the entire teaching and learning process. White (1997:1291) stated: "It was the idea of culture, of tribalism, of division and of control which manifested itself in the very structure of Turfloop".

There were stark racial differences in conditions of employment at UNIN. Whites had better facilities and often were the only ones permitted to use certain facilities. White staff enjoyed better housing, were the only ones allowed to eat in the cafeteria and swim in the swimming pool. White staff earned more than Black staff and were more

24

likely to be promoted. Whites even received an inconvenience allowance for teaching at UNIN White (1997). Moreover, many Whites had a patronising and insulting attitude towards Black students and staff. Some of the worst aspects of White privilege and racial discrimination disappeared in the 1970s with the creation of a racially mixed staff cafeteria (White, 1997: 128).

Ruth (2000:25) also offered a discussion on the issue of Afrocentricity and Eurocentricity which is a hot debate currently in the 20th century. The current study uses an Afrocentric theory because the topic is of African nature. This is because "the perceptible divergences between African and European philosophical assumptions influence how phenomena is understood, analysed and interpreted. Noticeable differences in their epistemological positions provide one example of this. Positivist epistemology suggests that an external, law-like reality can be discovered and therefore known using objective, detached methodology" (Davidowitz & Schreiber, 2008:194; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006:84). This represents a major departure from the highly contextualized, subjective epistemology of the Afrocentric paradigm (Schiele, 1996; Schreiber, 2000). From an Afrocentric perspective, "to attempt to understand a person objectively and rationally as an individual apart is to undermine his or her sense of communal self, spiritual self and affective self, ultimately resulting in a limited and warped understanding" (Graham, 1999). In view of this, it can be seen that the study of African phenomena (such as socio-cultural challenges confronted by African students) from a Eurocentric perspective, is a study that disregards, devaluates and/or distorts such phenomena as it discredits many African ontological and epistemological assumptions (Asante, 1995:34; Pellerin, 2012:42; Schiele, 1996:18; Schreiber, 2000:39). Coherently, the Afrocentric paradigm asserts that Africans and African topics ought to be studied, analysed and understood from an African (internal) perspective, based on African philosophical assumptions (Asante, 1995:34).

The noted differences between western and African thought are important in so far as they are able to indisputably demonstrate the suitability of the Afrocentric paradigm in framing and structuring this study on the experiences of African students in HBUs. As socio-cultural challenges were experienced primarily by African students, they have to be studied within a paradigm which centres African assumptions (Gade, 2012:485). This is based on the idea put forward by Mbiti (1970:433) that the principles upon which the Afrocentric paradigm are based, permeate throughout Africa and are

25

therefore appropriate to all African-related phenomena. The aim is therefore to explore and understand the experiences of African students in their day-to-day life at HBUs during 1970-94, based on the philosophical tenets outlined by the Afrocentric approach.

According to the work of Asante (1995:34), Pellerin (2012:36), Schiele (1996:285) and Schreiber (2000:461), this emic approach should result in research that is orientated towards African liberation and validation, prevent the marginalisation of African phenomena, persons and philosophy, remedy distorted European-imposed conclusions and offer accurate and insightful results. With these points in mind, it is now necessary to examine the literature related to the study topic and problem.

Mbiti (1970:433) postulate that knowledge is always linked to power. In fact, he contended that knowledge is always constructed within the ontology of the culture in question. Which means that the production of knowledge is inextricably linked to the structure of the administration and management of the university, the lecturers and the staff. Administration and management of the university forms part of the important aspects to consider in this study because indeed they always interlink with who is in power. For one, the administration and management comprises of the lecturers whom in turn are responsible for transmitting knowledge to the students. Students inevitably built academic relationships with their lecturers and other staff members, and thus inevitably, student challenges may arise with reference to those in power and the kind of knowledge they are being fed with. The review under the factor of management and administration will then help the researcher to understand what challenges arise. Administration and management of universities directly affects students because of the nature of the relationships both parties have with one another.

Administration and management spheres of UNIN are very important to the study in that they define the environment that students are supposed to live in and interact with. The administrative and management environment consisted of the specific bureaucratic functions that enabled the university to carry out its stated mission. These include: legislative acts; administrative rules and regulations relevant to the operation of the university and the personnel, in particular the administrative staff who are charged with the execution of statutory mandates and the smooth operation of the university organisation. The character and image of the university are "historically derived and reflected in the present belief and practice of the present staff" and

26

moreover, constitute what Clark and Trow (1966) refer to as the "official culture" or the "institutional ethos" of the university (Clark and Trow, 1966:33).

Lipset (1967) confirms the notion of the existence of a distinct university culture, and elaborates its definition further by pointing out that such a culture goes "beyond the bodies of specific knowledge which are taught and cultivated, and extend to vague ethos of attitudes and sensibilities" (Lipset, 1967:183). Nkondo (1976:46) focused more on the staff as opposed to the students. Thus, the gap arises out of the one-sided explanation of what the administration comprised of and how it affected Black staff. The study will then answer the "how did the challenges manifest themselves" objective by looking at how the administration and management of the UNIN affected Black students and how they reacted to their source of discontentment, which in this case was the White administration and management. White administrative staff were civil servants. The apartheid civil service was not politically neutral but supportive of government policy and actively implemented it.

Rashid (2012:84) contended that education must inevitably entail notions of legitimate knowledge. However, what is hidden within the language of legitimacy is the "political economy of hegemony". Rashid argued that the notion of "legitimate knowledge" is merely a ruse. It is a means of controlling the conversation about the process of formal socialization which is schooling. Education at UNIN was a process that does not typically privilege critical thought and action, but instead encouraged conformity to hegemony, rewarded apathy to the status quo, and punished agency with regards to radical social change. Mwalumi Shujaa (2003:181) concurs with the sentiment above. He had this to say:

> "*The society's achievement rewards and the means of accessing them are controlled. Not only does a student have to demonstrate the capacity to meet academic achievement benchmarks, such as standardized test performance at prescribed levels, a student must also play the game according to the rules that the politically dominant culture's elite establish and control. Students who rebel rarely make it. The society's institutional structures are designed to promote conformity to those rules*" (Shujaa 2003, 181).

27

The above excerpt has meaningfully demonstrated that conformity to the previous standard set out by the previous regime would likely lead to "achievement rewards" than having to rebel against the "political culture" of the said regime. Hence HBUs did not typically exist as embodiments of the masses' will, but rather as a reflection of state power which was the apartheid government. Subotzky (1997:67) wrote an article that examines equity relative to South Africa's HBUs in changing global and local circumstances. Subotzky argues that equity should not be interpreted as strict equality, but rather in terms of improved fitness to purpose and relevance in terms of global and basic development, with the goal of enhancing HBUs' status.

The current researcher disagrees with Subotzky (1997:67)'s assertion solemnly because just as HBUs and HWUs are now all public universities, there should be strict equity. Equality is about ensuring that each individual from any public university including the HBUs has an equal opportunity to make the most of their lives and talents. HBUs even today are still lagging behind in terms of research publications, university rankings and funding. The researcher himself does not have a bursary to fund the master's thesis and it is very difficult. The national development in the contemporary South African context involves a set of dual but competing challenges. On the one hand, it entails enhancing the country's participation in the high-technology, information-led global competitive arena. It also involves facilitating socio-economic reconstruction and development to meet the basic needs of the majority of the nation's population.

Student culture is another factor to consider in the current study. In this study, it is defined as group adaptations to specific environmental stimuli. The concept of student culture is governed by the central aspect viz 'university environment'. Students from various universities will not have a uniform culture because of the circumstances the university environment presents them with. Even in anthropology, the term "culture" suggests variation in different levels. There is a general acknowledgement of the variation in diversity and intensity of manifestations of student responses to their respective university environments. Indeed, even in one country or one university great variability in student attitudinal and behavioural response configurations can be observed. Such variability is a function of the type or purpose of the college or university, its history, the socio-economic and political background of its student population, and the external societal forces that impinge on it.

According to Nkomo (1983:77), protests in universities are directly proportionate with how the university treats its students, thus, the more feelings of discontentment students feel and experience, the more likely they will respond by protesting whatever caused the discontentment. At UNIN, students engaged in various protests against the segregated education they received. The current study will add more on the kind of student culture that existed at UNIN and also add more on the reasons why that specific culture existed.

2.6 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

An extensive body of literature on student socio-cultural challenges has been reviewed in this chapter. Socio-cultural challenges globally, within an African context and also the challenges in South Africa. Gaps have been identified. It would be extremely difficult to make a definitive prediction on the impacts and long-term implications of challenges faced by UNIN students without a specific investigation of the contextual lived experiences of students. One needs a rigorous understanding of what students really went through and how everything made them feel and not forgetting how all of this impacted on their lives outside the university premises. Consequently, due to the frequency and intensity in current years of student challenges at UNIN, the socio-cultural challenges and their long-term impacts on the students, deserve scrutiny and thus an exploration.

3. CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The researcher employed a qualitative approach for the current study to understand and explore the socio-cultural challenges in the Historically Black Universities from an Afrocentric perspective. In-depth qualitative data had been collected concerning the challenges faced by students at the then UNIN in the 1970s, 80s and 90s. A suitable research design was selected and deemed fit for purpose to produce thoughtful and in-depth knowledge. This section focuses on the framework used in the implementation of the current study. Primarily, the Afrocentric procedural principles, the case study research design and the in-depth qualitative approach is examined in this study. The sampling method is explained and discussed clearly with the synopsis of the research participants. Before data collection was undertaken, all ethical considerations were considered and adhered to. Finally, the process and the guidelines of data interpretation and analysis were undertaken using Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) following the steps outlined by Braun and Clark.

3.2. Research design and methodology

3.2.1. Qualitative methodology

The study employed a qualitative approach. Kelly (2006) describes a qualitative approach as characteristically subjective and humanistic. Another scholar posits that qualitative approach accept the existence of socially created or instinctively known realities (Creswell, 2003). Therefore, a qualitative approach openly trusts or relies on the subjective perspective of participants in order to gain an understanding of the subject matter (Creswell, 2003). The selected approach was in line with the aim and the objectives of the study.

3.2.2 Research design

As outlined by Yin (2014:280) "the research design is a logical plan of getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions about these questions". Oliver (2014:142) states that research design indicates the practical way in which the whole research report has been organised. Barbie and Mouton (2001) designate a "research design as a

perceived plan or blueprint of how the researcher intends to conduct their study", while the researcher considers it a large and comprehensive toolbox for the research journey to be undertaken. Nonetheless, Kerlinger (1986:279) defines a research design as a "plan, structure and strategy of the investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems". Therefore, in the current study it is part of the requirements of the study to complete the programme of the research.

The research design articulated what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyse this data and how all of this is going to answer the research question. The study used the community of African students at the UNIN in1970 to 1994 as a case study. The study employed this design because the aim was to explore black students' experiences concerning their socio-cultural challenges in depth. There was a need to explore to lift up the voice of the marginalized Black students' socio-cultural challenges in the literature surrounding the topic. The case study design was used to produce detailed descriptions of HBUs students who studied at the then UNIN between the years of 1970-1994. The goal of the study was descriptive and empirical. Yin (2014) emphasised that case study design strengthens the results by reproducing designs. Therefore, a case study design was used for the data collection method of interviews.

3.2.3 Population and Sampling

The study population is composed of Black students who studied at the UNIN between 1970 and 1994 period. The population was accessible and convenient in terms of time the researcher required and travelling constraints. The participants composed of ordinary individuals and some employees working in Limpopo and Gauteng Provinces and mostly within the Departments of Education and Health. Based on the researcher's judgement, a purposive sampling was employed in this study.

Yin (2014) describes a purposive sampling as "a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objectives of the study". Moreover, a snowball technique was also additionally used where research participants recruited other participants. These methods of sampling were therefore used to recruit participants who were African and studied at UNIN during 1970-94 period, understand and had experience of being a student during those days, they

signed a consent form as part of agreeing to participate in the study and they did so willing fully and shared their ideas, perceptions and experiences they had during their time as students at UNIN. This study recruited and interviewed thirteen (13) participants since the saturation point was reached. Of these participants, seven (7) were females and six (6) of them were males. where no new information emerged from the interviewees.

Former lecturers and staff members were not included in the sample. The objective of the study was to identify the socio-cultural challenges faced by students at UNIN. By selecting only students, the candidate would be able to capture the voice and experiences of former students directly. Had the candidate interviewed former members of staff, the experiences of students would have been less authentic as these would have been interpreted through the eyes of non-students.

3.3 Data collection

Prior to the commencement of data collection processes, the researcher sought and obtained clearance letter from the Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC). Thereafter, an arrangement was made between the researcher and the participants to schedule appointments and the interviews were conducted at the place chosen by the participants. This process guaranteed the participants safety and comfort during the interview. A semi-structured interview guide in face-to-face interactions with participants to collect data was used. This empowered the researcher to gain a comprehensive picture of participants' perceptions, beliefs and experiences about socio-cultural challenges of HBUs of the then UNIN. Observation was key in collecting data. All the aspects of ethical concerns were explained to each of the study participants. While the interviews were hoped for about 45 minutes as per the interviews guide, the finally took about 30 minutes.

The researcher purposefully and systematically selected a way of watching and listening to interactions of participants. Although the participants were recorded to have registered between the years of 1970 and 1994, not all incidents could be recalled. However, some of the participants vividly narrated the painful incidents of the then times. The researcher used observational skills while the participants were sharing their experiences.

In this study, the one-on-one in-depth interviews was employed because they enabled

the researcher to create a working relationship between the researcher and the participants and also make the participants feel comfortable. This led the participants to give more insightful responses about their experiences during their time at UNIN. Follow ups questions were made to probe where the researcher felt like the answer provided was not clear in order to get a true description of what the participant is trying to portray. The researcher monitored the interview and guided the process to be strictly about the purpose of the study and professionalism was maintained. These interviews made use of an interview schedule (Appendix B). The researcher prepared the questions and familiarised himself with the questions on the interview guide during data collection. Therefore, as a result during the interview a natural conversation was produced and became interesting which allowed authentic expression from the responses of the participants.

Secondly, the interviewed guide was provided to the participants prior to the interview for the participants to be aware of the questions to be asked (Appendix B). The purpose of this was to prepare the participants of the main issues to be covered on the interview and for them to remember their experiences during the time they were students of UNIN and they had a view of how they will express themselves. Schreiber's (2000) argued that in order to conduct a good successful research interview, participants should be allowed to express themselves and elaborate more on the subject matter. The informed consent indicated that the participants can withdraw from the interview at any time they so wish (Appendix A). The confidentiality of their participation was also guaranteed. Their names will not be linked with the findings of the study. Therefore, a smooth interview process took place whereby all-important ethical considerations were followed for the purpose of the study.

All the participants' identities remain anonymous for ethical purposes. The Afrocentric principles guided the process of data collection and it was very imperative in the current study. The steps of Thematic Content Analysis as outlined by Braun and Clark (2011) were followed in all aspects from data collection to data analysis. With the consent from the participants all interviews were recorded using an audio recorder for the purpose of transcription and reference. Moreover, field notes were taken and used as part of writing important information which needed the attention of the researcher for the purposes of needing clarity and probing while the interview was underway. Importantly, more comments were written down immediately after the interviews in

order to be through and to remind the researcher of all the important details.

3.4 Data Analyses

The current study endeavoured to discover and understand socio-cultural experiences shared by former UNIN students between 1970 to 1994 period. In the context of the study, the focus was not just on any experiences but the Black African students' experiences of an African phenomenon. Therefore, Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was used for the purpose of data analysis. As clarified by Braun and Clark (2006) describes TCA as a "process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data". The method itself is flexible, a considerable advantage to the nature of the study. This meant that an Afrocentric orientation on the study was in line with this method of analysis. According to (Clarke & Braun, 2013), the goal of TCA is to develop core themes, a process which culminates in writing a narrative account that presents, explains and elaborates on these central themes supported by verbatim quotes. The method of analysis followed was the method put forward by (Clarke & Braun, 2013). A step-by-step procedure given, provides clarity for the reader and was a useful tool for the researcher during analysis. The following hereunder TCA steps were carefully followed in line with that of Clarke and Braun (2013):

- Familiarizing oneself with the data

Here the researcher read and re-read the transcripts and all other forms of data collected. Thus, the researcher immersed himself in the data and was further familiarized with the entire body of data or data corpus (i.e., all the interviews and any other data employed) before going any further. It was also useful at this stage to make notes and jot down early impressions.

- Generating initial codes

Coding reduced lots of data into small chunks of meaning, thus in this phase, the researcher started to organize data in a meaningful and systematic way by identifying preliminary codes which are the features of the data that appear interesting and meaningful. Some of the identified codes are Blacks, Whites, and racial lines. These were grouped together to make it easier for the researcher to extract themes.

- Search for themes.

A theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and/or research question. As Braun & Clarke (2006) explain, there are no hard and fast rules about what makes a theme. A theme is characterized by its significance and appropriateness to the research questions. The investigator generated themes from the small chunks of data. Some of the major themes extracted from the transcriptions of the interview guide were Institutional Autonomy, Africanisation of African University, restriction of movements, students' protests as well as the infamous 1976 Soweto Uprising. These themes shall be analysed in the next chapter of results (chapter 4).

- Reviewing themes

During this phase, the researcher reviewed, modified, and developed the preliminary themes that were identified earlier asking whether they made sense. At this point, it was useful to gather all the data that was relevant to each theme.

- Defining and naming themes

This was the final refinement of the themes, and the aim was to identify the essence of what each theme was about. What is the theme saying? If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? How do the themes relate to each other? These are the questions the researcher asked himself in order to thoroughly define and name the themes.

3.6 Quality Criteria

Yardley (2000) as cited in Smith (2003) stated that there are three comprehensive standards according to which qualitative research can and should be judged for validity and reliability. Those are sensitivity to context, commitment, rigor, transparency and coherence, and impact and importance. These standards were necessary for sound research. As this was a qualitative study based on Afrocentric principles, traditional and/or positivist requirements were not appropriate and were not used to judge the quality of this study (Pellerin, 2012 and Smith, 2003).

3.6.1 Validity and Reliability

3.6.1.1 Sensitivity to context

Sensitivity to context requires an awareness of extant literature around the research

topic, the researcher's personal role, and the researcher's relationship with participants and the impact of such dynamics on the collected data and results, a sensitivity of interpretation and the inductive probability of such interpretations (Smith, 2003; Tindall, 1994). These principles adequately reflect in the study. Demonstrating sensitivity to context is of particular importance from an Afrocentric perspective due to the openly subjective and interpretive nature of the methodology to be used (Schreiber, 2000).

3.6.1.2 Commitment, rigor, transparency and coherence

Commitment, rigor, transparency and coherence lent itself to adequate research validity (Yardley, 2000, as cited in Smith, 2003). A great deal of time was needed in reading the data obtained in detail and the analysis of the data to be comprehensive. Summarized notes which document the process of analysis and theme production are provided in the research, thus demonstrating the inductive interpretation of data. The notes allow an independent evaluator to assess the researcher's analysis and interpretation, thereby respecting the standard of transparency (Creswell, 1998; Tindall, 1994). In terms of coherence, it is shown that the sample, data collection process and method of analysis used, are appropriate to the research question, the qualitative research design and the Afrocentric theoretical orientation.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Emanuel, Wendler and Grady (2000) state that there are four requirements that speak to the ethical treatment of those persons involved or participating in research projects. These are informed consent, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality, fair participation of potential and actual research participants. These requirements are mirrored and emphasized by the Afrocentric tenets on which this study is based. Accordingly, it is imperative that this study must be ethically sound regarding the research participants and meet all the necessary requirements.

3.7.1 Informed consent and Voluntary participation

In order to protect the identities of the participants, the researcher sought informed consent from the participants, and it was rightly granted. Therefore, the requirement of informed consent was upheld during the data collection process (see Appendix A).

36

According to Wassenaar (2006), it is of utmost importance that research participants are fully informed, legally autonomous persons, able and willing to make an informed decision about participating. As well as being an ethical necessity, it is apparent that voluntary and fully informed participation is more likely to achieve authentic and enthusiastic involvement from the participants.

The informed consent forms (Appendix A) notified participants of the full research process (included were the research objectives, the voluntary nature of participation, rights to anonymity and confidentiality, the role of participants, harm and benefit as well as information regarding the results of the study, as set out by (Wassenaar, 2006).

3.7.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Confidentiality was addressed. The researcher removed identifiers to create a "clean" data set. A clean data set does not contain information that identifies respondents, such as a name or address (such identifying information might be stored elsewhere,

in separate, protected files). The names of respondents in this study were protected and not mentioned to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

3.7.3 Respectful treatment and fair participation of potential and actual research participants

The last requirement set out by Emanuel, et al. (2000) is the respectful treatment and fair participation of potential and actual research participants. This is also reflected in Afrocentric principles which require participants to be treated fairly as fellow human beings involved in the research process, and not as objects of research (Pellerin, 2012; Schreiber, 2000). Respect for participants (potential and actual) was practiced in several ways. Firstly, all participants were given ample time to read through, fully understand and familiarize themselves with the topic of research, the consent form (appendix 1) and the interview schedule (appendix 2) before choosing to participate in the study; according to Tindall (1994), this practice ensures participant autonomy. Fair participation was also upheld in the study. The fair participation aspect is an important consideration in reviewing protocols. The participation was fair as highlighted by the treatment of participants above; this was ensured by the nature of the research questions where they were directly relevant to the population. Furthermore, the knowledge generated from the study (it is envisaged) is relevant to the research

participant population (Horn, Sleem, & Ndebele, 2014).

3.7.4 Harms and Benefits

Harms in the study are defined as conditions that make a situation harmful to a participant. This may be in the form of questions arousing unwanted emotions/ feelings. The researcher identified psychological aspect as a feasible harm in the study. The study then addressed psychological harm by providing participants with the right to withdraw from the study at any time and protecting the anonymity of participants. A positive aspect of the study is that psychological harm was at its minimal degree because the interview questions were less sensitive, and the questions themselves were about university experiences, nothing beyond that. Benefits comprise of the knowledge to be derived from the study. the knowledge generated from the study is relevant to the research participant population (Horn, Sleem, & Ndebele, 2014). Participants and the black community at large will benefit from the study because of the body of knowledge the study will provide, additionally, the study will be made available to all participants should they wish to get it. That way, the gap in knowledge regarding the study will be filled and according to the researcher; the harms/benefits ratio is well balanced in the study.

3.8 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter has clearly outlined and described the methodology, design and purpose of this study, and provided a discussion and motivation regarding the sampling, data collection, data analysis, validity, reliability and ethical considerations. The six steps were described as the guiding process of analysis (as put forward by Clarke & Braun, 2013) used by the researcher. It should be clear to the reader that the analysis given is not representative of an absolute truth. Rather these explanations of UNIN students were interpretations on the part of the researcher, (supported by extant literature and always positioned around participants' voices), which aimed to accurately represent, clarify and expand on participants' narratives regarding the socio-cultural challenges of UNIN students (Reid et al. 2005). In addition, the results have been stated not as current truths but as historical accounts.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CHALLENGES FACED BY STUDENTS AT UNIN AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with the methodological aspects of this study. This chapter presents an overview of the experiences faced by the then UNIN students and the research results as well as the discussion of these results. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive understanding of participants "personal accounts of UNIN" between 1970 to 1994. Importantly, the current chapter seeks to provide an overview of the socio-cultural challenges confronted by African students at UNIN and also, offer insights on how the challenges manifested themselves between 1970 to 1994 period.

As this study has already highlighted in chapter 1, the reason behind the chosen time period (1970-1994), is because in the year 1970, activism began to unfold through the emergence of the South African Student Organisation (SASO). Therefore, this chapter begins with highlighting the formation of SASO as one of the central Black students' organisations. It moves on to periodise and explore in detail the challenges the students faced which were triggered by the granting of autonomy to the university and the 1974 Frelimo rallies. The chapter continues with an examination of the concept of Africanisation and its implementation at UNIN as well as discussing the general challenges faced by UNIN students. The writing of this chapter was achieved through a combination of participants own verbatim words and supportive literature from relevant documents which both verified and enhanced interpretations made.

4.2 THE FORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANISATION (SASO)

The study found that South African Student Organisation (SASO) was publicly launched at UNIN in July 1969. Waite (1987:116) posit that Bantu Steven Biko was elected as the first president of SASO. Literature shows that the immediate and basic aims of SASO were to a) mobilise Black African students by increasing contact nationally, identify crucial grievances that affected Black students, represent the interests of Black students, establish a solid and strong identity to boost Black

students' self-confidence and begin concrete programmes to respond to pertinent issues to get the majority of Black students directly involved in SASO activities" (Badat, 1999; Waite, 1987:116 & Elliott-Cooper, 2017:333). This finding is echoed in the following statements made by participants:

Participant A (at UNIN from 1970-1976): *Mmmm…. When I remember the events of the past, the formation of SASO is part of history…. In the University of the North, I don't remember the exact year but… SASO was formed as result of disappointment from students who felt that the students' organisations which were there like NUSAS, did not have interests of black students at heart… in fact they had different interest and little understanding of Black needs (aspirations).*

Participant D (at UNIN from 1970-1975): *During the 1960s we had student organisations which were largely foreign centred and did not…. according to me represent Black students…Yes to answer your question, the formation of SASO is tricky according to me… because when I remember well just before the 70s… Black African students were segregated against participating freely in several activities…So the likes of General Bantu Steven Biko… I call him General because he played a crucial role in the formation of SASO… they sat somewhere and decided that they needed a student organisation that will be representing the interest of blacks and African students in particular… You are reminding me of the past… things were difficult during those days… not you guys who grow up having lot of freedom…. (Laughing) Pause…. Yes, we come a long way.*

Participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1985): *Mmm mchana "ke dilo tsa kgale"* Loosely translated that, those are things of the past. *What I remember well is that we were destined to be excluded in several activities and so students' organisations of then like NUSAS did not have our interests and we had to fight… I was active during my time as a student at UNIN… I tell you… we embraced SASO the day we heard about it… during the 70s immediately after its formation. In the 70s that's when SASO became famous at UNIN because Biko was playing a low profile, but students could not hold themselves to love SASO.*

40

The finding is supported by Kallaway, ed., (2002) postulate that as early as the 1960s black students got involved in trying to shape a new direction for students across different HBUs. Moreover, a study conducted by Bernal and Villalpando, (2002:188) indicates that after the official launching of SASO, students started to have discussions about disaffiliating from NUSAS as part of the support for new ideas which came with SASO. Moreover, during that period students were searching for their new identity as described by SASO which they felt they had a state of belonging and were represented by the ideas of SASO. The researcher postulates that students had to be liberated from the suffering they went through and psychological oppression. Furthermore, the then leaders of the student representative council namely Harry Nengwekhulu and Petrus Machaka as the leaders of the UNIN Student Representative Council (SRC), the SRC decided to use their money to fund the conference of SASO (Hefernan, 2015:186). This did not sit well with the university registrar who argued that the SRC will not be able to pay the money back. The SRC however, counter-argued that they use their money to support student organisations at their discretion. The SRC further added that they shall support SASO both politically and financially (Hefernan, 2015:186).

The finding was expressed as follows:

> **Participant H (at UNIN from 1970-1975)**, *the formation of SASO was not out of choice but out of the dissatisfaction we had as Black students, the inferior status we were always relegated to was not nice at all, we needed to be revived and SASO, with its Black Consciousness ideals, seemed like a better option to turn to.*

Makoni, Moody and Mabokela, (2001:48) posit that, students enrolled in the HBUs during the 1970s decided to lift themselves up from their displeasure with the apartheid systems. The researcher agrees with the students in that they needed to fight for their rights because if they waited, it was going to be difficult for their concerns to be heard or even entertained. Furthermore, Naidoo, (1998:372) found that the new kid on the block 'SASO' allowed Black students to break their dependence on White society and to work on themselves by developing confidence, ideas, and strategies on how to liberate themselves.

4.3 STUDENT CHALLENGES 1970 to 1980

4.3.1 University of the North Autonomy

Scholars such as Waite, (1987:116); Badat, (1999) and Vuma, (2018) concur that for about a period of 10 years (from 1960-1970), the UNIN was operating under the University of South Africa (UNISA). Thus, UNISA was the university that oversaw curriculum development and qualifications conferment (Heffernan, 2019:47). In 1970, the university was transformed by the University of the North Act No. 47 of 1969 from a university college under UNISA into a fully-fledged autonomous university. This triggered protests among students because the university was now autonomous although not fully autonomous as they lamented. The university still had to ask for permissions from various bodies of government to carry out certain tasks like borrowing money to assist needy students who made up almost 90% of the student population (Heffernan, 2019:47).

Themane, (1989:91) states that the president of the Student Representative Council (SRC) between 1970-1971 was Ongkgopotse Tiro. He was a SASO activist and later became a member of the SASO national executive. Under Tiro's leadership, the SRC led the UNIN student body in protest over the university's autonomy and it's cutting of ties with UNISA. For example, in September 1970, SASO declined to take part in the university independence celebrations and boycotted them. The alleged autonomy, they contended, was a farce: another calculated move by the government to drive the Black students into a life of isolation, despair and perpetual frustration (Themane, 1989:91). Independence from UNISA was considered 'premature' and designed not to liberate the university but to further isolate it from its peers in South Africa (Themane, 1989:91). Nkondo (1976), asserted that the autonomy was viewed in such a way that the transition had little effect in the governing structure of UNIN. Thus, though UNISA no longer conferred the degrees of its graduates, the new university was autonomous in name only. The students at UNIN contended that the university was autonomous in name only because the University of the North Act No. 47 of 1969 (section 14) still affirmed the control of the Minister of Bantu Education over appointments to, and decisions made by the University Senate and Council, its two governing bodies.

42

The independence of UNIN was not necessarily as students had envisioned it. This is because despite UNIN having cut ties with UNISA, the university was still under the authority of the Department of Bantu Education which meant that it was still under immense administrative and managerial control which had been reaffirmed by the University of the North Act No. 47 of 1969 where the university was to cater for North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda ethnic groups only. Thus, the university was autonomous in name only, but in operation, it was still being highly controlled. The SRC at UNIN cried out that if the true definition of independence is to be achieved, that independence should also include independence from state control. To UNIN students, university autonomy meant and implied that the university had "the right to decide for itself, on academic grounds, who shall teach, and what shall be taught, and who shall be admitted to study." The University of the North Act No. 47 of 1969 certainly did not allow for this. (Heffernan, 2014:63).

Most participants alluded that the management of the university did not necessarily have their interests at heart and that is why they could not trust them with their autonomy. Badat (1999:81) accordingly contended that when the Minister of Bantu Education in 1970 insisted that the University College of the North would now be autonomous and would become the University of the North, the students objected. This was because the students respected UNISA standards and the status and marketability of its degrees and diplomas.

Participant C (at UNIN from 1970-1986), had this to say

"W*e all know universities are ranked, even today they are still ranked, right now you are doing a Master of Art at University of Limpopo, other students are doing the same MA in History at UP (University of Pretoria), or UJ (University of Johannesburg) and other universities that are ranked high, when you finish this profession, you will go and look for employment with them at the same company or institution and preference might be given to them because their universities are ranked well above yours, thus, the status and rank of their MA History will be (in those companies' perspectives) above yours. Now that is exactly how we felt as students of UNIN with the announcement of the autonomy*".

The boycotting of the celebration of the autonomy of the university was largely because the students feared that their degrees and diplomas would lose their status and therefore would not be marketable. Although the students were

meant to serve their homelands, and thus work in their communities as stipulated in the infamous Verwoerd speech, the students stated that

> "*we still had hope that one day we will liberate ourselves and be able to work wherever we want, but if we do not contest this autonomy, we might be left with useless degrees when our chance arrives that will permit us to work anywhere, we wanted*" **Participant C (at UNIN from 1970-1986)**.

Participant A (at UNIN from 1970-1976) added that already they were not happy with how the university was being run, that the management was all White and that there was nothing they could do about this. He added that the university cannot be allowed to get any worse by assuming the autonomy status. He stated that

> "*all students knew that the lecturers did not necessarily like them except only for a few of them, now imagine giving someone who hates you, control over your education, control on what to teach you, control on the whole of the structuring and development of curriculum content, control on how to grade you and on everything academic, this was a very dangerous move because we feared they could deliberately tamper with the quality of the education we were receiving which we believed was up to the standard because it was being administered by UNISA*".

The researcher argues that autonomy is a crucial concept for the analysis of the nexus between the university and its environment. Nkondo (1976:35), argues that to speak of autonomy in relation to an institution is to say something about the decisions which govern the actions of the institution. Therefore, the researcher came to the conclusion that UNIN could have been recognised as autonomous only if the university was self-regulated not being under the umbrella of UNISA. This means that UNIN was to make its decisions and take no orders from external forces. Therefore, a university is autonomous when it formulates its own policies collectively or individually.

In reference to Nkondlo (1975:35), the establishment of the UNIN was marked by the restriction of the four essential principles of academic freedom. Moreover, Mouton, Louw, and Strydom, (2012:76) postulate that "the right of the university to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught and who may be admitted to study is the ideal autonomy". However, as found by Fiske and Ladd, (2004:106), the first principle of an independent university is determined by the policies which guides the academic setting of who may form part of it whether Black or White. The second principle, what may be taught, became a

44

distinctive feature of the UNIN and other African institutions whose range of course offerings were severely circumscribed. The main focuses were the sole preserve of the White institutions and required special Ministerial permission, a rare commodity, for Africans to be admitted into such academic programmes in White institutions. The fourth principle, who may be admitted to study, was the gist of the 1959 legislation and brought to new heights educational discrimination along racial lines in South Africa. Hence the students revolted against the autonomy (Fiske, & Ladd, 2004:106). Therefore, it meant that Blacks were subjected to mediocre education informed by racial lines.

Scholars such as Makoni, Moody and Mabokela, (2001) posit that the impacts of the prohibitions of excluding students from other ethnic groups to enrol at the university was considered by many to be an unnecessary in-road into the freedom of UNIN. Section 3(2A) of the Act 43 of 1969 stipulated that "UNIN required ministerial approval to borrow money or receive money or property by way of donation". The researcher argues that this was a form of controlling UNIN and limiting its freedom in terms of requesting financial assistance necessary for developing new curricular and funding for other educational necessities. This statement is supported by Naidoo, (1998:370) who found that at the UNIN, the existing dynamics such as the state regulations, can be thought to have been threatening the university autonomy.

The researcher contends that one may conclude that the concept of university autonomy can relate to that of areas of university action. For example, the university consist of regulatory policies, i.e., teaching and learning, research and administration. Scholars such as Altbach (2007:115); Meyer (1974:15), and Eno (2019) come to agreement that the main focus of university activities are as follow: a) research and learning, recruitment of academic staff, organisation of institution to mention just a few. At UNIN, it is heteronomy that defined the university's autonomy (Meyer, 1974:15). From the flip side of the coin, the opposite of autonomy is heteronomy.

As found by Meyer, (1974:20) heteronomy may transpire as a result of power or outcome of authority. Moreover, a university may pursue to engage with the state or another organisation on certain areas of research or for the purpose of academic development. Although students at UNIN protested the autonomy hoping for a change, there was none. The university remained unchanged in terms of the control of affairs

and the "initial pattern of power relations between Black and White". Nonetheless, UNIN remained a "White-controlled Black university and an ethnic university integrated into the separate development" (Heffernan, 2019:190). The University of the North Act No 47 of 1969 ensured that indeed the university continued to serve only the Sotho, Venda and Tsonga ethnic groups. The effects being that the UNIN was not in power to choose whom to admit at the university because the Minister was still vested with that kind of powers. As mentioned above, UNIN could have thought to be experiencing a crisis of identity where it had difficulty in choosing to fully be autonomous or to redefine its notion of "autonomy".

4.3.2 The challenges that led to the Tiro incident of 1972

The study found that various challenges ranging from the governance of the university, segregated facilities for Black and White staff as well as restrictive rules were some of the concerns raised by participants. Research shows that the UNIN university council was dominated by White supporters of apartheid (Makonl, Moody Sr & Mabokela, 2001:48; Fiske, Ladd, 2004 and Pearson & Reddy, 2021). The researcher posits that policy makers of UNIN were supporters of apartheid and that is displayed by the majority of White-dominated council members. The participants asserted that there were restrictions on the control of the movement of students inside and outside campus residences and visitors were not allowed in residences. Moreover, there was a prohibition of alcohol on campus and a lack of social amenities (Badat, 2016:15). This finding was expressed as follows:

> **Participant A (at UNIN from 1970-1976)**, *"the reason for restrictions on movement and visitors in the residences they claimed was because people would steal our stuff in the rooms or worse, tamper with the university property". Issues related to restriction of movements due to unfounded reasons including theft of valuables was not logical. It's a security management issue but was effected based on racial lines.*

> **Participant K (at UNIN from 1985-1991)**, *Haibo…Pause… waze wang khumbuza kdala nge skhati sethu eskoleni ngabo 70s…. Loosely translated "you have just reminded me of our time as a student in varsity in the 70s". Mmmm coming to your question, there was lot of challenges faced by Black students during those and some incidents were not hidden till to date…the*

46

system was not friendly to a Black child and something had to happen because we were not seen as human beings but sub human beings… our movement was monitored and we could not do as we please freely because we were afraid of the system.

Eno, (2019:65) in an article titled "Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Education of Marginalized Populations" postulates that the majority of Black African students would have been in their mid-twenties age, and it was unlikely that the control of movement was largely affecting them. Meyer, (1974:15) and Badat, (1999:208) argues that some Black students were afraid to raise their concerns about the control of movement in campus.

In the University of Limpopo's Annual Tiro Memorial Lecture of 2017, the following was extracted from Ongkgopotse Abraham Tiro's 1972 speech (Heffernan, 2019: 47). In April 1972, Mr Tiro delivered a speech with a galvanizing effect. Abraham Tiro was a former Student Representative Council president; he also played an active role in the previous boycott of the university autonomy ceremony. During the same year (1972), he was busy with his postgraduate studies in education. As stated by Heffernan, (2019: 47), he was recommended by the SRC to speak on graduations of that year (29th April 1972) to give a speech on behalf of the graduates and students. He accepted the invitation. Mr Tiro denounced apartheid in no uncertain terms. His denunciation was clearly heard by the defenders of this oppressive system. His militant stand was registered throughout the length and breadth of the country and effectively became a clarion call for action to challenge the apartheid system, especially in its blatant efforts to use education, called Bantu Education, as an instrument of indoctrination, servitude, and racial oppression.

The speech he delivered at the graduation ceremony in 1972, which subsequently came to be known appropriately as the "Turfloop Testimony", highlighted the quintessential element of truth, which effectively stroke terror and alarm into the hearts of White supremacists, who were determined to maintain racial domination and Black subjugation with fierce brutality and utter ruthlessness. Hence his opening line

of attack in speaking truth to power: "*I will try as much as possible to say nothing else but the truth. And for me truth* means practical reality".

Mr Tiro pointed out several aspects manifested in the apartheid education system. He

47

questioned why a Black university would be administered and managed predominately by White faculty, why the campus bookshop was not open to Blacks but to Whites only and why were food supply contracts given to Whites only when they should be given to the Blacks also. He also asked why White students were given holiday jobs on the campus when Black students needed the employment so that they could settle their study debts to the university. Tiro raised many other injustices that were practised by the university (Heffernan, 2019: 48). Mr Tiro contended that the system used at UNIN was failing. He cried out that "It is failing because even those who recommended it strongly, as the only solution to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and spirit of the policy." (Nkondo, 1976:91 cited in Heffernan, 2019: 48). Tiro concluded his speech by saying: "In conclusion, Mr Chancellor, I say: Let the Lord be praised, for the day shall come when all men shall be free to breathe the air of freedom and when that day shall come, no man, no matter how many tanks he has, will reverse the course of events. God bless you all!" (Tiro Memorial Lecture, 2017).

Tiro's speech cost him his education studies at the university. Participant D contended that it was clear the university management disregarded the sentiments of Tiro since they were quite defiant in their eyes. The management and the administration were furious; hence they took drastic measures on Mr Tiro. The rector, the Black Advisory Council along with the University Senate decided to expel Tiro from the university. All these actions resulted in the Black academic staff to protest along with the student body. The students boycotted lectures and SASO was behind them. These further spread throughout most Black universities in South Africa (Vuma ,2018:58).

After Tiro was expelled, UNIN students vowed not to go back to their classes until Mr Tiro was readmitted. The SRC called a student mass meeting in the Great Hall which is currently referred to as Tiro Hall. Aubrey Mokoena highlighted that that year UNIN had 1146 students and they were 1145 because of Tiro's expulsion. It is said that the students used the mass meeting to cry out their concerns and eventually, a memorandum was drafted where it demanded Tiro's unconditional immediate reinstatement.

On the 2 May 1972, the students marched to the office of the rector, Prof. J L Boshof to deliver the memorandum. After handing over to him the document of demands, they

sang "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", a hymn that later became South Africa's national anthem. The song was sung emotively and with dignity.

The rector ordered the students to disperse and return to their respective classes. He further sent two members of the staff to distribute letters responding to the memorandum to sign at the Great Hall. The same process of the dispersing of the letters was repeated in the dining hall later that day. The letters contained reapplication forms for readmission to the university and further announced prohibition of mass meetings. The students destroyed the letters and refused to sign them (Morwe, 2021:65). The rector threatened to close down the dining hall until they comply. Certain Black staff told the students using loudspeakers to stop the protests. The students did not comply. The rector reacted by closing down the dining hall. Ranuga (2016:25) contended that the unavailability of food was a major challenge for the striking students, that they had to be creative in dealing with the scarcity of food. As a result of the lack of food, an appeal was made where students who had money would contribute to a common fund to buy food. The food was basic, only bread and soda to give them energy. The university administration and management realised that their method did not shake the students and they were still protesting, they upped the pressure. They reacted by expelling all 1145 students and ordered them to leave campus. Buses were called in to transport students to the train stations but the students remained unshaken and continued with their sit-in. The university administration and management reacted by cutting-off water supply and electricity. The media tried to intervene, but they were told that it is normal for power cuts to occur at university and that it is nothing new (Morwe, 2021:65).

The university further called in armed police with dogs. The police surrounded the Great Hall and barred food from being brought in and further blocked access to the toilets which were already unsuitable and smelly to be used because of the water cut-off. Participant E contended that they protested in what was known as the Great Hall, there were loud noises of students singing the struggle songs. They further refused to go home "we did not agree with the management to leave the university so we decided to strike because our demands have not been met". The participant contended that "I personally, was not really happy about the whole situation because it was affecting my studies negatively and I struggled to pay the fees, now if I get distracted while I struggle

49

to get money for fees, it appears as if I am not serious to my parents".

The students were finally left with no choice but to go home the next day. One considerable factor that made the students to leave was the fact that the university management locked all cafeterias and thus there was no food. They also the cut-off of the water supply in the hostels, making things worse. It was difficult to live without water for the students because they continued to use the toilets and the whole place started smelling. That is what made the students to eventually leave the university premises (Badat, 1999:42). SASO sent a team of its national leaders to meet and speak with UNIN rector, Prof Boshof regarding the expulsion of all students. The delegation included the SASO president, Themba Sono, its secretary, Barney Pityana and permanent organizer, Harry Nengwekhulu. The three leaders demanded an unconditional readmission of all students including Mr Tiro (the 1st student to be expelled). The rector was not of much help, he simply reiterated what he had stated in the letters (Tiro, 2019:103). By the 16 May 1972, the rector issued a communique that students may reapply for their readmission provided that Tiro would not be readmitted and that the SRC would remain suspended. The declaration was to be signed by those students who wished to come back to the university to continue with their studies (Tiro, 2019:103).

The common response of the participants was that on 5 June 1972, UNIN was reopened but the students faced another dilemma. They realised that other students were not permitted to be readmitted and that did not sit well with them. The students drew a memorandum of demands where they demanded the admission of those students who were not allowed back or else, they leave the university. The management did not respond to their demands positively and as a result the students left the university. Some students remained behind, and lectures continued. One participant, participant E, lamented that

> *"When there are protests, academics gets delayed. When a test was supposed to be written on a particular day, and protests erupt on that same day, the test ultimately gets postponed to another day. The downside here is that when everything gets back to normal, the students and the lecturers are overwhelmed by the amount of work that was supposed to have been completed but was disrupted by the protests. This means*

lecturers are forced to complete the curriculum within a short period of time, learners on the other hand are made to write several tests within that short period of time. The lecturers do not even have mercy on the students, whether they had enough time to read for the tests or not, it is not their problem, they just want the tests written and completed. In short, the protests' downside is that students had more work overload. We lost track of time, the issue of having to redraw our reading time tables and all. The protests just change everything in terms of academic time".

The student went further. He said that he felt bad for the students who were not readmitted and others who just followed the masses by leaving the university and said: "you know, I understand that we were struggling, but sometimes we had to understand that we went there to study and go find jobs, some of us did not have the time to fight with the authorities but to finish our studies and leave for jobs".

The Wright Commission which was formed to investigate the causes of the protests at UNIN, condemned the decisions taken by the university. It stated that it was unnecessary to expel the students and disturb their academic activities as other measures could have been resorted to in order to solve the issues at the universities. The Commission found that not enough was done to understand the students' needs. In 1973, following the Wright Commission, students were low in energy but others like participant C contended that "with the banning of the SASO and SRC, myself and my classmates were kind of relieved because we knew there would no more be strikes".

4.3.2 The significance of the 1972 protest

Black students in the HBUs began to grow thick skins against the laws which were meant to segregate them and favour Whites. One of the most remarkable events was the 1972 students' protests. Theae were important in that they displayed student solidarity (Mouton, Louw, & Strydom, 2012). The researcher posits that when students come together to raise their concern in a form of a protest, they are most likely given solutions to their immediate challenges. Kallaway ed. (2002) argues that it became clear during the protest of 1972 at UNIN that students began to see themselves as one and to fight the injustice together. This statement is supported by Naidoo (1998:375) who contended that the unity of students crossed the boundaries of ethnic

51

and racial lines and affirmed the Black Consciousness ideas which had an impact on their academic lives. Moreover, SASO made a call countrywide to all HBUs students to embark on a strike. UNIN and other HBUs supported the call. Therefore, students began to unite against a system that segregated them from mainstream opportunities.

4.3.3 Challenges resulting from the Viva Frelimo rallies

Frelimo was a liberation movement that led Mozambique to independence from Portuguese colonial rule in June 1975. In September 1974, the new Portuguese government announced a ceasefire with Frelimo as well as its intention of granting Mozambique independence nine months later (Brown, 2016: 136-137). Mozambique's imminent independence and freedom from colonialism inspired the belief amongst many people attached to various organisations like SASO that they too could gain their freedom and throw off the yoke of apartheid or foreign rule. As a result, SASO along with other organisations, planned rallies "to express solidarity with the people of Mozambique who were freed by Frelimo" (Brown, 2016: 139).

The rallies were planned to take place in major cities such as Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, as well as at the Black university campuses of Fort Hare, the University of Zululand, the University of the Western Cape, and the UNIN. In reference to Heffernan (2015, 113), when the apartheid authorities heard the news, they reacted swiftly to stop the planned rallies. Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger on the 24th of September, one day before the scheduled rallies, issued a ban on the rallies, under the Riotous Assemblies Act which prohibited:

> *Any gatherings convened, supported, or approved, or the attendance of which is encouraged or promoted, or in respect of which it is intimated or professed that it is convened, supported or approved, or that the attendance thereof is encouraged or promoted, by or on behalf of the South African Students' Organisation or the Black People's Convention, everywhere in the Republic, up to and including 20 October 1974.*

Despite this banning, two of the rallies went ahead - those planned for Durban and UNIN. According to Heffernan (2014: 115), students at UNIN on the eve of the rallies had written placards with political slogans and all sorts of swearing words like "Voetsek Vorster and his pigs"

52

"The students themselves, that was on the evening of the 24th, they had littered that campus with placards and all kinds of things. […] One of [the slogans] said FRELIMO KILLED. SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS? Which suggests that FRELIMO killed in order to get its liberation, we must also kill. Those students had put all kinds of […] things and those were put voluntarily. When we woke up in the morning, we were all eyes on […] these things" (Cited in Heffernan, 2014:118).

The UNIN rector, Professor Boshoff was not aware of the rally but he realised that if indeed a rally did take place, it would be illegal. The student organisers of the rally claimed that they had earlier notified Boshoff of their intentions and that he had given them permission to stage the rally, but this was later denied by the rector who stated that he warned the students that the rally would be illegal and would bring conflict between the students and the government (Heffernan, 2019: 92). At the 2pm start of the rally in the Great Hall, 32 White and 50 Black policemen armed with rubber batons, dogs and in the case of the Whites, guns too, assembled at the Mankweng police station outside the campus. The acting District Commandant of the South African Police, Major Erasmus, was commanding them. Boshoff went off to play golf without putting anyone in charge to control the situation between the students and the police camped outside the campus. The 1200 students gathered in the university hall talked about the importance of the FRELIMO victory in Mozambique for South Africans. They were told that students could learn from FRELIMO's victory and inspire them to liberate their country and free themselves from apartheid education (Heffernan, 2019: 93-95). While the rally was in progress, the police entered the UNIN campus. Major Erasmus barged into the university hall and commanded everyone to exit the hall within 15 minutes. Many students shouted the slogans such as "Freedom" and "Viva-Frelimo" as they exited the hall. The students regrouped on the university sport ground. There were arguments on what the students did there.

The students alleged that they sang the African hymn, *Nkosi sikele iAfrika*, now South Africa's national anthem. However, the police alleged that the students marched up and down and gave SASO salute and further remained at the grounds despite the police commanding them to go. The police alleged that the students threw stones and bottles at them, and they reacted by using their batons on the students. The students denied all of this and asserted that they threw the stones only after the police had assaulted

53

them with batons. The clash between police and students continued for several minutes, with the use of batons and dogs. When the police dispersed the students, some of them went back to their residences. The SRC leaders then demanded the release of three students who were arrested. In the meantime, the rector returned from the golf course and intervened by negotiating the release of the students (Franklin, 2003:77; Brown, 2016: 148-149; Heffernan, 2019: 95-96).

The students went further to show their discontentment by blocking certain areas in campus. A group of students attacked two White staff members and two contractors driving around campus. Two men amongst the attacked were severely injured. The police intervened; however, the students ran to their residences. The University Council made the decision to shut the university for two weeks in October to consider how best to address the situation. In the end they turned to the state (Heffernan, 2019: 96, 97). After a meeting in Pretoria on October 8 the Council 'decided to request the Minister to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry.' From this request, the Snyman Commission was appointed. As noted earlier, following the student unrest after the Tiro incident in 1972, the University had appointed its own commission of inquiry, resulting in the secret Wright report. The failure of the university to be proactive and appoint its own internal commission of inquiry as it had after the Tiro incident suggests, Heffernan avers that the UNIN authorities "no longer had confidence in their own ability to maintain order on campus" in the aftermath of the Viva-FRELIMO (Heffernan, 2019: 97; Morwe, 2021:45).

In the aftermath of the Viva FRELIMO rally, SASO activists and SRC members were arrested and detained by the police. These included Cyril Ramaphosa, Gilbert Sedibe (the SRC President) and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe. "On 17 October the SRC resolved to hold a sit-in until Sedibe, Nefolovhodwe, and Ramaphosa were released from police custody. They blamed the rector for 'selling their rightful leaders to the system" (Heffernan, 2019: 97).

Only 50 students out of the 1200-strong student body did not participate in the sit-in. Some students began to realise that their education was on the line and that the issue of having to protest every now and then put pressure on their studies and impacted negatively on them. Small groups of students in Pharmacy and Nursing passed resolutions dissenting from the SRC's decision to hold the sit-in. In the case of the

54

Pharmacy students, they even explicitly supported the student body in its aim of Africanisation, but objected to the approach (Heffernan, 2019:98). Due to the unending protests, students began to think of their studies. Their studies were negatively affected and that meant they could easily fail. The following responses were recorded as follows:

> **Participant E (at UNIN from 1972-1985)** *"I for one was beginning to question the frequent protests that we engaged in, it was like we would never win and at the same time, we would lose out on our education too. For some of us, education gave us hope to get jobs and we just needed to finish and get it done with. This situation is similar to what the slave masters once said, they said that slavery is a necessary evil, what I am trying to say is that leaving the protest was necessary because then we can focus on our studies but at the same time, it is evil because we will be permitting all the injustices in the university to continue and I believe it was our duty as black students to eradicate all that"*.

In reference to Heffernan (2019:98), a segment of students studying Nursing and Pharmacy were tired of the protests because they too wanted to finish their studies and did not want to let down their professional regulatory organisations such as the South African Nursing Council. As such, they resorted to not adhering to the SRC decision to continue the protests and stage the sit-in. In the case of the Pharmacy students, they even explicitly supported the student body in its aim of Africanisation, but objected to the approach:

> *"The procedural machinery has failed to allow us to bring forth our views in a mass meeting. We feel it is our right to differ. We feel that we should dissociate ourselves from the popular stand of holding a sit-in because we consider it to be a cause of self-destruction and facilitates the aims and objects of the very system [of apartheid]. […] We all cherish the idea of the system of Africanisation of this University, but a sit-in will destroy the very means of achieving this ideal"* (Cited in Heffernan, 2019: 98).

However, the Nursing students' sentiments were quite different to those of the Pharmacy students. They wanted complete isolation to the whole protests (Doygun, and Gulec, 2012). They were tired of the protests as these stood in their way of completing their studies as they have envisioned. They thus declared:

"We are professional people, civil servants, sent by our employing authorities and sponsored by the South African Nursing Association. We are answerable for our behaviour to the South African Nursing Council. As such we are not party to what is taking place concerning the student body" (Heffernan, 2019: 98).

It was a tough decision for the SRC to reach a viable resolution to both groups of students. To the Pharmacy students, the SRC was quite understanding, they resorted to calling the leaders of the Pharmacy students to the SRC leadership to voice out their concerns and the SRC further assured them that they had their full support. In contrast to their response to the Pharmacy students, it was a different story with the Nursing students. The SRC was quite harsh. It believed that the Nursing students did not have an interest in the student body's concerns. They viewed the Nursing students as sell outs because they wanted nothing to do with the protests and were just anxious to appease their regulatory body, the South African Nursing Council. The angered SRC then resorted to abandoning the Nursing students by ruling that it no longer recognised them as part of the student body. This meant that the Nursing students did not have to abide by the rules of the student body as they were no longer regarded as part of the student community (Heffernan, 2019: 98-99). This drastic measure was a lesson to other students from other faculties as they were now pressured to abide by the rules of the SRC or face abandonment by the SRC like the Nursing students. Members of the student body were now in a dilemma about whether they should please their regulatory bodies or please the SRC which acted in Black students' interests.

The above findings were echoed as follows by participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1975):

We were pressured to abide by the interests of the SRC, not that we did not have the same sentiments of celebrating the FRELIMO, but we were also concerned with our education. I for one felt that I was diverting from the main objective that made me to enrol at the university, I felt that my future is in the line and that the protests along with the previous protests were standing in my way of completing my studies in time. It was like I was obliged to carry out the mission of the SRC to dismantle the White administration and management, not that it was not the right thing to do, but

it really had repercussions for my studies because I feared expulsion as others have already been expelled in the previous protests".

4.3.4 Events at UNIN after the Soweto Uprising of 16 June 1976

Literature indicates that when the Soweto student uprising erupted in 1976, UNIN students too embarked on a solidarity boycott of lesson programmes (Meyer, 1974; Altbach, 2007 & Eno, 2019). This stirred a closure of UNIN. Slogans such as "the people need you", "identify with Soweto", were heeded by the students. On 17 June 1976, the students met twice discussing the events in Soweto. After that, they decided to resort to violence. In the evening, an attempt was made to set alight the office of the Head of Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands, a sign that students were against Afrikaans language and its people as they were the designers of the policies of separate development. The following day once again 18 June 1976, about eight hundred students demonstrated, and there were four cases of arson and a lecturer was assaulted. Stones were thrown and property was damaged.

The South African Police intervened which resulted in the closure of the university. One student was seriously injured as he jumped from the third floor of his residence escaping from the police (Mphahlele, 1994:84). One of the participants alluded that "this period was of confrontation, rioting, and university closures".

4.3.5 Africanisation at UNIN

When it comes to Africanisation, the students wanted the university to see Black academia in senior positions. This debate of Africanising the UNIN was central to students' challenges as they believed their problems lay with the White administration and management of the university. In line with the study by Mawasha (2006:72), the Tiro incident played a major role in awakening students to seek Africanisation of the university.

> ***Participant B (at UNIN from 1970-1980):*** *Alluded that it would be amazing to see one of them at the top for motivational purposes. He went further that it was soul crushing to always have to deal with the discriminating attitude of White lecturers and that he was hopeful that a Black rector can definitely change the status quo.*

This period was characterised by protests, and it was difficult to carry out conducive lectures. "In 1975, a Jackson Commission was given a mandate to look at the feasibility of Africanisation at the university. The Jackson Commission was in support of Africanising the university, but it cautioned that the process should be done gradually" (Mawasha, 2006:72). The Snyman Commission followed and also looked at the issue of Africanisation but in a more comprehensive and detailed fashion than the Jackson Commission had. BASA which represented Black academic staff submitted a report to the Snyman Commission which detailed the need for UNIN's Africanisation. This report was presented by Chief Justice Ishmail Mahomed who used apartheid policies in support of the Africanisation of UNIN. He argued that the homeland policy gave Black people the power and responsibility to govern themselves in their own homelands and as such, this should happen at UNIN where Black academics should be given a chance to run their Black university (Mawasha, 2006, 74). The argument Mahomed put forward was that denying Black people self-governance at their own university would be breaking the very same apartheid laws that ensured the creation of the UNIN. The report of the Snyman Commission was released in February 1976 and it recommended that Africanisation be implemented at the UNIN.

In reference to Heffernan (1975:112), some of the changes in the university involved creating parity between the wages of Black and White staff, an increase in the financial autonomy of the UNIN and additionally, racially balancing the all-White University Council which ran the university. The general student unrest of 1976 along with the pressures from the Back Staff Association at UNIN led directly to the appointment of the first Black rector, Professor W M Kgware. The Snyman report recommended the move. Some of the reasons made according to one participant were that he was the first Black professor at UNIN, the first superintendent of men's hostels, the first chairman of the Bantu Staff Association and ultimately would make a good rector. He was also a good candidate favoured and accepted by Whites. By 22 February 1977, Prof Kgware succeeded Prof J L Boshoff as the first Black rector and vice- chancellor of UNIN. This brought hope in the students' university life. The appointment of Prof Kgware was perceived as victory to BASA and the student populace at large. Unfortunately, things did not go as expected by the students and BASA. Prof. Kgware personally was against radicalism (Mawasha, 2006, 74; Heffernan, 2019, 117).

The expulsion in April 1979 of Mr Ngoako Ramatlhodi, a third-year law student, for allegedly contravening the conditions of his admission by organising a commemoration of the 1961 Sharpeville shootings led to a boycott of classes at UNIN in May 1979 (Heffernan, 2019, 122). Following the walkout of students from classes, riot police were called to the campus to guard the administrative block of the university. Subsequently, the rector, Prof Kgware, issued an ultimatum that students who did not return to lectures would be forced to leave the campus. Most students returned to classes (SAIRR, 1970; 5) and following a successful law suit against the University, Mr Ramatlhodi was re-admitted to the university on condition that he did not take any part in student politics.

UNIN students got the Black rector that they had long demanded. However, they mistakenly believed that a Black rector would be more understanding of their needs but instead they discovered that there was no huge difference between a White rector and Prof Kgware who was a Black rector. It is clear that he too, Prof Kgware, did not follow the right protocols in governing the students. He was merely walking in the footsteps of his predecessor, Prof J L Boshof. In the view of UNIN students, Prof Kgware was just a "front" whom the White management used to stabilise the crisis at UNIN. In the words of the SRC of that time "he was a stooge of the White Council of the university" (Mawasha, 2006; 74).

In his Masters dissertation, Vuma (2018) cites White (1997: 125) in saying that "many Black people, especially the students and the intelligentsia, saw him as a sellout, a stooge of the White mans' apartheid institution". E'skia Mphahlele as cited in White (1997:126), described Kgware as "a mere signature, a megaphone for orders that are issued by Whites who are above him". Mawasha argued that Prof Kgware was "caught in the horns of dilemma": As UNIN's first Black rector, he was the manifestation of the Africanisation that the UNIN community had long demanded, but on the other hand, he acted against the wishes of the UNIN community so as to please the authorities (Mawasha, 2006, 75). Eventually Prof Kgware was rejected by the constituency that campaigned for him because he was failing to meet their expectations (Meyer, 1974). According to Mawasha (2006: 75), this had created a power vacuum which allowed the White staff to infiltrate them. Mawasha further noted that "student militancy increased dramatically, police moved in with the brutality typical of the times and, by and large, Black staff remained unsupportive" (2006:75). Prof Kgware was faced with lot of

problems which might have contributed to the deterioration of his health. He died in 1980 because his health was affected.

Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986) contended that it was a difficult job for Kgware

> "*I believe students expected the impossible from him because what happened here was that there was a new Black rector, but still, he was working under the confinements of the apartheid policy with its impossible laws, there was nothing much he can do, I think even those who hired him knew he had no power to drastically change how things were in campus. I felt pity for him because the students wanted what they wanted, forgetting that he too is trying his best but was not above the law and thus could not break the law, he was merely doing what he could to better our situation at the university and I think we did not give him enough chances and time to prove himself, we were tired and impatient, we wanted things to happen fast and I think that is where we were wrong as the student populace*".

Participant H concurred with the above **participant F**, alluding that:

> "*The education executives, those at the top, those who came up with this apartheid education laws were the ones who were supposed to tweak the laws where they can in order to allow the Black rectors to carry out their mandate successfully, because what happened was that they gave him the keys to the university but denied him access to what is inside, the pressure of the students got to him and there really was not much he can do*".

In 1981, another black rector was appointed, Professor PC Mokgokong. According to Mawasha, Mokgokong too was made to work under the confinements of the apartheid laws. Mawasha went further, stating that the university still reflected White dominance in the senior positions. The Senate was composed of 39 white and 4 Black professors and 12 White and 4 Black lecturers. This contrast was necessarily questionable considering that the policy of Africanisation was well underway. Mokgokong did his best by implementing a process whereby Black lecturers could be promoted to

associate professors without holding PhDs or even without publishing articles. This meant that Black academics could be promoted to senior lecturer positions (Mawasha, 2006; 76-77). **Participant H (at UNIN from 1970-1976)** added that the second Black rector brought positive energy in the university

"*There was a new breeze of air, most students could see the changes brought by him, he was different from the previous rector, but I believe that did not necessarily make him better than Kgware, I think Kgware laid out some lessons for the upcoming Black rectors on how to deal with the demands of the Black staff and students, thus I think Mokgokong learnt some lessons from the previous administration and management of Kgware hence he was excelling and knew how to make everyone happy*".

This was a sign that the wind of change was possibly imminent and to be effected.

4.4 STUDENT CHALLENGES FROM 1980 to 1994

4.4.1 Student culture at UNIN

4.4.1.1 Student-lecturer relationship and academic performance

University lecturers directly affect students because of the nature of the relationships both parties have with one another. Lecturers at UNIN played a role in defining the environment that students were supposed to live and interact in.

Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986) contended that

> *"My relationship with the White lecturers was not that good, it was so negative that it affected my studies with them. I would get lower marks or even worse a failure because of the negative energy between us. The reason behind my relationship with my lecturer being so negative was because I was a true supporter of SASO, and thus, I was immersed in the Black Consciousness ideals, and that really made me look bad in the eyes of the lecturers who saw what I was doing. I blamed myself some days because I felt the movement was somehow derailing me from my studies. Do not get me wrong, I do understand the movement was for our own good but I also feared that I might get suspended just as others got suspended. I further realised that for my relationship with my White lecturers to be good, I had to acknowledge that we can never be treated like White students, that I should not aspire to be in the same position as them or aspire for equality.*

> *Most students actually were failing, I was doing education and half of our class in 1983 failed. The lecturer contented that the subject is too difficult for all of us and that there is nothing he can do because he cannot just give us free marks*".

Participant I (at UNIN from 1985-1990) contended that the students were treated like high school learners, they had no freedom at all. When a lecturer says something you

do not agree with, you could not necessarily differ with him because you will be told that you know nothing and you might even get chased out of the classroom. Participant I alluded:

> *The problem was that, the White lecturers hated to be challenged, they hated the fact that a student as Black as myself would dare to point out their mistakes and flaws in their lectures, or when we suggested a better solution to the problem being presented. The lecturer thought he was up to date with all the information but clearly, he was not. As a result, I myself, decided to keep quiet, I did not want to lose marks because he was known to grade lower marks to students who thought they knew better by correcting him. Maybe he saw it as a disrespect I did not know but I believe a lecturer is a professional whom should not be afraid to allow differing points of views in lecture halls.*

In addition, **participant J (at UNIN from 1988-1990)** contended that

> "*For White lecturers, it was not demeaning, we were made to believe that attainment of our qualifications was entirely up to us, that everything depended on us to make it work. Now I know it may seem like they are right but they weren't, let me give you an example where it would be easier for you to understand, remember back then in high schools, learners were being taught using the same methods of teaching and of assessment. Until recently in 1996/7 when the department introduced the White Paper on inclusive education. Now that is exactly what I am talking about. That sometimes our success is not determined by us only but by the system too. Is it flexible enough to serve the needs of all students because we're different and have different backgrounds? With the White lecturers, we were nothing, if you did not understand something then it was on you, you were just domkop and had to fail because you did not understand. Sometimes even words like, do not worry, it will be okay, try to read it like this or like that.*

> *We were not getting anything like that, they will just dump you with a pile of work and considering the books were lacking. It was very tough for me; I was told that education was not for me and that it is better I go back home to herd cattle because that is what we Blacks are good at. You know, being a lecturer just as like being a teacher, means that you also need to have some kind of a compassion for others, it means that we can confide in you sometimes and be free around you but that was not the case with the Whites. On the Black lecturers it was not that bad, they really tried their best because we were on the same page with them. At least they understood us and considering that they too were being treated badly by the university officials and the system, we could not expect more from them*".

4.4.1.2 Medium of instruction

Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986) noted

> "*My first test in [English] I got like 30%, do you know how painful it is when you know that in high school you did so well and you come here and your first test you get 30%. Because you didn't hear a thing, the comments were that my English was poor and needed to be revised, I mean if he could hear what I wanted say why wouldn't he just give me the marks, the message was there, it was just that the language was not well written because it was the English language, not familiar with it, not our mother tongue but we were punished because we could not write it like them and speak it like them, I felt so overwhelmed and lost hope in getting better marks*".

Most participants were not familiar with the language of teaching and learning at UNIN. Their level of achievement was quite low. Pparticipant L (at UNIN from 1990 to 1994) alluded that he was mostly frustrated: "attending lessons was always a hustle for me, because I knew I would not hear much from the lecturer, their accent was just new to me….". His sentiments were in line with participant M (at UNIN from 1989 to 1992) who lamented that

> "*I did not even want to be there, I was merely attending to make my parents proud, the accent of Whites was just way not so understandable, it's like you just hear them talking but cannot even comprehend half of what they are saying, it was so overwhelming and it really affected my performance negatively, but nne re tla reng, loosely translated as 'but what could we have done'.*

4.4.1.3 Spying and informers

As found by Makonl, Moody and Mabokela, (2001, other challenges that emanated from the UNIN administration and management were the probable "widespread use of informers" (Motlhabi, 1984:63). The researcher argues that Black students were reported by fellow Black students. As found by Mouton, Louw, and Strydom, (2012), fellow students could not trust each because of what they termed sell-outs. Kallaway, ed. (2002) argues that students were being paid to spy on one another. A student may not admit a visitor of either sex to a hostel without permission from the hostel superintendent (Motlhabi, 1984:63).

A South African Institute of Race Relations Report (SAIRR, 1970:17) reports that "a government spokesman once admitted that student informers advise university authorities of 'any subversive activities' but that they acted voluntarily and were not offered any compensation". Therefore, some students were captured and promised a

63

better future only if they stopped participating in political activities. The patronizing sympathy of White lecturers and administrators, whose political origins and socio-economic level did not often qualify them to comprehend the deepest aspirations and disappointments of Black students, was an issue for Black students at the university (Nkondo 1976: 219). Students were unable to cope properly with academic pursuits while they were in such a bad mood. This discontent is now unwelcomed since it impedes the development of students' potential and the university as a higher learning institution (Nkondo 1976: 219).

Students' organisations were banned from issuing press statements and the university affairs in general. Several newspapers were prevented from covering university proceedings. The newspapers, the *Rand Daily Mail, The Post* and the Pietermaritzburg-based *African Mirror*, were banned because it was alleged, they wrote 'false and harmful reports' about the university. Replying to the *Rand Daily Mail*'s questions as to the reasons for the ban, Prof J.C. Steenkamp, the academic registrar at the university, singled out the newspaper's reporting on the boycott of classes staged because of the expulsion of Mr Ramatlhodi (SAIRR, 1979:9). Naidoo, (1998:370) posits that "any student organisation or organisation work in which students are concerned is subject to the prior approval of the rector. No meeting may be held on the grounds of the university without the approval of the rector". Therefore, this meant that no statement could be made without the rector's permission.

4.4.2 Teaching and learning at UNIN

4.4.3 Teaching and learning

Teaching and learning in various UNIN departments were unstructured, so unstructured that the content conveyed to students did not contain goals or objectives to be used. This meant that the various departments conceived and designed their own unwritten curriculum without learning objectives (White, 1997: 138). In relation to White (1997:138), higher institutions should have smart goals and objectives, but UNIN had none. The UNIN faculties and their departments carried out their teaching and learning processes without defined guidelines and models, and there were more conflicts among the older staff members regarding how the teaching and learning programmes should be carried out. Change was often not possible because department heads appointed their own graduates to teach in their departments

64

meaning that the current situation was maintained (White, 1997: 138).

Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986) asserted that most White lecturers were mean and racist. White argues that many lecturers believed that their students were incapable and unteachable (White, 1997: 138) Such attitudes provoked resentment and conflict. Students sometimes reacted and retaliated with violence. For example, when a Mathematics lecturer stated in class in 1985 that Black students lacked the requisite intelligence to master Mathematics and that female students were less intelligent than males, students burned down the mathematics buildings (White, 1997:138). Following similarly racist comments in 1986 by a lecturer in Agriculture, the entire Agriculture block was burnt down. Lecturers of courses with an exceptionally high failure rate were also the object of student resentment. For example, in his book entitled: *From despair to hope: The Turfloop experience***,** White reported that in 1985, "a professor of Roman Dutch Law had acid thrown at him by students due to his unfair and high failure rate" (White, 1997: 138).

In 1986, the SRC took their grievances regarding lectures and the academic staff to the Executive Committee of Senate. Some of the complaints that they raised included that lecturing was sometimes too fast paced due to lack of time or too slow paced, that lecturers would prescribe one book and examined on another. All of this resulted in students failing. Moreover, students alleged, year marks were "arbitrarily" adjusted (White, 1997: 139-140). Sometimes students were threatened with failure should they fail to cooperate. In this respect one participant reported that a certain lecturer wanted him to be a spy and when the student refused, he was threatened with failure.

Further challenges were reported. Many participants stated that most lecturers did not necessarily enjoy teaching them. Their lecturers were not necessarily active, and they lacked motivation. Lecturers would just read books instead of actually lecturing to the students. When a lecturer just reads from the book, it will be difficult for the learners to understand the content of the lesson.

Participant E (at UNIN from 1972-1985) added that

"*With all the protests that took place from the mid-1980s, it was very difficult to keep track of the university work. When the students protest, the university closes for some days and when it reopens, there is too much work to be covered within a short period of time. Lecturers on the other hand (both Black and White) were not that much helpful because they would just teach*

65

part of the content to be covered and leave out the remaining to be the finished by students and that proved to be difficult".

4.4.4 Sports, art and recreation at UNIN

Conflict erupted over sport and other recreational activities at UNIN particularly during the 1980s. The South African Council of Sport (SACOS) was founded in 1973 and opposed all segregated sport, using the slogan "No normal sport in an abnormal society". This meant for example, that soccer teams affiliated to SACOS could not play against soccer teams that were part of the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL). The South African Black Inter-Varsities Council (SABIC) was affiliated to SACOS. White recounts how politicised students secured the affiliation of UNIN's sports codes to SABIC in 1980. This meant that UNIN sports teams could not play against sports teams not affiliated to SACOS (White, 1996: 155). When it became clear that UNIN's soccer team had played a match against a team in the NPSL and its basketball team had played a Defence Force team in contravention of SABIC policy and also disapproved of by SASO, divisions and disputes occurred within the student body. On another occasion, a UNIN team played a match against a team from the University of the Witwatersrand that was not part of SACOS. This led to so much conflict and dissension that a mass meeting voted to ban all such games until a new SRC was elected (White, 1996: 155).

Tension also arose over a decision to hold a beauty contest in 1988 at the university on 16 June. Students were upset because it coincided with the day of the planned commemoration of the June 16th, 1976 Soweto uprising. The announcement that the contest would be held a week later defused the issue, but the contest was disrupted by a march by 2000 students, almost the entire student body (White, 1996: 155).

4.4.5. Conflict over student governance and affairs

The announcement that the university administrator had no objection to the election of an SRC was severely watered down by the amendments to the existing SRC constitution in the 1980s. The amendments removed the SRC's financial independence, meant that mass meetings could only be called with the approval of the rector, curbed the voting power of students and limited the areas of SRC authority. Strong opposition to the amended constitution from sections of the student body emerged at a mass meeting called to ratify its adoption and no agreement could be

66

reached. As a result of the disagreement a secret ballot on the desirability of the new constitution was held. Only 16 per cent of those students entitled to vote cast their votes. Over 61 per cent voted against electing an SRC under the amended constitution. The low poll was attributed to the exclusion of first year students who were not allowed to vote and the apathy of other students.

4.5 Students' reaction to the challenges at UNIN

UNIN was characterised by protests from the 1970s to the 1990s. This was how students reacted to their problems. **Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986)** stated that students were, in 1985, angry because of ill treatment meted out to them. It has been recorded in this fashion "*we engaged in protests because we were angry about the injustices perpetrated against us, we did so because we were committed to bringing about change, we believed we could make a difference by acting collectively*" (Participant F). **Participant A (at UNIN from 1970-1976)** concurred with **Participant F** by asserting that the students reacted radically as a way to display their grievances such as the inequality that was present at the university. The students experienced feelings of relative deprivation resulting from comparison of their situation at UNIN as a HBU with other HWUs.

The 1970 UNIN autonomy was viewed as an insult in the eyes of the students as the power relations between White and Black staff remained unaltered and in effect the university remained White. This resulted in protests as already discussed. In addition, other issues made students furious which also led to protests. The overall apartheid education, the restrictive rules at the students' hostels, the demeaning attitude displayed by White staff towards Blacks and the institutional racism were the central factors that disturbed students' peace at UNIN which resulted in various protests.

Nkomo (1983:77) noted that guardianship or trusteeship was ensured by the establishment of executive bodies (the Council and the Senate consisting of White members only) and an Advisory Council and Senate advising the two executive bodies respectively. Membership on the advisory bodies was to be exclusively Black (White,1997:139-140). This arrangement, according to the Commission on the Separate University Bill of 1957-58, was to facilitate the training of Africans for the eventual assumption of full control of the executive bodies. The Commission argued against and dismissed as out of hand the recommendation of the minority report that

67

the most effective and expeditious way to attain the declared goal of independence was to have racially mixed Councils and Senates (Nkomo (1983:77). According to the Commission, at the point when "non-Europeans" at a particular university have obtained the proper training and experience, they will assume full executive powers of the Council with the White Council serving an advisory role (White, 1997: 139-140).

As far as the Senate was concerned when the senior teaching staff becomes predominantly "non-European" then the membership of the Senate will become "non-European", and the previously all-White Senate will become an advisory body (White, 1997: 139-140). These conditions made the students to lose all faith in the university, the issue of trusteeship did not sit well with them. Students at UNIN wanted to determine their own education. When Mr Tiro made his speech at the university in 1972, he was against the doctrine of White trusteeship. He was against the White domination at the university, and he condemned it wholly. His expulsion kicked off a major protest at UNIN which saw other HBUs joining in to show Black solidarity (Nkomo 1983:77). Self-determination was the only philosophy the students called for, they realised that no Whites can free Black students except for the Black students to free themselves (Nkomo 1983:77).

4.6 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter explored students' socio-cultural challenges at the university and how the challenges manifested themselves. The reactions of students to their problems were also noted. It was clear that the segregated education was the central cause of the challenges. The control of the university and the impossible rules imposed on the students made things worse. The relationship between the students and the UNIN management reflected struggles. This was largely because the management was White and therefore, students felt 'deprived representations' in the decision making of the university. Hence, they advocated for self-determination as they felt robbed by the apartheid education. The wanted to define their education. The next chapter will offer discussions of the main events of students' challenges at UNIN and the changes they brought to the university.

CHAPTER 5: THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM), THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) AND THE STATE OF EMERGENCY ON UNIN AND THE AFROCENTRIC ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on socio-cultural challenges at the UNIN and how the challenges manifested themselves from 1970 to 1994. It also covered the key factors that were central to the UNIN students during the period. The current chapter examines the impact of the BCM and the emergence of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on UNIN, the occupation of UNIN by soldiers from the South African Defence Force and the imposition of the state emergency and the transition to a democratic South Africa. This chapter also includes an Afrocentric analysis of the data.

5.2 The impact of the political events on a national level such as the BCM and UDF on UNIN students

Scholars such as Knowles, (1977:65); Brooks, (2019:77) Pearson and Reddy, (2021:6) concur that the BCM was introduced to the University of the North mainly by the SASO. According to South African Online History, the "failure of NUSAS as an organisation to radicalise its ideology in time to accommodate the realities of the Black liberation struggle, led Bantu Steven Biko to take the lead in founding SASO after the NUSAS July Congress of 1967". As stated by Hull, (2017:574,) Steve Biko realised that Black people will never free themselves from the racist agenda led by the apartheid government represented by the White liberal organisation such as NUSAS. Moreover, it was evident that BCM ideas were interested in uplifting the struggle for Black liberation (Habib, 2014:83). Based on the above presented findings, the researcher posits that BCM was centred on the interest for fighting against Black students' injustice. Therefore, the researcher concludes that Steve Biko understood that White South Africans were too comfortable with the policies that privileged them and thus they had no interest in fighting for the rights of ordinary Black South Africans. Regardless of how noble such organisations' goals and intentions were, "it was clear to Biko and the founders of BCM in South Africa that they were essentially powerless to either attract large-scale Black support or undermine White resistance in South Africa to the policies of racial dominance and White superiority that the National Party government was

69

consolidating ever more effectively" (Maimela, 1999:105). As stated by Maimela, (1999:105), "this Damascus Road epiphany (at the NUSAS annual conference in July 1967) inspired Biko to refine his ideological agenda and found SASO, a BC student organisation dedicated to the BC ideal that black people must take charge of their own liberation without intervention or support from White liberals, no matter how well-intentioned or supportive they may be". Therefore, the researcher agrees that BC ideas as articulated by Bantu Steven Biko encouraged Black students in HBUs to fight for their rights and speak firm against the challenges faced by Black African students (Maimela, 1999:105).

The study found that UNIN students were sympathetic to these BC ideas. BC ideas arrived at UNIN through the student body's membership of SASO. SASO was founded in 1968 and its inaugural conference was held at UNIN in 1969 and financed by the UNIN SRC (Stubbs & Biko, 2013:3; Heffernan, 2019:42). This is confirmed by Participant G.

> **Participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1985)**, *You know my boy… it's in the nature of human beings that they want association and a place of belonging… during our time we felt at home by subscribing to Black Consciousness ideas because we could truly reflect and see ourselves as students being represented by the BC ideas. I will tell you one thing… Black students in the 70s got tired of being excluded in things that matters the most and being treated like spectators watching White students enjoy every opportunity that comes in their way.*

Maimela, (1999:109) went further that majority of students were in favour of finding an exclusively Black student organisation and argued that Black students were not able to properly participate in multi-racial White liberal structures because they were disadvantaged both by being in the minority and not being able to express themselves in English as well as White students, English not being the home language of most Black students.

Literature indicates that students at UNIN were very much inculcated in the BCM ideals through SASO (Wilson, 2012:96; Maimela, 1999:109 and Morwe, Garcia- Espana, & Luescher, 2018:916). For example, evidence of this is found in Abram Tiro's 1972 graduation speech at UNIN in which he denounced racially separate education and

the inconsistencies of a Black African university controlled by Whites. Proof of the influence of BC ideas is also found in the demand by Black students and staff for the Africanisation of their universities and their demand for a Black rector and Black lecturers (Mawasha, 2006:78). The founding of SASO reflected "the wider failures of White-dominated organisations to accommodate on any meaningful scale the harshness of the realities of the Black struggle for liberation from the stranglehold of centuries of European colonisation and imperialism" (Maimela, 1999:104). The Tiro incident and the general actions of UNIN students can best be explained in the theoretical context of struggles for the self-determination of marginalised people. The researcher concludes that it was evident that Black students were oppressed people, excluded from possibilities and they were denied their freedom by systems put in place and they came with strategies to fight the injustices. Therefore, in this case, the ideals of the BC were used as a vehicle to educate and raise awareness among African students from UNIN and other HBUs (Booi, Vincent, & Liccardo, 2017:11).

> **Participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1985)** alluded that "*the founding of SASO was an urgent immediate solution because students started to believe and saw themselves liberated from the onset. The aim and objectives of SASO was the urgent need in raising awareness to the majority of Black students.*"

The researcher concludes that BCM had a great impact in influencing students to begin to see themselves as liberated. Oppressed students had ideas of how they wanted everyone, whether they were Black or White to be treated equally at the gates of learning in high schools, colleges and tertiary institutions. From the literature, it became evident that Black students were segregated in a variety of activities and moreover did not have the opportunities that were afforded to White students.

5.2.1 Total Onslaught and Total Strategy

The Total Onslaught was perceived as a campaign by the NP to weaken its policy of apartheid in SA (Coleman, 1998:18). Total Strategy was the reaction to the Total Onslaught - a multitude of factors and influence domestically and internationally that the government was unable to control. These factors included international isolation (sanctions, domestic political conflict with various liberation movements and enforcing apartheid. All these pressures factored into the apartheid states' decision in the late

71

1970's to implement a far reaching and enveloping policy that became known as 'Total Strategy'. It was implemented in the early 1980s to mid-1990s (Coleman, 1998:85).

Participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1985) stated that there were several factors that resulted in the emergence of the Total Strategy by president Botha, factors such as the 1976 June protests by Soweto students whom were protesting against the Afrikaans medium of instructions at their schools. The participant went further that the response from the regime was swift and brutal, an estimate of between 180 to over 700 people were killed over the two days of rioting, mostly by the police. This was a watershed moment for the apartheid state, as it began to not distinguish between every riot, protest and direct action taken against it and viewed them all as part of a wider plan to topple the regime by enemy forces. It is from this context that then Prime Minister P.W. Botha came to view that there was a so-called 'Total Onslaught' campaign being undertaken against the apartheid state, both within South Africa and internationally.

According to Davies and O' Meara (1985:183), there were four pillars of Botha's Total Strategy. The first pillar was all about resolving of the many structural problems, such as the need to create a Black middle-class population and neutralise Black resistance which flowed from the application of apartheid policies. This component went hand in hand with the wide scale policy of reform initiated by the new prime minister and later executive state president, President Botha. Botha had recognised that apartheid was too rigid a system to survive and, hence, this component initially sought to 'improve' or even do away with several infamous apartheid laws that had come to represent, in the eyes of the international community, the entire system of apartheid.

The second pillar comprised engaging with groups such as English-speaking Whites who were traditionally opposed to the NP. Importantly, many White English-speakers had huge influence and control of business and the media. The third pillar entailed co-opting of an entire class of 'insiders' with a stake in the preservation of apartheid who could be used as a buffer against an alleged mass of 'outsiders' that threatened the regime. These alleged 'outsiders' were dubbed 'communists' and 'terrorists' by the government, but in fact they were people associated with the liberation movements such as the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the UDF. The final pillar sought to re-organise the state to enable it to function more efficiently. (Davies & O' Meara,

72

1985:183-190). This would lead to the militarisation and centralisation of the state.

Participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1985) lamented that the effects of the Total Strategy at UNIN encompassed all the hardships that they 'as students' endured. He said: "all the protests that took place at UNIN around the time, were regarded as the Total Onslaught against the NP, this then was counteracted by the expulsions that took place around the time." **Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986)** concurred with participant G that "the state of emergency that took place at the university was just part of the NP's response to what they perceived as the Total Onslaught". Coleman lamented that "The irony of the doctrine of Total Strategy was that it was designed to portray the apartheid government as the sole bastion of Western democracy on the continent of Africa, whereas the real purpose of Total Strategy was to maintain apartheid power in the most undemocratic manner imaginable, serving the interests of 13% of the population at the expense of 87% of the population."

According to the views of the current writer of this study, the NP structured the Total Strategy policy so as to counteract revolutionary acts of the students and the black people at large, to counter the threat posed by the actions of the liberation movements. This is supported by Coleman (1998:7).   The NP government ordered the security forces to take abnormal action not covered by normal legislation. This created moral ground for justification for the contravention of existing laws.

Foundations of the UDF

Research indicates that the United Democratic Front (UDF) was founded on the basis of being an anti-apartheid umbrella organisation for many separate anti-apartheid organisations (Dempsey, 2009; Doygun, Gulec, 2012 & Eno, 2019). The foundation of the UDF occurred in Mitchells Plain in August 1983 (Heffernan, 2019:194). The idea of the UDF dates to the late 1970s when a proposition of a united front was made by Allan Boesak for "churches, civic groups, trade unions, student organisations, and sports bodies to oppose persecution" (Bernal & Villalpando, 2002:172). Literature shows that the foundation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) was the outcome of economic, social and political transformations that had been occurring since the Soweto uprising (St Leon, 2012:13 and Hull, 2017:575). Moreover, Mobley Jr, (2017:1038) posits that

73

more militant culture had arisen, prompting the development of a slew of youth, women, students, civic and other organisations.

Hull (2017:575), postulate that there was also a shift toward mass organizing and growing support for Charterism. Study clubs began to form in townships across the country in the initial post-Soweto period. This occurred against the background of official oppression, increased curiosity among urban Blacks and growing political consciousness (Van Kessel, 2000:17). Moreover, some of these study clubs were very formal with students getting together to talk about ideas. Some study groups focused on Charterist ideas and began reading ANC ideas. One such group was the study group led by Joe Ggabi (Suttner, 2005:38). These study groups disseminated ideas, recruited new members and branched out into new areas.

This development culminated in the formation of the UDF in 1983. Frank Chikane was a product of the UNIN student movement and was the first speaker at the UDF's inauguration on August 20, 1983. In his opening remarks, Chikane said, ".... we are certain to go down in history as an important event, bolstering the tide of the struggle picketing up that day when the people shall say we are free, justice is here, when the people shall live together as brothers and sisters without exploitation and oppression of the other..." (Lodge, 1989:208 and Daku-Mante, 2013:88). South Africa's liberation was fought internally by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s.

5.3 The State of Emergency in 1985 at UNIN

The University of the North was placed under a state of emergency on 20 July 1985 (Merrett, 1990:14). Studies shows that 1985 marked a period "of violent and non-violent resistance against the racially exclusive system of apartheid, in which the White minority of South Africa exclusively ruled and controlled the social, economic and political mechanisms of daily life" (Henrico and Fick, 2019:83). Futhermore, Ellmann, (1992:93) stated that the students were angry because they realised that there was a minimal change relative to the change that they ideally wanted to be. There were protests and violence in UNIN and throughout South Africa. According to Henrico and Fick (2019:83), "this period of draconian law enforcement against South Africa's majority Black…. population served as a turning point in the anti-apartheid struggle, as international condemnation of the apartheid regime and other internal factors

helped to revitalize grass-roots resistance both inside and outside the republic". The researcher agrees with the above authors that the apartheid government used extreme force against the UNIN students as a means of control which was justified in a variety of ways.

At UNIN, the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Defence Force (SADF) were commanded to occupy the UNIN campus by PW Botha, the minister of education and the rector of UNIN (Heffernan, Nieftagodien, Ndlovu, & Peterson, eds., 2016:65). This meant that soldiers and police were all over the UNIN campus. They oversaw all activities on campus, from academic activities to residential activities. They also patrolled off-campus. The purpose of the presence of the police and the SADF was to ensure that there was law and order. In other words, to ensure no revolutions took place (Lodge, 1989:208). This meant that students had to attend classes under their watch to ensure law and order. This finding was expressed as follows:

> **Participant G (at UNIN from 1970-1985):** *Life became difficult at UNIN because you had to walk around in the midst of soldiers caring guns and that on its own it was uncomfortable. We were not prisoners but we were guarded with heavy armed soldiers with live ammunitions. Apparently, we were way out of order, we engaged in activities that were beyond the activities of what constitute a student, we sought positions that were not meant for us, we wanted to attain freedoms that were never in the first place meant for us, we were way out of line and thus we had to be reminded who we were and put in our places.*

According to **Participant C (at UNIN from 1970-1986)**, the state security (SADF and SAP) was called to campus to restore law and order, to let the students know who is in control and also that Black students should know their place in South Africa. Basically, the SADF and the SAP tried to enforce impossible rules on the students. They arrested student leaders and detained them to ensure that there were no protests and any forms of protests or meetings between the students. **Respondent G** stated that the police used to say that one student is not a threat, two students are friends, three students are trouble. Thus, if the police or soldiers see a group of more than three students together, they became suspicious and ultimately would interrogate the whole group until the next day. This impacted negatively on some students because they had anxiety. **Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986)** stated:

75

"I am very anxiety by nature, I just have this problem of being afraid over nothing, even from high school I was bullied and all, and then when I came back to UNIN in 1986, I found so many police and soldiers and that really had an effect on me, one day I was out of my room and they called me and asked me what am I doing outside since its late, I was shaking and could not speak clearly, luckily they noticed and left me, but told me to go back in my room".

Participant E (at UNIN from 1972-1985), highlighted that to her

The police and the soldiers were merely doing their job "restoring law and order", because the students were out of order, some students just joined the protests without understanding the purpose of the protests, they just moved with the masses wherever they went, one of my friend's fathers once came to campus without alerting his daughter (my friend), the father saw the daughter with a group of students singing and chanting anti-apartheid slogans. The father took his daughter and told her that he will no longer pay for her university fees. Unfortunately, the daughter had to drop out and I have lost contact with her since that day.

Participant F (at UNIN from 1976-1986) shared the same sentiments with **Participant E (at UNIN from 1972-1985)**, she stated that her father sold cows to pay her tuition and residence fees, and thus she could not afford to join the student protests and face detention by the police. "The police were not necessarily provoking the students, but the students did in most cases provoke the police, if you did your schoolwork, stayed away from groups, the police would not do anything to you, even when we went to lecture halls, there was necessarily police presence in the actual lecture halls except in the corridors. I knew what I wanted at university and that was my qualification and ultimately a job, a teaching job to be more specific since I enrolled for education. So basically, for me, the police and the soldiers' presence in campus did not affect me negatively as such, in fact, they ensured that we continued our classes without any disturbances from protests".

In contrast to the views of the afore mentioned participants, **Participant C (at UNIN from 1970-1986)** highlighted that for him, the state of the emergency meant harsh conditions for students and him.

"Times were difficult during the days, we were treated like delinquent kids, like delinquent learners here at school, we were looked at with suspicious eyes, our every move monitored, it was difficult to be at UNIN; the police and soldiers were everywhere, it was like a camping area for the cops and

the soldiers".

Participant I (at UNIN from 1985-1990) had similar sentiment and had this to say:

"*I normally preferred to study with my friends, but with the police and the soldiers, it was difficult because a group of students was looked with suspicious eyes, I remember at first when I did not yet know that groups were discouraged, I went to a certain hall with my friends to study as always, the soldiers stopped us and asked where we were going despite the fact that we had school bags on our backs and also books in our hands, we told them that we are going to study; they said it is unlikely that we will concentrate as a group and that we should all go back and study in our rooms individually, because groups are not encouraged as they are likely to cause havoc in the campus; and indeed we went back but we were all complaining on our way to our residences, one soldier accompanied us to ensure that indeed we do as we were told*".

According to Vuma (2019:73), it was clear that the aim for targeting UNIN was to kill its revolutionary activism and to instil fear in students, so that they can refrain from political activities, so that they can refrain from their anti-apartheid acts. He had this to say:

"*Most student leaders were assaulted, tortured and arrested for their political activism. One of the student leaders who suffered the brutality of the oppressor during this period was Josephine "Jos" Moshobane. "She was arrested for three months under the notorious Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provided for indefinite detention for interrogation, without access to lawyers or family members". She was released from Haenertsburg police station, into the custody of her uncle, the late Serepe Moshobane, who had been her high school principal and who was then the dean of students at Turfloop. "Hundreds of students converged at the university's main entrance to give her a heroine's welcome". But she couldn't appreciate the rousing reception because she had lost memory and orientation, and could not recognise members of her family and friends. It was very hurting and devastating to see a young active female leader like "Jos" coming back from prison in that condition". The security police paraded "Jos" Moshobane in front of student activists on campus,*

telling them that they would meet the same fate if they continued with their revolutionary activities. Moshobane's state of health meant that she could not continue with her studies, and her family took her home to take care of her. She spent Christmas 1985 with her family before going for surgery for what turned out to be a brain haemorrhage. She was admitted to a number of Gauteng hospitals, including Leratong and Chris Hani Baragwanath, to remove blood clots from her brain. "She died on April 3, 1986, in Leratong Hospital, five months after being freed from detention" (Vuma, 2019:81).

The state of emergency at UNIN was indeed cruel to the student masses, particularly the student activists. In reference to Badat (2003:65), several political organisations were banned and prohibited from having any activity. Numerous activists were arrested and charged with treason for establishing organs of popular power in universities and townships.

5.4 An Afrocentric analysis and discussion of the main events at UNIN

The study found that the HBUs were the product of disadvantaged Blacks' struggle which fought against racial discrimination. The current study deployed the Afrocentric Theory of Self-determination as the theory that guided the study and helped to understand the students' narratives of their university experiences. The Self-determinism or Self-determination Theory holds that any oppressed group of people that has been shut out of the opportunities and denied access to freedom and self-actualisation would organise in any form that they could to gain freedom. (Shreiber, 2003:77) stated that the year, 1970 marked 10 years after the establishment of UNIN, when UNIN achieved the autonomy status. He said that UNIN was no longer under the administration of UNISA but could now administer and manage its own academic affairs. As has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, the students were not happy, and they rejected the announcement because the university did not best represent the concept of autonomy. The university was still under White leadership and the students claimed that the White leadership did not necessarily have their best interests at heart.

The protest to refuse to recognise the autonomy of the university by the students was a clear sign that the students wanted self-determination. The students wanted to have a voice in the running of the university and also the education they received. The 7th

78

principle of the Afrocentric theory holds that knowledge generated must be liberating'. Hence the students protested because they wanted to liberate themselves. They wanted to determine their own education and refrain from a racist education that sought to destroy their dreams. Self-determination was at the centre of their objectives as Black students. The main concern of the students with regards to the autonomy of the university was that the university can and would jeopardize the status of the education they would offer them, as opposed to the education administered by UNISA which they believed was up to the standard.

The researcher makes the finding that Abraham Ongkgopotse Tiro was invited to speak at the UNIN 1972 graduation ceremony. He spoke against the normality of the university tradition. The speech was criticizing the Bantu education and the broader policies of the apartheid regime. Consequently, Tiro along with other students who chanted when he was presenting his speech, sought self-determination in their university. They wanted to have a say in their own education, they wanted the university to reflect Black aspirations. Hence, the students engaged in various protests. They formed and joined various organisations that they believed would put their needs first and thus self-determination. According to Riviere (2001:85), it can be said that the students raised pertinent questions that "would legitimately and effectively (that is, truthfully and inclusively) liberate them, especially those questions that possess embedded assumptions about race and culture". The question of Bantu Education that Mr Tiro raised is embedded in culture. He questioned why is it that the education given to them reflects European ideals but also subjugates the African culture. He asked why it was that the Black student is separated from all other races, is imprisoned in his own university as opposed to being in the White universities or any university of his choice.

Mr Tiro's concerns resulted in the university expelling him. He then went to Botswana where he received a letter bomb, opened the letter and the bomb exploded killing him instantly. Mwalimu Shujaa, an Afrocentric scholar, stated that:

> *"The society's achievement rewards, and the means of accessing them are controlled. A student must play the game according to the rules that the politically dominant culture's elite establish and control. Students who rebel rarely make it. The society's institutional structures are designed to promote conformity to those rules"* (Shujaa 2003,

181).

In the above paragraph, Shujaa (2003:181) meant that Black universities were not established and do not typically exist as embodiments of the Black masses' will, but rather as a reflection of state power and the related factors such as racism, capital and White supremacy. Hence, there was a need for students to re-organise themselves and fight for self-determination and self-actualisation through the various Black structures established in the university such as the SRC and most importantly, SASO, which enlightened students with Black Consciousness ideals. When the Sotho, Tsonga and Venda students were instructed by law to enrol only at UNIN it did not sit well with them. **Participant K (at UNIN from 1985-1991)** had this to say:

> *"The fact that I did not have a choice to enrol at a university of my choice did not sit well with me, I believe in intercultural relations and I wanted to enrol at the 'other universities' to interact with other students of different regions in order to increase my awareness of the various cultures we have in the world, I wanted to just live among other people in our country without having to feel less of a human*".

It has been made clearer from the above shared sentiments by **Participant K (at UNIN from 1985-1991)**, that self-confidence was one of the central aspects that UNIN students lacked as experienced by the then UNIN students. The environment for learning and its surroundings seemed to have been unconducive for Black students at the then UNIN. The need for the Africanisation of the UNIN where students wanted the composition of the university staff to be balanced, to comprise of a balanced number of Black and White staff at the university was just another example of how badly the African student wanted self-determination. The students wanted the university to reflect Black control and power. It was a situation of power struggles between the Blacks and the Whites. Blacks subscribed to the Africanisation of the university so that they can have academic staff that best represents their aspirations. On the flip side of the coin, the Whites wanted to maintain the status quo, to remain in power. White academics saw Africanisation as a threat to their control of the university. They saw it as competition for power positions at the university as well as academic jobs.

5.5 Transition from apartheid to the new democratic South Africa

The study found that negotiations between the African National Congress and the National Party began to be publicly known in the early 1990s. Literature indicates that during that time of negotiations, the South Africa's population remained segregated along racial lines and Black people remained economically excluded (Heffernan, 2019:192 and Doygun, & Gulec, 2012). During the 1990s South Africa began moving away from the old system of apartheid to transformation. This led to many changes in the composition of the UNIN structures (White, 1997:154). This period was marked by aspects of Africanisation implementation. For example, students' residences were renamed using the names of the students' activists that were active since the establishment of the university. One such notable person after whom a residence was named is Josephine Moshobane (Adler, and Webster, 1995:35).

A Broad Transformation Committee (BTC) was established to oversee transformation at UNIN. Professor Chabani Manganyi, the new vice-chancellor, was responsible for convening the BTC (Adler, & Webster, 1995:35). Following White (1997: 155), all areas of the university were equally represented in the BTC, such as student and staff structures and both legal and autonomous structures. The BTC emphasised that the apartheid origins of UNIN could be seen in its governmental structures. These thus needed to be transformed. White stated that UNIN's administration was seen as "an outpost of an authoritarian government" which needed to be transformed so that it would "serve the interests of democracy and liberation" (White, 1997: 155). Therefore, Black students, academic and administrative staff, workers, unions and staff associations at UNIN participated in the BTC. The central objective of the BTC was to transform the UNIN into a popular university and democratize its governance structures, practices and decision-making processes. (White, 1997:155). After many meetings and discussions, participants decided that the BTC model should be used in the transformation process at all South African universities. A democratically elected council came into being and in 1991, Nelson Mandela was appointed chancellor of UNIN (White, 1997:154). These events, according to a UNIN student newsletter, accelerated the transformation process. It was stated that

> "The appointment of Dr Mandela coincides with the varsity's commitment to
> transforming itself from an extension and sounding board of the merciless
> selfish regime into a participatory democracy in a higher learning institution"

(*Student Vanguard Turfloop Newsletter*, 1992 cited in White, 1997: 154).

5.6 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The current chapter examined the impact of the BCM and the UDF on UNIN, the imposition of the state of emergency, the occupation of UNIN by the military and the transition to democracy. This chapter offered an Afrocentric analysis of the students' challenges. The transition and the period around 1985 were marked by violent and non-violent resistance against the racially exclusive system of apartheid. Currently, students face various challenges that must be overcome. The question of graduation rates for students, especially graduate students, is poor and needs addressing. These low completion rates mean few research publications. The historical development of the university is important and must be seen in the context of universal change. Without this understanding, understanding complex situations and contexts on campus is essential to transforming the university into an environment shaped by common interests and real problem solving of student challenges and needs.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The previous chapter dealt with the discussions of the extracted findings, this chapters provides the synopses in terms of the study aim and objectives, statement of the problem. It further provides the limitation of the methodological aspects and thereafter, overall conclusion is provided.

6.1 RESTATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

African students and Black students in particular are confronted by socio-cultural challenges at HBUs. The researcher postulates that there is a dearth of knowledge about the socio-cultural challenges of African students at UNIN. Scholars such as Mawasha (2006); Mojapelo, (2018) and Rensburg, (2020) have mentioned the problems of the dearth of knowledge in passing. However, scholars such as Langa, Ndelu, Edwin, and Vilakazi, (2017) and Swartz, et al. (2019) argue that these challenges have persisted to the present. The researcher posits that this is a problem because the little information that exists on the socio-cultural challenges of African students from 1970 to 1994 might narrow the solutions needed to deal with them. Literature indicates that it is globally known that governments steer education using policies, and thus, they need full detailed accounts on the socio-cultural challenges of students to fully provide solutions and better their conditions (Hendricks, 2018; Rensburg, 2020 and Pillay & Nyandeni, 2021). The current study findings will contribute positively to the body of knowledge and make a recommendation to the South African government and influence policy makers with full-detailed accounts of the socio-cultural challenges.

This problem is worsened by the lack of an Afrocentric voice evident in the literature on the socio-cultural challenges of African students in HBUs. This is because the knowledge available circulates Eurocentricity. Most of the studies relating to the proposed topic have used Eurocentric methodologies (Subotzky, 1997) and this is a problem because this phenomenon is African and therefore has to be researched using an Afrocentric theory. Therefore, it is imperious for African scholars and policy

makers to continuously challenge socio-cultural problems of African students'-Blacks in particular, in the HBUs and offer interventions based on the inherent disadvantage of students. The researcher concludes that Black students have limited opportunities to experience educational achievements.

6.2 Restatement of study aim and objectives

6.2.1 Aim

To explore the socio-cultural challenges confronted by African students at UNIN from 1970 to 1994.

6.2.2 Objectives

- To identify socio-cultural challenges students faced at UNIN.
- To describe the source of their challenges.
- To examine how the challenges manifested themselves.
- To describe the solutions that the students resorted to in order to solve their problems.

6.2.3 Research Questions

- What are the socio-cultural challenges students faced at UNIN?

- How did UNIN students overcome their challenges during the apartheid regime?

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

As is has been proven by literature and the findings that the Historical Black Universities (HBUs) in South Africa were established by the apartheid government with the aim of serving Black students excluded from attending segregated White-only universities, this study recommends that institutional autonomy, educational curricula should be in line with Africanised value system. There have been some improvements when it comes to restriction of movement now compared to then.

It is further recommended that for a philosophical position that believes in gender, ethnic, racial and cultural diversity pluralistic society must be reflected in all institutionalized educational structures institution, including staff, norms, values,

84

curriculum and student body. It is also recommended that several steps be required to resolve the issue in the admissions policy. First, higher education institutions should be encouraged to admit students with adequate grades from low socio-economic backgrounds.

6.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Although various students enrolled at UNIN were from across the African continent and some from elsewhere in the world, the study participants of this study were mainly from South African provinces of Gauteng and Limpopo. The researcher should have at least, covered the other provinces. While a qualitative design was considered suitable for this study, such an approach possessed both strengths and weaknesses. It is important to explore and discuss the weaknesses of qualitative research as doing so provides transparency and integrity to the research. As has already been stated, qualitative research is not objective (Durrheim, 2006 and Schreiber, 2000). In fact, Parker defines qualitative research as "the study of a specified issue or problem in which the researcher is central to the sense that is made" (Parker, 1994:2). This lack of objectivism is viewed as problematic from a quantitative perspective which equates an objective standpoint with scientific soundness. However, as Schreiber (2000) argues, intercultural research is never objective and is always influenced by the researcher himself and his context. Accordingly, it is arguably better to acknowledge the explicitly subjective nature of the research, where the researcher accepts his role as the primary research instrument (Creswell, 2003; Kelly, 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2008).

The flexible and naturalistic nature of qualitative research also means that variables are not controlled (Schreiber, 2000). However, it was not the purpose of this study to identify, isolate and control variables and make predictions based on such variables, but rather to discover such variables in the first place from the participants themselves (Creswell, 2003). Another criticism posed against qualitative research in the context of the current study is that it did not typically produce generalizable knowledge or information (Schreiber, 2000). However, the exploratory purpose of this study meant that generalizability was not a priority. Instead, it was interested in understanding a phenomenon according to the lived experiences of a few participants (Creswell, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2008).

6.5 CONCLUSION

This study aimed at exploring socio-cultural experiences of UNIN students between 1970 and 1994. It adopted a qualitative approach as its framework to guide its study aim and objectives. The aim was to produce idiosyncratic, detailed information. A qualitative approach, despite its inherent weaknesses, was highly appropriate within the current Afrocentric framework where the purpose of the research was exploratory, as it reflected the need for an in-depth and contextualized understanding of African students' university challenges. Researchers postulate that at UNIN there is a lack of knowledge about the socio-cultural challenges of African students. Scholars such as Mawasha (2006); Mojapelo, (2018) and Rensburg, (2020) briefly mention the problem of knowledge scarcity. However, scholars such as Langa, Ndelu, Edwin and Vilakazi, (2017) and Swartz, et al. (2019) argue that this challenge continues even in recent days. These researchers speculate that this is a problem because the little information available about the socio-cultural challenges of African students from 1970 to 1994 may limit the solutions needed to address them.

REFERENCES

Adler, G. and Webster, E., 1995. Challenging transition theory: The labour movement, radical reform, and transition to democracy in South Africa. *Politics and Society*, 23(1), pp.75-106.

Altbach, P. and Selvaratnam, V., 1989. *From dependence to autonomy: the development of Asian universities.* Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.

Altbach, P., 2007. *Tradition and transition: The international imperative in higher education.* Brill, Leiden.

Asante, M.K., 2007. *An Afrocentric manifesto: Toward an African renaissance*. Polity, Cambridge, Oxford and Boston.

Ashby, E. 1966. Universities: British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson

Badat, S., 1999. *Black student politics: Higher education and apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. HSRC Press, Pretoria.

Badat, S., 2016. *Black student politics: Higher education and apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. Routledge, Oxford and New York.

Behr, A., 1988. *Education in South Africa: Origins, issues and trends, 1652-1988,* Academica, Pretoria.

Bent-Goodley, T., Fairfax, C.N. and Carlton-LaNey, I., 2017. The significance of African-centered social work for social work practice, *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 27(1-2).

Bernal, D.D. and Villalpando, O., 2002. An apartheid of knowledge in academia: The struggle over the" legitimate" knowledge of faculty of color. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35(2), pp.169-180.

Biko, N., 1996. Justice first. *Index on Censorship*, 25(5), pp.67-68.

Bolt, J. and Bezemer, D., 2009. Understanding long-run African growth: colonial institutions or colonial education?. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 45(1), pp. 24-54.

Booi, M., Vincent, L. and Liccardo, S., 2017. 'If it ain't broke, don't fix it': Challenges facing institutional transformation of historically White South African universities. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 21(1), pp.2-19.

Booth, W.C., Colomb, G.G. and Williams, J.M., 2003. *The craft of research*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Brooks, H., 2019. *The African National Congress and participatory democracy: From people's power to public policy*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Burman, E., Parker, I., Taylor, M. and Tindell, C., 1994. *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide,* Open University Press, Maidenhead*.*

Cassimere Jr, R., 1975. Crisis of Public Higher Education in Louisiana. *Integrated Education*, 13(5), pp.8-13.

Coleman, M. 1998. *A Crime Against Humanity. Human Rights Committee Johannesburg.* David Philip. Cape Town.

Daku-Mante, J.G., 2013. *An analysis of civil disobedience with specific reference to the role of the United Democratic Front in South Africa,* Ph D thesis, University of Pretoria.

Davies, R. & O' Meara, D. 1985 'Total Strategy in Southern Africa: An Analysis of

South African Regional Policy Since 1978', *Journal of Southern Africa Studies* 11 (2), 1985.

Davidowitz, B. and Schreiber, B., 2008. Facilitating adjustment to higher education: Towards enhancing academic functioning in an academic development programme. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 22(1), pp.191-206.

Dempsey, J.A., 2009. Impact factor and its role in academic promotion: a statement adopted by the International Respiratory Journal Editors Roundtable, *Journal of Applied Physiology* (no edition) available at www.https:doi.org/10.1152/japplphysisiol.00891.2009 retrieved 27 October 2021.

Department of Higher Education and Training. (2018). *Report on The Evaluation of the 2016 Universities' Research Output.* Pretoria.

Doygun, O. and Gulec, S., 2012. The problems faced by university students and proposals for solution. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 47, pp.1115-1123.

Effah, P., 2003. A decade of polytechnic education in Ghana: An assessment of achievements and failures. In. Teferra D, and Altbach, P (eds) *African Higher Education: Ghana: International Reference Handbook.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Eisemon, T., 1982. *The science profession in the Third World: Studies from India and Kenya*. Greenwood Press, Connecticut.

Ellmann, S., 1992. *In a time of trouble: Law and liberty in South Africa's state of emergency*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Eno, V., 2019. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and education of marginalized populations. In. Blankenship, R ed,. *Critical essays on the new moral imperative for supporting marginalized students in PK-20 education: Advances in early childhood and K12 education,* IGI Global, Hershey, PA.

Exkano, J., 2013. Toward an African cosmology: Reframing how we think about historically Black colleges and universities. *Journal of Black Studies*, 44(1), pp. 63-80.

Fiske, E.B. and Ladd, H.F., 2004. *Elusive equity: Education reform in post-apartheid South Africa*. Brookings Institution Press.

Gade, C.B., 2012. What is ubuntu? Different interpretations among South Africans of African descent. *South African Journal of Philosophy= Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Wysbegeerte*, 31(3), pp.484-503.

Gasman, M., 2013. *The changing face of historically Black colleges and universities.* University of Pennsylvania.

Gündüz, M. and Alakbarov, N., 2019. Analysis of social adjustment factors of international students in Turkey. *Journal of International Students*, *9*(4), pp.1155-1171.

Gutierrez, K., Rymes, B. and Larson, J., 1995. Script, counterscript, and underlife in

the classroom: James Brown versus Brown v. Board of Education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(3), pp.445-472.

Habib, A., 2014. Steve Biko: The intellectual roots of South African Black Consciousness. *2014 NCUR*.

Heffernan, A., 2014. A history of youth politics in Limpopo, 1967-2003, PhD thesis, University of Oxford.

Heffernan, A., 2019. *Limpopo's legacy: Student politics and democracy in South Africa,* Wits University Press, Johannesburg,

Heffernan, A., 2019. Student/teachers from Turfloop: the propagation of Black Consciousness in South African schools, 1972–76. *Africa*, *89*(S1), pp.189-209.

Heffernan, A., Nieftagodien, N., Ndlovu, S.M. and Peterson, B. eds., 2016. *Students must rise: Youth struggle in South Africa before and beyond Soweto'76,* Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

Hendricks, C., 2018. Decolonising universities in South Africa: Rigged spaces?. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies-Multi-, Inter-and Transdisciplinarity*, 13(1), pp.16-38.

Henrico, R. and Fick, S., 2019. The state of emergency under the South African apartheid system of government: Reflections and criticisms. *Journal for Human Rights/Zeitschrift für Menschenrechte*, (2).

Horn, L., Sleem, H. and Ndebele, P., 2014. Research vulnerability. *Research ethics in Africa: A resource for research ethics committees*, pp.81-90.

Hull, G., 2017. Black consciousness as overcoming hermeneutical injustice. *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 34(4), pp.573-592.

Jeannin, L., Long, C. and Nyoni, P., 2021. Agency within the context of pedagogies, epistemologies and the transformative curricula. In. *Transformative Curricula, Pedagogies and Epistemologies,* Brill, Leiden.

Jim Crow guide to the USA: 2011. *The laws, customs and etiquette governing the conduct of non-whites and other minorities as second-class citizens*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Johnson, A.M., 1995. Bid Whist, Tonk, and United States v. Fordice: Why integrationism fails African-Americans again. *California Law Review.* 81(6).

Jonathan, R., 2001. Democratization, modernization, and equity: Confronting the apartheid legacy in South African higher education. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, *34*(3), pp. 8-14.

Kallaway, P. ed., 1984. *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans*. Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

Kallaway, P. ed., 2002. *The history of education under apartheid, 1948-1994: The doors of learning and culture shall be opened*. Pearson, Pinelands, Cape Town.

Kelly, K., Terre Blance, M. and Durrheim, K., 2006. Why qualitative research?, *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences*, *2*, pp.271-284.

King, J.E. and Swartz, E.E., 2015. *The Afrocentric praxis of teaching for freedom: Connecting culture to learning.* Routledge, Abington.

Knowles, A.S., 1977. *The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education.* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Langa, M., Ndelu, S., Edwin, Y. and Vilakazi, M., 2017. # Hashtag: An analysis of the# FeesMustFall movement at South African universities, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, African Portal available at https://www.africaportal.org/publications/hashtag-an-analysis-of-the-feesmustfall-movement-at-south-african-universities/ retrieved 27 October 2021.

Lavin, D., 1965. The dilemma of Christian National Education in South Africa. *The World Today,* 21(10).

Lipset, H., 1967. The status of national minority languages in Soviet education. *Soviet Studies*, *19*(2).

Lodge, T., 1989. The United Democratic Front: Leadership and Ideology. In. Brewer, J. ed., *Can South Africa Survive?,* Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Lulat, Y.G.M., 2005. *A history of African higher education from antiquity to the present a critical synthesis*. Praeger.

Lulat, Y.M., 2003. Confronting the burden of the past: The historical antecedents of the present predicament of African universities. In *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research*. Springer, Dordrecht, pp. 595-667.

Maimela, M.R., 1999. Black Consciousness and White liberals in South Africa: Paradoxical anti-apartheid politics. D Lit et Phil thesis, University of South Africa.

Makonl, S., Moody Sr, C.D. and Mabokela, R.O., 2001. "Separate but Equal": A Comparative Analysis of Provision for Education of Blacks in the United States and South Africa. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 34(3).

Mawasha, A.L., 2006. Turfloop: Where an idea was expressed, hijacked and redeemed. In. Nkomo, M., Swartz, D. and Maja, B eds, *Within the Realm of Possibility: From Disadvantage to Development at the University of Fort Hare and the University of the North*, HSRC Press, Pretoria.

Mazama, A. and Lundy, G., 2015. African American home-schooling and the quest for a quality education. *Education and Urban Society*, 47(2), pp.160-181.

Mbiti, J.S., 1970. Christianity and traditional religions in Africa. *International Review of Mission*, 59(236), pp. 430-440.

Merrett, C., 1990. In a state of emergency: libraries and government control in South Africa. *The Library Quarterly*, 60(1), pp.1-22.

Meyer, L.E., 1974. A report on South Africa's Black universities. *African Issues*, 4(3), pp.12-18.

Mobley Jr, S.D., 2017. Seeking sanctuary:(Re) Claiming the power of historically Black colleges and universities as places of Black refuge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 30(10), pp.1036-1041.

Moffett, R., 2007, *From UNIN to UFS – 25 years,* University of the Free State, np.

Mojapelo, S.M., 2018. Challenges in establishing and maintaining functional school libraries: Lessons from Limpopo Province, South Africa. *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 50(4), pp.410-426.

Molete, E., Forward In. Moffett, R., 2007, *From UNIN to UFS – 25 years,* University of the Free State, np.

Mopeli, T., "A historical perspective", In. Moffett, R., 2007, *From UNIN to UFS – 25 years,* University of the Free State, np.

Morwe, K.G., Garcia-Espana, E. and Luescher, T.M., 2018. Factors that contribute to student protests at a South African university. *The Social Sciences*, *13*(4), pp.916-926.

Motlhabi, M., 1984. *Black resistance to apartheid*. Skotaville, Johannesburg.

Mouton, N., Louw, G.P. and Strydom, G.L., 2012. A historical analysis of the post-apartheid dispensation education in South Africa (1994-2011), *International Business and Economics Research Journal,* 11(11).

Murray, J.Y., Murray, R.H. and Lann, L.E., 1997. Growth strategies for US colleges and universities. *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, 8(1), pp.41-53.

Naidoo, R., 1998. Levelling or Playing the Field? The politics of access to university education in post-apartheid South Africa. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 28(3), pp.369-383.

Nkomo, M.,1990. *Pedagogy of domination: Toward a democratic education in South Africa:* Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ

Nkomo, M. Swartz, D and Maja, B. (2006). *Within the Realm of Possibility: From Disadvantage to Development at the University of Fort Hare and the University of the North.* Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.

Nkomo, M.O., 1983. Student culture in black South African universities: some factors contributing to student activism, 1960-1980, D Ed thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Nkondo, C.P.N., 1982. Trends in the teaching and study of African languages in Southern Africa. *South African Journal of African Languages*, *2*(sup3), pp.50-56.

Nkondo, G., 1976. *Turfloop Testimony: the dilemma of a Black university in South Africa,* Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

O' Meara, D., 1996, *Forty lost years: The apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994,* Ravan, Randburg.

Parliamentary News 1954, 1954. Extracts from Hansard. *Journal of the Royal Sanitary*

*Institute,*74(5): pp. 317-322.

Pearson, W. and Reddy, V., 2021. Social justice and education in the twenty-first century. In Pearson, W. and Reddy, V. eds., *Social justice and education in the 21st Century: Research from South Africa and United States,* Berlin, Springer.

Pellerin, M., 2012. Defining Africana Womanhood: Developing an Africana Womanism Methodology. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 36(1).

Pillay, A.L. and Nyandeni, L.N., 2021. Is post-apartheid South Africa training more black African clinical psychologists and addressing the historical imbalance?. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 51(1), pp.147-157.

Polat, F., 2011. Inclusion in education: A step towards social justice. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31(1), pp.50-58.

Pretoria News, 3 March 1960.

Ranuga, T., Lest we forget: The life and legacy of Onkgopotse Tiro, Ranuga speech 2016. Pdf available at https://www.ul.ac.za/tiro/data/application/downloads/Ranuga%20Speech%20 2016.pdf retrieved 27 October 2021.

Rensburg, I., 2020. Transformation of Higher Education in South Africa, 1995–2016: Current Limitations and Future Possibilities. In. Rensburg, I., Motala, S. and Cross, M. eds, *Transforming Universities in South Africa: Pathways to higher education reform*, Brill Sense, Leiden.

Reviere, R. (2001). Towards an Afrocentric Research Methodology. University of the West Indies, Cave Hill.

Rootman, B. (ed), 2012, *From inkpot to ipad – Towards an educational centre of excellence: Celebrating 30 years of education at the University of Venda*, Junxion Communications, np.

Ruth, D., 2000. *The stories we tell and the way we tell them: An investigation into the institutional culture of the university of the North, South Africa* (No. 6). Accra: Association of African Universities.

Schiele, J.H., 1996. Afrocentricity: An emerging paradigm in social work practice.

Social work, 41(3), pp.284-294.

Schreiber, T., 2000. Measuring information transfer. *Physical Review Letters*, *85*(2), p.461.

Shujaa, M.J., 2003. The widening gap between education and schooling in the post 9/11 era. *Journal of Negro Education*, 72(2), pp.179-189.

St Leon, R., 2012. The quiet revolution: language teaching in schools and the responsibility of the universities. *Arts: The Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association*, *13*.

Subotzky, G., 1997. Redefining equity: Challenges and opportunities facing South Africa's historically black universities relative to global and national changes. *Journal of Negro Education*, 66 (4).

Suttner, R., 2005. Legacies and meanings of the United Democratic Front (UDF) period for contemporary South Africa. In. Hendricks, C. and Lushaba, L., eds *From national liberation to democratic renaissance in Southern Africa,* CODESRIA, Dakar.

Swartz, R., Ivancheva, M., Czerniewicz, L. and Morris, N.P., 2019. Between a rock and a hard place: Dilemmas regarding the purpose of public universities in South Africa. *Higher Education*, 77(4), pp.567-583.

Teferra, D. and Altbach, P.G., 2004. African higher education: Challenges for the 21st century. *Higher Education*, 47(1).

Teferra, D., 2014. Charting African higher education: Perspectives at a glance. *International Journal of African Higher Education*, 1(1).

Themane, M.J., 1989. Thirty years of Black education (1953-1983) with special emphasis on aims (an historical-educational appraisal), M Ed dissertation, University of the North.

Tiro Memorial Lecture, 2017 (https://www.ul.ac.za/tiro/data/index.php?Entity=1972%20Grad%20Speech).

Tutu, D., 2006. *Steve Bantu Biko Memorial Lecture*. Communication and Marketing Department, University of Cape Town.

Van Kessel, I., 2000. *Beyond our wildest dreams: The United Democratic Front and*

the transformation of South Africa. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

- 2004, *Vista University* available at
  http://www.careerexpo.co.za/viewinstitution.asp?code=114&con_code=33

White, C.W., 1996. Towards meaningful teaching and learning at the University of the North, D Ed thesis, University of South Africa.

White, C.W., 1997. *From despair to hope: The Turfloop experience. Sovenga.* University of the North Press, Sovenga.

Wilson, W.J., 2012. *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Wolhuter, C.C., 2006. Teacher training in South Africa: past, present and future. *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33(2), pp.124-139.

World Bank, 1991. *World development report 1991: The challenge of development*. The World Bank.

Zeilig, L. and Ansell, N., 2008. Spaces and scales of African student activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean university students at the intersection of campus, nation and globe*. Antipode*, 40(1), pp.31-54.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

I………………………………………………..agree to participate in the research project of Phakiso Lekgau on the socio-cultural challenges of UNIN students: An Afrocentric enquiry.

I understand that:

The researcher is a History Master's student conducting the research as part of the requirements for his profession at the University of Limpopo. The researcher may be contacted on 081 816 6592 (cell phone) or emailed at lekgauphakiso@gmail.com. This study is under the supervision of Dr. C. Larkin in the Discipline of History, School of Social Sciences.

The researcher is interested in the socio-cultural challenges I experienced at UNIN as a former student. My participation will involve a single interview session of approximately one hour with the researcher where I am to talk about and describe my experiences of UNIN and if necessary, answer further interview questions related to the topic. I know that I have a choice about answering any of the questions asked of me and that I should only disclose information that I am comfortable with. I hereby agree....... OR do not agree to being audio-recorded during my interview with the researcher.

I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without penalties, however I will try to commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, and understandings but the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible to be identified by the general reader, additionally, there will be no benefits for me and I am fully aware of the level and nature of the risk/harm (stirring painful memories) that might arise during the interview.

Signed on (Date)…………………… Participant…………………………….. Researcher…………………………

97

APPENDIX B: DATA COLLECTION TOOL INTERVIEW GUIDE

1.   Which year were you enrolled at University of the North (UNIN)?

2.   Tell me about your studies (choice of profession), and was it something you have always wanted to do? Expand your answer.

3.   What were the challenges you were confronted with as a student at UNIN?

4.   What was the source of the challenges?

5.   How did the challenges manifest themselves in students' university lives?

6.   What was the student population's reactions in references to the challenges they faced?

7.   Describe your relationship with White lecturers? What about Black lecturers?

8.   What means were at your disposal for funding?

9.   Based on the education you received, would you say it best served the interest of the community you came from as it was one of the objectives of HBUs? Was it empowering in a sense that it made you proud to say you're a learnt individual? Expand your answer.

10.   Tell me more about the residence life/culture?

11.   Were you able to practise your religion within the university premises? If yes, please expand, if no, please expand on why not.

12.   What were you allowed to do and not do in campus residences?

13.   On the issue of the occupation of SADF in campus, why did the military occupy the campus?

14.   What did the SADF do in campus and how did students response to their presence generally?

15.   On the issues of language, how were you coping, bearing in mind that you were taught by White lecturers that were not familiar with indigenous languages?

16.   Would you say that UNIN played a negative role in its entirety in your life or not? Expand your answer.

17.   What were your feelings in regards to what was happening/or your experiences of UNIN?

18.   If you were given a chance, would you have changed to another university?

19.   Is there anything else you wish to add?

APPENDIX C: Document review questions

Is the document public or private?

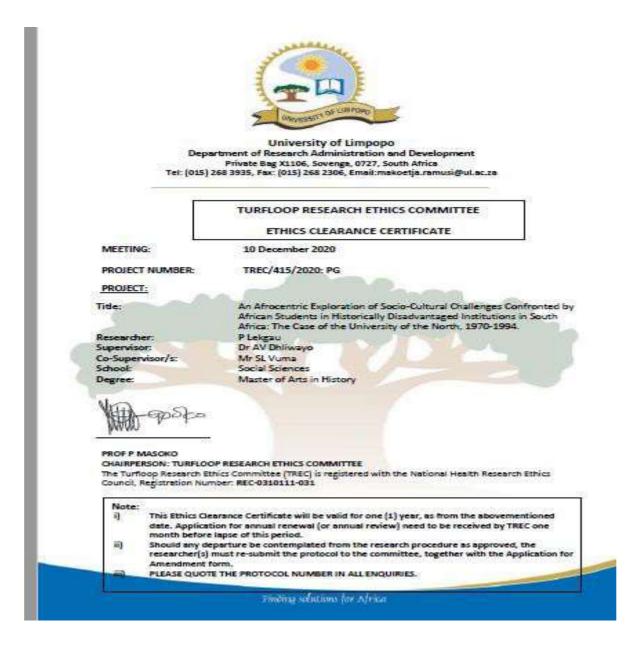Does the document provide background information as well as historical insight to the study?

What is the purpose of the document?

How is the document relevant to the study?

Does the document help uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research problem?

APPENDIX D: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 3935, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email:makoetja.ramusi@ul.ac.za

TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

MEETING: 10 December 2020

PROJECT NUMBER: TREC/415/2020: PG

PROJECT:

Title: An Afrocentric Exploration of Socio-Cultural Challenges Confronted by African Students in Historically Disadvantaged Institutions in South Africa: The Case of the University of the North, 1970-1994.

Researcher: P Lekgau
Supervisor: Dr AV Dhliwayo
Co-Supervisor/s: Mr SL Vuma
School: Social Sciences
Degree: Master of Arts in History

PROF P MASOKO
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: REC-0310111-031

Note:	
i)	This Ethics Clearance Certificate will be valid for one (1) year, as from the abovementioned date. Application for annual renewal (or annual review) need to be received by TREC one month before lapse of this period.
ii)	Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee, together with the Application for Amendment form.
iii)	PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

Finding solutions for Africa

APPENDIX E: EDITORIAL LETTER

Private Language Service Provider (Jay Researchers Incorporated)
Language Practitioner: Mmatlou Jerida Malatji
Reg no. 2018/215867/07
Cell: 072 899 5093/ 061 466 504
Email: jeridamalatji@gmail.com
Date: 29/10/2021

To whom it may concern,

RE: LANGUAGE EDITING/ PROOFREADING OF THE DISSERTATION OF Mr. PHAKISO LEKGAU, STUDENT NUMBER: 201414763

This letter serves to confirm that, I the undersigned, have edited and proofread the **dissertation** of the above mentioned student registered with the:

School of Social Science, Department of Cultural and political Studies

at the

University of Limpopo

for their Master of Arts degree qualification

entitled:

AN AFROCENTRIC EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES CONFRONTED BY AFRICAN STUDENTS IN HISTORICALLY DISADVANTAGED INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE CASE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH, 1970 – 1994

The ONUS of effecting the recommended language changes rests solely with the author of the aforementioned dissertation.

Editor: Ms. MJ Malatji (MA- University of Limpopo)

101